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Exploring the Potential for Achieving Self-determined Community Economic Development in Nunavut: An Examination of the Government of Nunavut's Economic Development Strategies

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Exploring the potential for achieving self-determined community economic
development in Nunavut: An examination of the Government of
Nunavut's economic development strategies

A Thesis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CED _____ Community Economic Development

HPAIED _____ Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development

ED&T _____ Department of Economic Development and Transportation

GDP _____ Gross Domestic Product

GN _____ Government of Nunavut

ILCO _____ Inuit and Land Claims Organization

IQ _____ Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

NLCA _____ Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

NTI _____ Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated

ABSTRACT

Self-determined political and economic structures can nurture local capacity for adaptive response to a rapidly changing climate and economy. What level of potential for creating such structures is contained within Nunavut's economic development strategies? In order to explore this topic, this investigation aimed to 1) identify the goals of Nunavut's economic development strategies, 2) determine whether the goals are currently achievable, and 3) describe how the contents of the economic development strategies compare to what the literature says will produce community wellbeing. The five economic development strategy documents produced by the Government of Nunavut's Department of Economic Development and Transportation were chosen for analysis. This investigation focused on the challenge of attaining sustainable community economic development within the context of a neo-colonial economic and political regime. A directed content analysis was conducted. This analysis utilized the Harvard Project's nation-building framework as a foundation and then expanded upon it to represent new themes that emerged from the documents. A second level analysis was undertaken to examine the implementation plans in each strategy. This research produces valuable baseline information regarding current territorial level economic goals and plans, which will influence local capacity for adaptation and self-determination.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis represents a milestone along my personal and professional journey. Over the course of this journey, I have been taught to look to indigenous farmers in the Himalayas for solutions to economic and environmental injustice and to the soil of Northern Minnesota for lessons in better forest management practices. I have studied at universities in New York, Canada, and the American Midwest. I have watched a tribal government lead my community to defeat a multinational mining corporation that was threatening our shared watershed, and I continue to observe as indigenous organizations lead the world in fighting for environmental sustainability and social justice. My decision to investigate the interconnectivity of indigenous and local governance, alternative economies, community wellbeing and ecological sustainability was shaped by the lessons people shared with me along my journey. Some of those people taught me through the books they wrote; others shared their lessons during time spent with me.

I wish I could thank the Aboriginal activist Lilla Watson for writing “If you have come to help me, you are wasting your time. If you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.” Those words were my guiding star during this project.

I was inspired to look to indigenous communities for lessons in how to push for social, economic, and environmental change by the work of Vandana Shiva, Winona LaDuke, and Clayton Thomas-Muller. In addition, I had the privilege to witness the leadership of former tribal chairman Mike Wiggins as the Bad River Band of Lake

Superior Chippewa successfully fought to protect their cultural resources, their livelihoods, and our shared watershed.

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Finally, I'd like to thank Rebecca Solnit. Researching the challenges that face Inuit, that face all of us in a global economy, on a planet facing the social and ecological impacts of climate change, put my optimism to a severe test. The writings of Rebecca Solnit often buoyed me up with hope to continue on, looking for the light, despite the darkness of the subject. I would like to begin this thesis with her words.

The Inuit activist John Amagoalik remembers that in the 1960s journalists would come to his Arctic homeland and write about it as “a wasteland where nobody lives... There was always agreement between them that Inuit culture and language ‘will disappear.’” On April 1, 1999, Inuit got their homeland back. They won from the Canadian government their own autonomously governed province [*sic*], Nunavut, a huge tract of far northeastern land three times the size of Texas, ten times the size of Britain, a fifth of all Canada.

How do you measure the space between a shift in cultural conversation and a landmass three times the size of Texas? What bridges the space between that hope and that realization? What is the scale of the imagination and of the will? What sustained the people whose uncountable small acts shifted the world, since almost no such act has a reward in itself, or soon, or certainly? From what vantage point can you see such incremental, such incomplete, but such extraordinary transformation?

The resurgence of the indigenous peoples of the Americas means many things. One is that there are usually cracks somewhere in the inevitable and the obvious. Another is that capitalism and state socialism do not define the range of possibilities, for the indigenous nations often represent significantly different ways of imagining and administering social and economic systems as well as of connecting spirituality to politics. Relegated to history’s graveyard, they have, as the Zapatistas did, inspired the births of another future. “Another world is possible” has become a rallying cry, and in some ways this is their world, the other future drawn from another past recovered despite everything. This resurgence also demonstrates the sidelong ways of change: from an argument in Geneva to a landmass in northern Canada, from a critique of the past to a new path into the future, from ideas and words to land and power. This is how history is made, out of such unlikely materials, and of hope.

Solnit, R. (2006). *Hope In the Cark: Untold Histories, Wild Possibilities*. New York, New York: Nation Books.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Economic development has the potential to increase local capacity for adaptation to rapidly changing economic and environmental contexts. However, economic development also has the potential to disenfranchise and impoverish communities, reducing their capacity for collective adaptation. Such negative outcomes often result from externally imposed classical approaches to economic development, which are frequently characterized by a lack of local self-determination. In the case of Nunavut, additional challenges exist, including recent, rapid cultural upheaval, a colonial history and a neo-colonial present, an extraction-dependent economy, and a dramatically changing environment impacted by climate change. Non-Inuit transient workers from the South outnumber the unemployed in Nunavut (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2014) and most revenues generated by the resource extraction industry go to the federal government, not to the communities where the resources are located.

Within this challenging context, it will be necessary for Inuit to harness the potential of self-determined economic development. As climate change produces increased economic activity in the Arctic (Borgerson, 2008; Ford et al. 2012; Pizzolato et al., 2014; Prowse, 2009), Inuit must be poised to take control of the decision-making processes shaping development and the financial flows produced by economic activity in the region. This could allow Inuit communities to use the benefits of development to create sustainable, self-determined economic structures that will nurture local capacity

for adaptation. This, in turn, allows for development to proceed with the goal of producing improved wellbeing for indigenous community members.

According to Ribova (2000), wellbeing is a concept that recognizes “the social, cultural and psychological needs of people, their family, institutions and communities” (p. 1). The Nunavut Economic Outlook (2013) states, “development is achieved when the system in place is capable of perpetuating a self-sustaining movement towards better lives and increased happiness for all” (Nunavut Economic Forum, p. 6). It also says that “the ultimate goal for a society is the freedom to live a life fulfilled, to have choices, to have the capabilities necessary to make those choices, and to have the social connections that ensure one’s voice is included when choices are being made for you” (Nunavut Economic Forum, p. 6). The term “wellbeing” is often used to refer to these types of developmental goals.

Currently, there is a disconnect between Nunavut’s economic growth and community wellbeing. Nunavut’s GDP is above the Canadian average. It increased by 11.4 per cent in 2010 and was predicted to increase by 9.2 per cent over the next five years (Government of Nunavut, 2014). However, according to the Nunavut Economic Outlook for 2013, Nunavut leads Canada in rates of homelessness, substance abuse, violence, suicide, food insecurity, income support dependency, and educational failure (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). The link between economic growth and community wellbeing is arguably non-existent (Kral, 2012; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013).

Potential routes to overcome these challenges can be found within the theories of sustainable development, alternative development, the ideas behind the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED), adaptation, path-

creation, and community economic development. In particular, combining the HPAIED nation-building framework with concepts from adaptation theory might be an effective way to approach an examination of the Government of Nunavut's (GN) economic development strategies. In particular, utilizing the nation-building framework in addition to the theory of adaptation may assist in exploring the strategies' potential for producing community economic development and sustainable development in a context of rapid economic and environmental change.

The five economic development strategies produced by the GN set the foundation for current and future decision-making processes related to the territory's economic development. If the goals presented in these documents are focused only on increasing Nunavut's GDP and not on attaining community wellbeing, the poverty and associated social problems currently plaguing Nunavut may worsen.

On the other hand, if the strategies contain goals focused on increasing Nunavut's standards of wellbeing, self-determination, sustainability, and adaptability, the territory might accomplish development that benefits Nunavut's communities. How effective the strategies are at achieving this goal will have a significant impact on Inuit now and into the future.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the five economic development strategy documents produced by Nunavut's Department of Economic Development and Transportation (ED&T). This investigation focuses on the following three questions. 1) What are the goals of Nunavut's regional economic development strategies? 2) Are these goals currently achievable? 3) How do the contents of the economic development strategies compare to what the literature and, in particular, the HPAIED nation-building

framework, say will produce community wellbeing? In addition, the application of the HPAIED nation-building framework in Nunavut presents an opportunity to evaluate the framework's utility in the unique political and geographical context of Nunavut, a region where there has been a large focus on vulnerability and adaptation to climate change. This study will increase our understanding of the framework, in addition to furthering our understanding of development processes in Nunavut during a time of major environmental and economic change.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In order to determine how Inuit might realize their visions of sustainable, self-determined community economic development, it is first necessary to assess the content of the GN's existing development strategies. The results of such an examination can indicate areas where Nunavut might consider adjusting its approach. In addition, this investigation reveals areas where Nunavut is leading the way in developing strategies that have the potential to produce community wellbeing.

In preparation for an analysis of Nunavut's economic development strategy documents, I conducted a literature review. This allowed me to set the context in which I would develop my analysis and it informed my interpretation of the results of this investigation. This literature review involved a survey of current research and research gaps as well as an examination of development theory. Specifically, the theories I focused on were sustainable development, community economic development (CED), adaptation, path-creation, and alternative development. I also reviewed the current economic conditions in Nunavut, Nunavut's governance structure, the role of climate change in Nunavut's economic development, postcolonialism, neo-colonialism, and internal colonialism. These themes constitute the contextual and theoretical underpinnings of this thesis.

2.2 Cultural and Historical Context

Knowledge of traditional Inuit economies is a prerequisite to understanding the role of the economy in modern Inuit society today. These traditional values underpin modern Inuit mixed economies across the Canadian Eastern Arctic - in Inuvialuit, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavut (Gombay, 2010; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016; Natcher, 2009; Petersen, 1995).

Across the Arctic, the sustainability of traditional economies was historically dependent on the mobility of hunting communities (Atkinson, 2004). A traditionally mobile lifestyle allowed Inuit across what is now known as the Canadian Eastern Arctic to survive in a narrow ecosystem without impacting the health of the land (Rasmussen, 1999). The Inuit concept of belonging to the land shaped the social structures related to land across the Arctic (Gombay, 2010). Resources were traditionally managed as common property. Such an arrangement's success depends upon social structures that enforce equitable distribution of harvested resources as well as the prevention of overuse, which would be detrimental to the resource base (Tanner, 2014). Sharing economies, not only in the Arctic, but around the globe, have been found to have an economically rational basis (Frank, 1994); instead of saving up money for future times of scarcity, in a sharing economy, value for the future is stored in relationships (Natcher, 2009).

The introduction of the fur trade marked the beginning of a drastic shift in the history of Inuit economic structures across the Arctic (Coates, 1985; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016; Petersen, 1995). It created a dependence on external suppliers, a shift toward trapping and away from hunting, a shift away from production for use and toward

production for exchange, a breakdown of the sharing economy, a reduction of community cooperation and self-sufficiency, and fewer limits to resource extraction (Coates, 1985; Leacock, 1954; Petersen, 1995; Tanner, 2014). The colonization of the region that began with the fur trade put an end to the nomadic subsistence-based economy of Inuit and resulted in forced settlement, externally imposed government systems, and loss of control over resources and land (Ritsema, 2014).

During this period of colonization, Inuit were increasingly moving into settlements (Coates, 1985). Settlement added a further dimension to the new market economy - the introduction of reliance on government funds - to the previously self-reliant Inuit society. Nunavut's economy today is the product of the introduction of a market economy into a social economy. This mixed economy comprises components of the subsistence economy, the social economy, and the market economy (Natcher, 2009).

The rapid transition from life on the land to a settled life in villages across the Canadian North has resulted in a dramatic economic and cultural upheaval within Inuit communities (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). Across the Arctic, traditional skills, which formerly defined daily life, are increasingly being lost (Gombay, 2010). At the same time, the wage economy and the lifestyle associated with a market economy do not always resonate with Inuit. In other cases, the qualifications to obtain good jobs are out of reach for local community members. This leaves many Inuit lost between two worlds, neither of which provides them with a sense of responsibility, accomplishment, or belonging (Gombay, 2010).

In order to resist this loss of cultural identity and to regain control of natural resources in the region, Inuit began to organize themselves politically. In response to a

lack of control over oil and gas exploration in the Canadian Eastern Arctic in the 1960s (Legare, 2002; Meceric, 2000), Inuit across the region formed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) to represent the political interests of Inuit in the region (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). In 1974 ITC initiated a land use study to determine the extent of traditional Inuit land use and occupancy in the region. The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* collected histories from Inuit hunters describing the territory over which Inuit ranged in search of game. In addition, Inuktitut place names were used to delineate the traditional Inuit land base. In 1976, the ITC proposed the creation of a new territory, which would encompass the traditional homeland of Inuit (Legare, 2002, Meceric, 2000).

This new territory would reflect an effort to preserve the Inuit cultural identity and indigenous control of decision-making processes within the region. At the same time, it would serve the needs of all residents of the territory – Inuit as well as non-Inuit – who would together call themselves “Nunavummiut.” In order to ensure that Inuit interests, rather than Nunavummiut interests, dominate the policy-making processes in the new territory, the ITC made sure that the priority of Inuit interests was legally protected through the creation of birthright organizations. This complex system of checks-and-balances will be described in more detail further in this thesis.

Not only was the ITC’s proposal to create a new territory a claim to a traditional land base; it was also a claim for a political unit, governed for and by Inuit. The goal was to regain control of the economic, political, and social evolution of Inuit society (Legare, 2002). Inuit recognized the importance of maintaining control of the decision-making processes that directly affect the health and wellbeing of Inuit communities and the

sustainability of their economies. By proposing the creation a political unit in addition to the settlement of a land claim, the ITC was claiming the right to determine the course of political, economic, and social development in their homeland using institutions of their own making (Merecic, 2000).

Yet, it is suggested in the literature (Henderson, 2007; Legare, 2002; Merecic, 2000) that the eventual settlement of the land claim and the creation of the territory of Nunavut may have created an opportunity for rapid assimilation and the dissolution of Inuit communities. Further, it is suggested that by adopting a system of public governance that is modeled on a Western-style of government, Inuit may ultimately undermine the self-government they originally intended to preserve (Henderson, 2007; Legare, 2002; Merecic, 2000). This is a pivotal period of transition in the history of Nunavut. In order to preserve the self-determination that the GN was created to protect, Inuit will need to carefully consider the policy decisions they make today, keeping in focus their self-identified goals of self-determination and sustainability. The degree to which the GN's economic development strategy documents contribute to CED will greatly impact Nunavut's political, economic, and social development.

2.3 Postcolonialism, Neo-colonialism, and Internal Colonialism in Nunavut

Nunavut's history of colonization resulted in cultural upheaval (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). In addition, the economic structures affected by these drastic changes are still in a state of disequilibrium. While Nunavut's situation is at times referred to as "postcolonial," a more accurate term to refer to Nunavut's current situation is "neo-colonial." According to Shohot (1992), whereas postcolonialism describes a situation

marked by struggle and recovery following a past period of a colonial regime, neo-colonialism refers to the repetition of colonial structures, but in new forms. The apparent disconnect between Nunavut's current economic growth and real community benefit (Kral, 2012; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013) provides an alarming indication of a neo-colonial economic regime (Coates, 1985). In the case of Nunavut, most revenues generated by the resource extraction industry go to the federal government, not to the communities in the region. In 2006, Canada invested only 8.5% of earnings from northern resource extraction into northern development grants (Banta, 2006). This massive leakage of economic benefits from regional resource extraction to the South (Banta, 2006) alone is symptomatic of a colonial regime (Coates, 1985). In order to address the complexities associated with economic development in Nunavut, it is necessary to first understand Nunavut's colonial past and present.

According to Petersen (1995), two definitions of the word "colony" deserve examination. The first definition given is a "geographical area kept for political, strategical and economical advantages" (Petersen, 1995, p. 118). The second, given by Sukarno, a key de-colonizing figure in Indonesia's struggle for independence, is "a situation in which a people was governed by another people politically, economically, intellectually and physically" (Petersen, 1995, p. 118).

The first definition centers on land acquisition for the purpose of enriching the colonizer. According to this definition, a colony is a geographical place (Klausner and Foulks, 1982, p. 24; Petersen, 1995, p 118). The second definition differs from the first in that the focus is on the governance, rather than on the possession, of a people, rather than an area. Sukarno's "colony" is a situation, not a place. According to

Sukarno, not only can colonialism involve political, economic and physical control of a geographical area by an outside power, but it also includes governance of a people by an external entity as well as the cultural and intellectual paradigms that the entity imposes on the people of the region.

This is an important distinction to make when discussing the current situation in Nunavut. The settlement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) in 1993 legally established political autonomy for Nunavummiut. The colonial era, therefore, officially ended with the settlement of the NLCA in 1993 and the establishment of the territory of Nunavut in 1999 (Banta, 2006; Hodgkins, 2009; Ritsema, 2014). In this historical context, it is common to use a postcolonial theoretical lens when discussing the current social and economic situation in Nunavut. However, it may be that, based on Sukarno's definition of colonialism, use of the term "postcolonial" is not appropriate to Nunavut's current situation.

Sukarno's definition of a colonial regime is not limited to legal or geographical control of a landmass. It extends into the culture, the intellectual resources, the social frameworks, the governance, and the economic control of the resources and labour in the region. In Nunavut today, self-government is constricted within a Euro-Canadian model (Hodgkins, 2009; Marecic, 2000; Tanner, 2014) and the economic regime serves the interests of the federal government rather than the needs of Inuit (Banta, 2006; Coates, 1985; Hodgkins, 2009). The majority of revenues generated within the region flow out to the central Canadian government, while the communities of the region suffer (Banta, 2006). The educational system is that of the colonizer (Hodgkins, 2009), and yet it fails to adequately prepare people to participate in the colonially-imposed market

economy (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Employment resulting from the extraction of the region's resources is mostly enjoyed by people coming from southern Canada for work, with Inuit largely unqualified to fill long-term or managerial positions (Atkinson, 2004, Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). The situation leaves many Inuit dependent on federal transfers and subsidies for their survival (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Assimilationist policies of both the colonial and neo-colonial regimes, intended to prepare Inuit for participation in the imposed economy, have instead created social and cultural discord (Kral, 2012).

Inuit certainly appear to fit Sukarno's description of a people who are governed by others politically, economically, and intellectually. It could be argued that the processes of colonial domination continue to function in Nunavut today, despite the territory's political autonomy. In this context, the term "postcolonial" is inaccurate. It indicates a cessation of the colonial paradigm, an end to the processes that produce colonial pathologies and external concentrations of power. To use the term today might therefore be misrepresentative of Nunavut's situation.

A more appropriate term to frame Nunavut's situation might be "neo-colonial". According to Shohot (1992), the term "neo-colonial" implies a passage from colonial to some other paradigm, but emphasizes the repetition of colonial structures in new forms. This framing allows for a recognition and discussion of contemporary colonial structures of domination. The neo-colonial frame also allows for the recognition of an anti-colonial resistance to continued domination, the discussion of which cannot exist within a postcolonial frame that assumes the absence of colonial oppression (Shohot, 1992).

It might also be appropriate to describe Nunavut as an internal colony. An internal colony is one that “exists inside the boundaries of the state which colonized it” (Hicks, 2004, p. 1). Internal colonialism is also a situation wherein “non-indigenous governments exert political and economic control in order to profit from resource extraction with little socio-economic benefit accruing to the indigenous people of the region” (Hodgkins, 2009, p. 179). The governments of internal colonies may be chaired by indigenous agents (Hicks, 2004; Petersen, 1995), but the real power is held by an external governing entity (Marecic, 2000).

Is Nunavut an internal colony of Canada? Many would say yes. The North is the “resource bank” of Canada, but little attention is given to the people who call the North home (Atkinson, 2004; Coates, 1985; Hicks, 1999; Hodgkins, 2009; Marecic, 2000; Ritsema, 2014). Resource extraction in the North plays a central role in economic strategies at the federal and territorial level, but the benefits of resource development in Nunavut are invested in external economies and infrastructures rather than regional sustainability (Banta, 2006; Coates, 1985; Hodgkins, 2009; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013; Ritsema, 2014). Euro-Canadian definitions of development and progress have, at times, been internalized and adopted by local elites in various post-colonial contexts including Nunavut, Nunavik, and Greenland, alienating and dividing those in power from those who value traditional standards of community wellness (Gombay, 2010; Hicks, 2004; Hodgkins, 2009; Petersen, 1995). This leads not only to societal discord but also to entrenchment of Nunavut’s policy of heavy reliance on resource development for economic growth. Continued withdrawals from the northern resource bank without reciprocal deposits will exhaust the resources and leave the region impoverished

(Banta, 2006). Addressing the neo-colonial foundations of the territory's economic and governmental structure is vital if Nunavut's goal is self-determined, sustainable, community economic development.

2.4 Current Economic Conditions in Nunavut

Community survival today is inextricably dependent on the relatively new, Euro-Canadian economic model. Traditional harvest activities, market exchange, and dependence on government funding constitute the mixed economy of modern Nunavut (Natcher, 2009). A discussion of the current state of this economy is necessary in order to understand community development needs and potentials in Nunavut.

Nunavut's per capita GDP is actually above the Canadian national average. In 2012, Nunavut came in behind Yukon, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories, with a per capita GDP of \$51,000. The Canadian national per capita average was \$45,000 (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). At the same time, Nunavut's rates of homelessness, food insecurity, income support dependency, malnutrition, violence, suicide rates, poverty, substance abuse, and education failure are currently among the highest in all of Canada. This indicates that Nunavut's growing GDP is not contributing to social wellbeing. Economic growth is not contributing to community development (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Why does economic growth in the Arctic not result in community wellbeing? This question is at the heart of current research into community economic development in Arctic (Banta, 2006; Hicks, 2004; Hodgkins, 2009; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013; Ritsema, 2014).

In terms of GDP, Nunavut's largest economic sector is government. Approximately 90% of government activity in Nunavut is funded by federal transfer payments (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013, p. 25). The ecological character of the Arctic, coupled with its the low human population density, are unique factors contributing to Nunavut's economic development context. Without an ample population able to contribute sufficient tax revenue, the territory faces a deficit of funds to pay for the higher-than-average cost of running a government in the Arctic (Henderson, 2007). The result is a dependence on federal transfers (Henderson, 2007). In addition to the low population density, the poverty and social problems that have resulted from Nunavut's history of colonialism further exacerbates the problem of generating a tax base sufficient to run a territory. This explains the degree to which Nunavut's economy is dependent on external support in the form of subsidies and social transfer payments. This sector is very stable, but offers little potential for growth (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013).

The fishing industry displays the greatest growth rate of all Nunavut's economic sectors. This growth is largely attributable to recent increases in harvest allowances. Construction is also a growing sector, due in large part to government projects such as the Canadian High Arctic Research Station (CHARS) and public housing. Tourism also offers potential for future growth. However, it is the mining sector that attracts a great degree of attention in Nunavut because of the large amount of capital investment required, the strong potential for job creation, and because of the indirect economic opportunities related to mine construction and operation (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013).

The economic boom associated with mining activity is attractive to communities hungry for jobs, improved transportation infrastructure, and more comprehensive social services. However, there are drawbacks associated with allowing total economic dependence to develop around mining operations. Global metal prices often rise and fall unpredictably, resulting in sudden and unexpected mine closures (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). In many cases, mining companies fly local workers in for two-week periods. This means that families are divided for two-week intervals, which results in social complications such as gender imbalances in communities, increased violence against women, and increased substance abuse (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Finally, without adequate education, Inuit do not qualify for many of the jobs in the mining and construction sector. The result is that most of the desirable jobs are filled by people coming from southern Canada for work (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). In Nunavut, “job tourists” (temporary residents from the south living in Nunavut for limited-term employment) outnumber the officially unemployed (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). While these wages increase Nunavut’s per capita GDP, they do not stay in Nunavut nor do they benefit Inuit.

Judging from these statistics, GDP cannot be the only factor to consider when planning for community development. If community wellbeing is the goal of economic development, economic output is not an adequate measure of success. In fact, the opposite may be true; it seems that rapid economic growth can be linked to high crime rates (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). In the case of the mining industry, while economic growth may result from mining activity, this does not necessarily benefit the

local communities if housing, family cohesion, and access to employment are not included in development strategies.

In Nunavut, access to employment is highly dependent on educational level. Among Nunavummiut with a high school education, the employment rate is 50 to 70%. Among residents with a university degree, the employment rate is 90 to 95%. It is not much of an exaggeration to state that in Nunavut, education equals access to employment. It is therefore problematic that the graduation rates in Nunavut are among the lowest of all the Canadian territories and provinces. In 2012, the high school graduation rate in Nunavut was between 35 and 40% (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). This situation results in a very wide income gap, as those with an education can manage to be financially successful while the large number of people without an education struggle to afford housing, food, and the basic essentials of life.

It is important to note that the population in Nunavut is higher than ever before. Due to the high fertility rate, this trend is expected to continue. This places increased pressure on traditional food sources. The demand for country food is rising with the rising population, but the supply is not (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Inadequate access to employment due to a lack of education, coupled with reduced traditional food resource availability, means that for many Inuit welfare is the only option for economic survival. Social transfer payments often offer a more livable situation than low-wage jobs can offer (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013).

According to the Nunavut Economic Outlook for 2013, Nunavut has the highest percentage of households with food insecurity in Canada. Among children, the food insecurity rate is 57%, compared to the national average of 17%. Housing is not

affordable, and subsidized housing is often the only option. The waiting lists for public housing are long, leading to a high rate of homelessness (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). In the Arctic, homelessness means sleeping in someone else's home, which results in overcrowding (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). This creates a situation ripe for violence and domestic abuse. Nunavut has the highest crime rate in all of Canada, and the abuse of women is 13 times the national average. Addiction and substance abuse are also serious problems, with alcohol playing a part in "most, if not all, incarcerations" (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013, p. 59). The single parent family rate is 28.2%, and the increase in the rate of suicide over the past 30 years is 10 times the national rate (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). According to Kral (2012), Inuit of Arctic Canada have the highest suicide rate in the world.

The territory's above-average GDP is clearly not benefitting the majority of Inuit. Economic growth is not resulting in community development. In order to improve this situation, it is first necessary to understand the political environment in which these changes must take place.

2.5 Nunavut's Government Structure

In 1993, with the settlement of the NLCA and the Nunavut Act, Inuit negotiated a settlement with the government of Canada that resulted in the creation of the territory of Nunavut (Henderson, 2007; Merezic, 2000). According to Merezic (2000), Nunavut has been referred to as "the first full territory in a modern nation ever to be governed and administered by aboriginal people" (p. 275). In settling the NLCA, Inuit secured legal claim to self-government, ownership of 18% of Nunavut lands, and ownership of mineral rights on a portion of these lands (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2014). This opened

the door for reclaiming Inuit autonomy and control of resource extraction activities on Inuit lands.

The NLCA is currently the largest indigenous comprehensive land claims settlement in the world (Henderson, 2007; Merezic, 2000). It is the result of decades of dedicated grassroots political action on the part of Inuit communities and organizations (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2014). As part of implementing this settlement, Inuit and their partners in the Canadian federal government have had the task of constructing a territorial and Inuit government.

Article 23 of the NLCA commits the territorial government to construct an ethnically representative public service sector (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2004; Timpson, 2006). This means that if the population of Nunavut is 85% Inuit, 85% of the government representatives should also be Inuit. As long as Nunavut's population is dominated by an Inuit majority, the government should, according to the NLCA, also be dominated by an Inuit majority. By definition, the GN is not an indigenous government. However, according to Article 23 of the NLCA, it should be, *de facto*, representative of Nunavut's ethnic composition.

Structurally, the GN is similar to other territorial governments. Departments of finance, education, and health are responsible for dispersal of federal funds as well as the management and implementation of territorial programs (Government of Nunavut, 2014). The public government's administrative capacities include the establishment of a legislative assembly and executive council, management of the financial affairs of the territory, provision of legal advice for the GN, support of municipal affairs, maintenance of public works and government services, and the acquisition and education of

government employees (Nunavut Political Accord, 1992). ED&T's mission is to develop and strengthen Nunavut's economy and ensure effective transportation systems. To accomplish this mission, ED&T manages and implements government strategies and programs aimed at stimulating small business growth. The department also regulates and manages resource extraction activities (Government of Nunavut, 2014). The GN has entrusted decision-making related to Nunavut's economic development to the ED&T. The strategies produced by this department are the track upon which all future development will be set. Analysis of the contents of these strategy documents reveals the directions and the intentions that will shape the future of Nunavut, economically, politically, and socially.

What sets Nunavut apart from other territories is the unique relationship between the territorial government and the Inuit and Land Claims Organizations (ILCOs), which represent the beneficiaries of the NLCA. Of these ILCOs, the Nunavut Trust and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) are the entities responsible for handling the implementation and enforcement of the NLCA, including the management of the NLCA's financial settlement and any royalties owed to Inuit from mineral extraction. They exert considerable power over the GN. They also negotiate with the federal government of Canada for Inuit. This structure results in something that looks like two territorial governing bodies, the ILCOs and the GN (Figure 2.1). Two governmental systems manage the affairs of Nunavut: the public government (the Government of Nunavut), responsible for and to all residents of the territory of Nunavut regardless of ethnicity; and the birthright organizations (the ILCOs), which are responsible for and to all Inuit beneficiaries of the NLCA (Henderson, 2004). To further add to the complexity,

within the ILCOs are Institutions of Public Government. These boards and commissions are ILCOs, but are funded by the GN. Their provenance is therefore both within the ILCOs and the GN (Government of Nunavut, 2014; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2014).

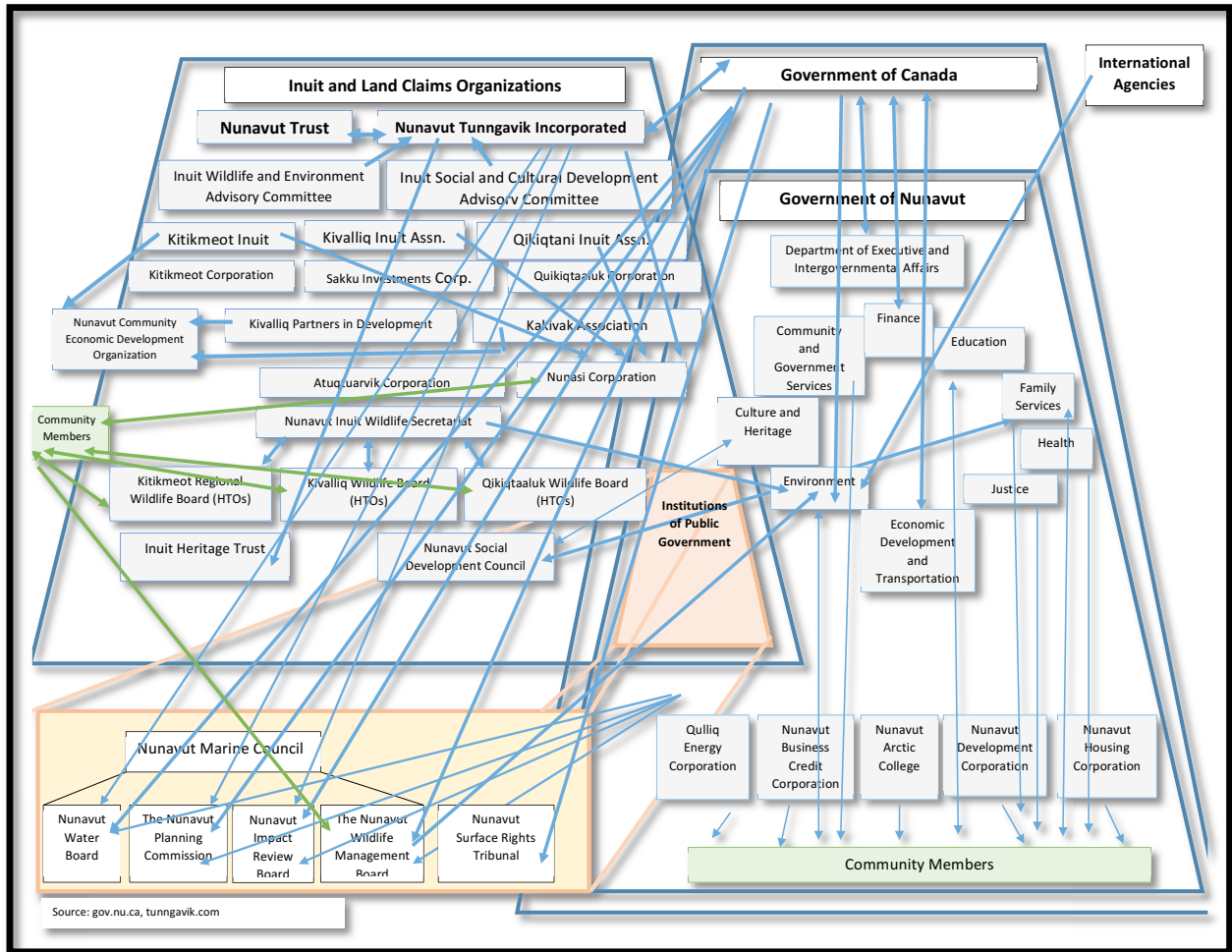


Figure 2.1 Diagram of Nunavut’s governance structure

The unique nature of Nunavut’s internal organization and relationship with the Canadian federal government has resulted in a complex political and bureaucratic structure. Decision-making power is diffused through a complex hierarchy (Ritsema, 2014). In addition, the Canadian federal government maintains ultimate legislative

control by means of veto powers and due to the structure of the territory's public government model. However, NTI is responsible for ensuring that the provisions of the NLCA and the Nunavut Act are upheld by all parties (Marecic, 2000). Inuit organizations work on an equal basis with the GN through joint boards, which manage all land, water, and wildlife resources. Additionally, duties of Inuit organizations may be managed directly or in cooperation with the GN departments (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2004).

The dual government structure ensures that the GN abides by the terms of the NLCA and creates a collaborative route for the development of Nunavut's policies (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2004). However, the hierarchical complexity of a dual government structure presents an additional challenge to self-determination, political capacity, and local control of economic development strategies. In fact, the complexity of these hierarchies has been cited as one potential impediment to implementing the recommendations of the HPAIED nation-building framework (Ritsema, 2014). In addition, it has been suggested that the Euro-Canadian model of territorial government may be culturally discordant with Inuit political culture (Henderson, 2007; Legare, 2002; Marecic, 2000). Marecic (2000) goes as far as to question whether, in adopting the Canadian model of public government, Inuit may have "authorized their own cultural assimilation" (p. 276).

The GN made a concerted effort to address these concerns by incorporating the guiding principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), which is defined as "that which is long known by Inuit," into its governance processes. In Nunavut's Bathurst Mandate, it is

stated that IQ would provide the context for developing the government (Timpson, 2006).

According to the GN's Department of Culture and Heritage (Government of Nunavut, 2016),

The Government of Nunavut is building Nunavut's future based on the guiding knowledge of Inuit Societal Values. These values are based on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit...The Inuit Societal Values project is an initiative to help promote Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and to strengthen the role of elders in addressing social problems and issues in Nunavut. The project helps provide Inuit with the opportunity to have a say in maintaining order and peace according to their culture and traditions, as well as identify gaps in, and finding possible solutions to, community and social wellness issues.

Challenges to successful integration of IQ exist. For example, according to Timpson (2006), there is no clear consensus regarding the meaning of IQ, since "that which has long been known by Inuit" varies greatly across the territory. Additionally, most Inuit in public service are at least one generation removed from a traditional, land-based existence (Timpson, 2006). Finally, the governance systems currently in place are modeled on a western style of managing and governing the affairs of Nunavummiut. This way of governing diverges from traditional Inuit approach to decision-making (Timpson, 2006). Implementation of IQ in Nunavut's territorial government is not a simple task. Whether the GN's development strategies actually encourage indigenous, local, and regional voice to impact policy decisions, especially in a context of rapid environmental and economic change, is a question of great importance within this thesis.

2.6 Climate Change and Economic Development

Addressing economic development strategy in Nunavut is a time-sensitive task. Climate change is already affecting environmental patterns in the Arctic, and these changes translate to altered economic contexts (ACIA, 2004; Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012; IPCC, 2001; Pizzolato et al. 2014; Prowse et al., 2009; Stewart, Dawson, and Johnston, 2015).

Thawing sea-ice, melting permafrost, and increased stream flow will continue to result in novel environmental and social conditions in the Arctic. It cannot be overemphasized that the negative impacts climate change presents to Arctic communities are serious. However, the purpose of this project is not only to identify areas where capacity-building is required to protect communities, families, and individuals from the negative impacts of increased development resulting from a changed climate, but it is also to identify areas in which Inuit may stand to benefit from opportunities available to them. Although climate change is ultimately a negative development for human society, as well as for non-human communities, it offers some unique opportunities for harnessing economic development opportunities in the Arctic (Borgerson, 2008; Ford et al. 2012; Pizzolato et al., 2014; Prowse, 2009). For example, reductions in sea ice cover are resulting in extended shipping seasons, which is already resulting in increased cruise tourism (Dawson et al., 2016; Dawson, Johnston and Stewart, 2014; Stewart, Dawson, and Johnston, 2015). These opportunities could result in improved lives for Inuit families. In order to benefit from these changing economic situations, Inuit will need to be prepared to take control of the economic activity that will result from the impacts of climate change.

It is predicted that melting sea-ice will enable increased offshore oil exploration and Arctic shipping (Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012; Prowse et al., 2009). The Arctic Ocean may eventually be ice free (Pizzolato et al., 2014) or seasonally covered by a thin layer of ice (Borgerson, 2008), perhaps enabling year-round navigation (Borgerson, 2008; Pizzolato et al., 2014). Summer shipping seasons will continue to expand, thereby extending the season for community re-supply and for export of mineral resources (Borgerson, 2008; Pizzolato et al., 2014; Prowse et al., 2009).

The potential for the passage of oil tankers and nuclear-powered vessels in Arctic waters raises serious concerns regarding the regulation of such hazardous materials in the sensitive ecosystems and communities of the North (Borgerson, 2008). In addition, concerns have been raised regarding the safety and continuance of traditional marine hunting in these new shipping lanes. Concerns have also been raised regarding adequate provision for local access to economic benefits from Arctic shipping (Borgerson, 2008). There are currently insufficient regulatory and legal structures to handle the process of developing new Arctic shipping lanes or dispute resolution in Arctic waters (Borgerson, 2008). Inuit need to have the power to negotiate for a fair share of the economic benefits of a booming Arctic shipping industry as well as for increased regulation that will address the needs and desires of local communities.

Ford et al. (2012) conducted a comprehensive literature review of the human dimensions of climate change (HDCC) research that revealed specific areas of inquiry that require further attention. Included in this list are questions related to local uptake of benefits and opportunities created by a warming climate, external economic factors that

may affect local adaptive capacity, and devolution's potential to address the colonial legacy, which is the foundation of many of the challenges facing Nunavut's communities as they attempt to build capacity for adaptation to a changing economic and physical environment. There is also concern that policy links to research are not being addressed (Ford et al., 2012).

Much of the current research focuses on the effects that climate change impacts will have on traditional activities. Little is known regarding the potential socio-economic effects of increased shipping and resource extraction in the region (Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012). Economic development holds the potential to reduce poverty, thereby increasing local capacity to adapt to new economic and environmental regimes. However, economic development also holds the potential to further disenfranchise and impoverish Inuit communities, reducing their capacity for collective adaptation. Little research into this topic exists (Ford et al., 2012). In addition, according to Cameron (2012), HDCC research tends to overlook the "importance of resource exploration, extraction and shipping as human dimensions of climatic change in the region" (p. 104) and fails to properly address the problem of colonialism, "in spite of the fact that the projects are carried out in communities profoundly shaped by colonization and movements toward decolonization and Inuit self-determination" (p. 104).

2.7 Sustainability and Development

In order for communities to benefit from development, the systems in place must produce prolonged benefit rather than boom-and-bust economic growth or short term social and political fixes (Adger, 2003; Atkinson, 2004; Banta, 2006; Friedmann, 1992; Jorgensen, 2007; Markey et al., 2008; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Inuit are well aware of the importance of sustainability and appear to value environmental protection more than the average Canadian. According to the 2004 Nunavut Household Survey, 76.5% of Nunavummiut (85% of whom are Inuit) feel that protecting the environment is more important than creating jobs. In comparison, only 37.7% of Canadians living in the provinces placed environmental protection over job creation (Henderson, 2007). In fact, “Nunavummiut are more supportive of environmental protection than are residents in British Columbia, the most ‘green’ province by CES standards” (Henderson, 2007, p. 172). Not only does the alternative development literature indicate that sustainability is a vital component of successful community economic development, Inuit also demand that sustainability be prioritized when development agendas are designed for Nunavut.

Mainstream discussions of sustainable development use the definition given in the Brundtland Commission Report: “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p. 6). Other theories and definitions of sustainable development attempt to include equity and participatory democracy to address the omissions of the Brundtland Report’s recommendations (Grainger, 2004; House of Commons, 1997; IUCN, 1991; UN, 1993; UN 2002; Young, 1996). Common ground shared by most sustainable development research is that sustainable development will not be possible

without a break from the classical model of market economics and the adaptation of an alternative approach to economic development (Atkinson, 2004; Berger, 1977; Braidotti et al., 1994; Colby, 1990; Grainger, 2004).

According to Vandana Shiva, cited by Braidotti et al. (1994, p. 110), classical models of economic growth

are perceived exclusively in terms of processes of capital accumulation. However, the growth of financial resources at the level of the market economy often takes place by diverting natural resources from people's survival economy. On the one hand this generates conflicts over natural resources; on the other hand it creates an ecologically unstable constellation of nature, people and capital.

Economic development that prioritizes the long-term wellbeing of communities and their resource bases must consider how to address the challenge of ensuring environmental, economic, social, and political sustainability. According to Rasmussen (1999), sustainable development in the North is not possible without the direct involvement of Arctic communities. Local, indigenous control of decision-making processes has been lacking in the Arctic, a legacy of the North's colonial past (Rasmussen, 1999). It is therefore of primary importance in this literature review to examine alternative methods of addressing economic development in the North. Such methods must address the inherently unsustainable system of historical and current colonial power structures within the region.

2.8 Alternative Development

In order to make room for local, indigenous control of decision-making processes, an alternative approach to economic development is required. Classical economic development strategies, such as dependence on industrialized resource extraction for export, often come at a cost to community wellbeing. Reliance on export of raw materials leaves a region vulnerable to market fluctuations, hinders local adaptive capacity, and may lead to environmental degradation (Ford et. al. 2012, Markey et. al. 2008). In addition, the external investment associated with extractive industry can hinder economically viable indigenous development and perpetuate a lack of autonomy over investment strategy (Banta, 2006; Coates, 1985; Markey et al., 2008).

Application of classical development strategies may increase the territory's GDP, but unless the benefits of economic growth are felt by local communities, community development is not a product of increased resource extraction. Economic growth without adequate distribution of wages and reinvestment into the local economy only serves the Canadian economy. Regionally, levels of poverty and its associated social pathologies only worsen (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013), weakening indigenous political capacity and reducing local decision-making power. GDP can therefore not be used as a metric for measuring the success of economic development (Friedmann, 1992; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013; Sen, 1990).

True development consists of more than economic growth. The purpose of development is the improvement of human wellbeing (Friedmann, 1992; Sen, 1990; Sen, 1999; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). According to the Nunavut Economic Development Forum (2013), development is achieved when the systems in place

perpetuate a self-sustaining progression towards better lives and increased happiness for community members. The economic system exists to serve these ends. It is only a tool used in pursuit of the goal of increasing communities' capabilities, freedoms and access to choices (Sen, 1999).

Alternative development does not aim to negate the importance of abstract market valuations. Instead, alternative development highlights and proposes points of articulation between market economies and moral economies. It recognizes the interdependencies of economic reasoning and moral relationships (Friedmann, 1992).

Within Friedmann's empowerment framework, poverty is understood to be a state of disempowerment (Friedmann, 1992). Rather than being a purely economic problem, poverty results from a lack of access to social power. This lack of access to power is systematic and structural, since the global economy's economic model is based on capital accumulation at the expense of the majority rather than on the development of community wellbeing for the benefit of the majority. Within this structure of capital accumulation, the poor are regarded as incapable of taking charge of their own lives. Instead, the rich set priorities for them. Poor families are thus further disempowered to improve the condition of their lives (Friedmann, 1992). This dynamic may arguably be illustrated by the situation of poverty and social disempowerment in Nunavut.

According to Friedmann (1992), the process of disempowerment can be reversed by increasing access to bases of social power: defensible life spaces, surplus time, knowledge and skills, appropriate information, social organization, social networks, instruments of work and livelihood, and financial resources. Social and political pressure

that results in increased access to these bases of social power creates political power, which can produce political claims, and then, legitimate entitlements. The end result is that state action is more accountable to citizens, civil society is strengthened, communities are in charge of managing their own affairs, corporate business is more socially responsible, and politics are in the interest of the people (Friedmann, 1992).

By focusing on empowerment, Friedmann's alternative development aims to allow the majority to mobilize and take control of bettering their lives, economically as well as socially and culturally. This emphasis on power and the importance of the collective majority distinguishes alternative development theory from classical economic theory (Friedmann, 1992).

Alternative development is a useful tool for addressing the complex challenges to Nunavut's development process. The inclusion of the individual as an agent, rather than a subject (Robeyns, 2007; Sen, 1990), the central importance of community and individual wellbeing when defining success (Friedmann, 1992; Sen, 1990; Sen 1999) and the acknowledgement of the need for sustainability in development agendas (Friedmann, 1992; Sen, 1990; Sen, 1999) provide standards that may be useful when evaluating the potential for success contained within Nunavut's development strategies. Applying the ideas of alternative development to an indigenous setting requires that the definition of successful development be further expanded to include additional goals unique to indigenous societies.

The HPAIED attempts to broaden our understanding of alternative economic development to include these additional goals that are unique to indigenous societies. Attaining sustainable development is a challenge under any circumstances, but within a

context of postcolonialism and neo-colonialism, even greater obstacles exist. The HPAIED aims to address this unique set of challenges to creating healthy community development outcomes.

The HPAIED set out to answer the question of how have some American Indian nations are successful in achieving their own economic, political, social, and cultural goals, while others are having difficulty accomplishing the same things (Jorgensen, 2007). The answers that emerged from Native American communities have been organized into a “nation-building framework.” This framework describes the factors that are leading to successful community development in indigenous nations. The findings indicate that the production of positive economic and social development outcomes is dependent on the presence of practical sovereignty, culturally resonant and effective governing institutions, strategic vision, and leaders that are committed to nation-building (Cornell & Kalt 2000; Cornell et al., 2010). In short, effective community economic development is a political, rather than a purely economic, project (Cornell & Kalt, 1992).

The HPAIED research pulls together elements from the theories of alternative development, adaptation, path creation, and community economic development, adapting these to the postcolonial environment of tribal communities in the U.S. as well as to indigenous communities globally. The literature related to alternative development and community economic development provides a foundational understanding of how to produce community wellbeing, but the HPAIED goes one step further by addressing the unique challenge of a colonial past. In addition, the HPAIED definition of successful development includes an additional goal that indigenous communities share: the maintenance of their indigenous identity and political sovereignty (Cornell et al., 2011;

Jorgensen, 2007). The importance of indigenous decision-making power, or self-determination, cannot be overemphasized. It can be argued that the HPAIED ultimately is about self-governance's role in producing social, cultural, and economic wellbeing.

The utility of the nation-building framework, both in Nunavut and elsewhere, is a subject of debate and investigation. Both Sullivan (2007) and Simeone (2007) propose that the HPAIED conflates local decision-making capacity or sound organizational management with political sovereignty and legal control of land and resources. However, throughout the HPAIED literature it is stressed that self-administration, or sound management, is not the same as self-governance. This distinction is central to the argument of the HPAIED (Cornell and Taylor, 2000; Jorgensen, 2007). It is clear that the HPAIED definition of self-determination includes much more than sound management strategy and local decision-making capacity. Rather, it highlights above all else the importance of not only claiming political and legal sovereignty, but exercising such powers effectively (Cornell and Taylor, 2000; Cornell et al., 2011; Jorgensen, 2007). Given the distinct context of Nunavut as an Inuit region with a territorial government, and a complex framework of self-governance established through the NLCA, it remains to be seen whether the HPAIED approach will be effective in illuminating economic development in Nunavut. Undoubtedly, examining the issue of political sovereignty and legal control is vital in understanding the nature of economic development in Nunavut and the HPAIED approach presents a way forward.

A second objection to the HPAIED research is that it oversimplifies the process of framing economic development and nation-building within traditional culture. (Simeone, 2007; Sullivan, 2007). Both Simeone and Sullivan suggest that the HPAIED

glosses over the complexities of building an indigenous nation on a cultural foundation that either includes oppressive practices or is opposed to Western-style development. In response to the issue of oppressive elements within a traditional culture, Cornell and Jorgensen both suggest that self-determination is the key to allowing communities to successfully address such issues in ways that will be most effective (Cornell et al., 2011). Both Cornell et al. (2011) and Jorgenson (2007) state that the HPAIED does not necessarily promote externally-directed development. Rather, the HPAIED literature appears to promote development that is chosen by each indigenous nation. Generation of sustained economic development of any form, together with the alleviation of the nation's social problems and the preservation of self-defined indigenous identity, is the definition of successful development within the HPAIED analysis. The HPAIED has found much variability in how each nation chooses to accomplish these goals. Success is, of necessity, defined by each nation. This is a central concept within the HPAIED findings (Cornell et al., 2011).

In the research on adaptation theory, Adger (2003) highlights the importance of self-identified priorities and agenda, especially in the case of marginalized communities. In addition, a strong theme in alternative development is the importance of marginalized populations gaining decision-making power, choosing for themselves how best to chart a course for the betterment of their communities (Petersen, 1995). The question of who is in charge of decision-making processes within a nation's or community's development appears to be a pivotal determinant of the potential for economic development to result in community wellbeing. This issue requires consideration of the extent to which economic development strategies can be considered as representations of neo-

colonialism, internal colonialism, self-determination and/or a combination of any of these.

Objections also exist to using the framework outside the realm of U.S. tribal communities, and in particular, applying the HPAIED findings to the context of the Arctic (Simeone, 2007). However, a pilot project in Nunavut seems to reveal that the nation-building framework encompasses respondents' self-identified priorities for effective development and governance strategies. The goal of that pilot project was to identify the factors that contribute to northern communities' ability to leverage existing economic opportunities in order to develop self-determined sustainable development and greater economic self-sufficiency (Ritsema, 2014). The project also introduced the nation-building framework as an approach to understanding rapid environmental and economic change in the Canadian Arctic. The nation-building framework was used to develop the themes addressed in the interviews, but probes were also used to capture any additional factors that may not have been represented within the nation-building framework. No additional categories emerged from interviews conducted with residents of Pond Inlet (Ritsema, 2014). Details regarding the probes used in this project were not indicated by Ritsema (2014) and additionally, only one community (Pond Inlet) was examined in this research. Although Ritsema indicates that the nation-building framework encompasses the self-identified priorities of the residents of Pond Inlet further investigation should be undertaken regarding the utility of the nation-building framework in Nunavut.

Ritsema's investigation into the utility of the nation-building framework produced inconclusive, but intriguing, results. According to Ritsema's research, the framework

appears to be useful in describing the developmental and political themes that Inuit value when discussing the needs of their territory. Certainly, further research promises to produce results that will be beneficial for Nunavut's strategic processes and for HPAIED research. The HPAIED nation-building framework potentially offers a platform from which to mount an investigation into the nation-building potential of Nunavut's development strategies, and Nunavut offers a new environment within which to test the nation-building framework's applicability across a wide variety of indigenous contexts.

2.9 Community Economic Development

A new approach to economic development, one that focuses on community wellbeing and participation rather than on economic growth, is required in order to pave a path leading to a sustainable and beneficial economic regime. Development of this type requires the integration of economic, environmental, political and social considerations. Economic growth alone is not currently creating community wellbeing or environmental sustainability (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Social as well as economic factors must be considered when creating economic development strategies that will help and not harm communities. Community economic development is a development approach that proposes to address this need.

In community economic development, an integrated approach to development results from the inclusion of place and community in development strategy. Economic and social factors are linked, and alternative development practices associated with local participation acknowledge the importance of community buy-in and inclusion as well as the importance of local agents and leaders (Markey et al., 2008).

An increased focus on local leadership and participation requires that community economic development efforts address governance and not just economics.

Responsibilities are shifted away from centralized state power and toward local agents and institutions. Government institutions play a vital role as instigators and facilitators of regional action and capacity (Markey et al., 2008).

Community economic development can therefore be described as bottom-up development. It is a framework that allows communities to generate their own solutions to the economic problems they identify as important to their wellbeing. This creates long-term community capacity and integrates economic objectives with social and environmental objectives, resulting in sustainable development that benefits communities in the long run (Markey et al., 2008). According to Friedmann (1992) and Markey et al. (2008), a “whole economy” is the result of decreased externalization and a focus on culture, environment, and community, as well as on economic health. A whole economy is one in which community capacity and empowerment are nurtured, allowing for self-directed adaptation and path creation to occur.

2.10 Adaptation

Not only is the political and social structure of Nunavut (as well as the rest of the Canadian North) in the midst of rapid cultural and economic upheaval due to its colonial legacy (Gombay, 2010; Kral, 2012), but the physical environment is also in flux. Arctic communities are reporting the primary effects of climate change (Berkes, 2001; Ford et al., 2012) and its impacts on local infrastructure and economies (ACIA, 2004; Cameron, 2012; Ford et al., 2012; IPCC, 200; Stewart, Dawson, and Johnston, 2015). In a setting

experiencing sudden and rapid change in both the cultural and physical realms, development must be considered in terms of adaptation to change (Ford et al. 2010). According to Ford (2009), “For the Arctic’s Inuit population, adaptation offers a tangible way in which dangerous climate change can be potentially avoided and livelihoods protected” (p. 5).

Adaptation is a natural process of human social behavior and human ecological function (Garud et al., 2010). Adaptive capacity can be promoted by nurturing social capital. According to Adger (2003), the term “social capital” refers to the networks of trust and reciprocity and the common rules that evolve from these social relationships. Adger posits that social capital contributes to the creation of empowered communities. These function as generative nurseries for solutions to the problems of climate change impacts and cultural upheaval (Adger, 2003). At the same time, this reduces the workload and welfare budget of state agencies that would otherwise be responsible for alleviating the symptoms of a lack of self-determination and adaptability within the region (Adger, 2003). Such a system succeeds at protecting the people most at risk of harm, while also utilizing the collective knowledge of the people who are best suited to determine the most important priorities of any potential adaptive strategy.

Local adaptive capacity can be either encouraged or stifled by surrounding circumstances and by political, economic, and social institutions. Adaptation requires workable relationships among agents of adaptation processes and the institutions they are a part of. State control can use its power to either nurture local adaptive capacity or stifle it (Adger, 2003). Keskitalo (2009) adds that decisions affecting adaptation are determined by local decision makers as well as by market mechanisms. Local

adaptation is therefore impacted by national and international regulations that can limit communities' adaptive capacity.

Keskitalo (2009) also cited the importance of channels for communication between levels. These may be monopolized by certain interest groups. The end result is that "resources for adaptation...may be determined politically or economically by the strengths of the interest groups and the composition of the decision making system" (Keskitalo, 2009, p. 60). "The distribution of power between individuals and groups of actors at different levels is thus fundamentally important as an outcome of political and economic processes, and as a determinant of further adaptation" (Keskitalo, 2009, p. 60).

Clearly, adaptation at the community level requires multi-level, institutional facilitation in order to be effective. Communities' natural capacity to adapt to change is, in part, "determined by the distribution of power in systems" (Keskitalo, 2009, p. 61) The unequal or misrepresentative distribution of power in systems, as Keskitalo frames it, mirrors Sukarno's definition of colonialism: "a situation in which a people was governed by another people politically, economically, intellectually and physically" (Petersen, 1995, p. 118). This would indicate that imbalanced or misrepresentative distributions of power in political or economic decision-making processes are a manifestation of a neo-colonial paradigm. This neo-colonial paradigm would therefore directly hinder communities' natural capacity to adapt to change.

However, self-determined community capacity can result in successful local adaptation to changing economies and environments. A collaborative effort, blending

local freedom to act collectively with institutional structures of state-provisioned support, is necessary to produce effective adaptive responses.

2.11 Path Creation

In order to tap into local communities' potential to create successful adaptive responses to a changing climate and a changing economy, it is necessary to acknowledge the roles they play as active agents in the development of future outcomes. Path creation theory states that communities are not passive players within changing environments (Garud et al., 2010) and posits that a community's response to changes in its environment cannot be predicted by past events; rather, it is their responses that shape future outcomes (Duerden, 2004). "Actors mobilize the past not necessarily to repeat or avoid what happened, but, instead, to generate new options: (Garud et al., 2010, p. 770). The past is thus not an inescapable track, but material to be used in the formation of new options and strategies.

Mechanisms of response and adaptation can be manipulated by communities (Garud et al., 2010). The self-determined empowerment of communities would therefore contribute to effectively solving many of the problems associated with creating successful community economic development in Nunavut's rapidly changing climate (Ford et al, 2010).

2.12 Summary

In the case of Nunavut, unique challenges to achieving self-determined community economic development exist: recent, rapid cultural upheaval, a colonial

history and a neo-colonial present, an extraction-dependent economy, and a dramatically changing environment. Potential routes to address these challenges can be found within the theories of sustainable development, alternative development and the results of HPAIED research, community economic development, adaptation and path-creation. In addition, identifying potential opportunities among Nunavut's challenges, particularly in light of increased economic activity due to climate change, may be key to attaining a foothold on successful, sustainable, community development. My inquiry into overcoming Nunavut's challenges and identifying Nunavut's opportunities attempted to address the question "How might Inuit harness the potential of economic development in a changing climate and use it to create sustainable structures that will support and encourage self-determined community economic development?"

The purpose of this thesis is to address these concerns using the HPAIED nation-building approach, concepts from the theory of adaptability, and the theory of community economic development. In so doing, this thesis will not only explore Nunavut's potential for self-determined development and adaptation to climate change impacts, but will also shed light on the extent of the HPAIED nation-building framework's utility in Nunavut.

2.13 Research Question

The five economic development strategies produced by the GN are the foundation for current and future economic development decision-making processes. These decisions might produce lasting benefits for Inuit. Alternatively, they may merely

increase the territory's GDP. Policies generated today and far into the future will be rooted in these strategic documents, which set the track for future priorities.

This thesis investigates Nunavut's economic development strategies in order to ask the question "How can Inuit harness the potential of economic development in a changing climate and use it to create sustainable structures which will support and encourage self-determined community economic development?" In order to explore this topic, I asked the following questions:

- 1) What are the goals of Nunavut's regional economic development strategies?
- 2) Are the strategies currently achievable?
- 3) How do the contents of the economic development strategies compare to what the literature, and in particular, the Harvard Project's nation-building framework, say will produce community wellbeing?

Decolonization, self-determination, adaptation, and community wellbeing are broad topics, encompassing multiple social, political, and cultural, and ecological processes. Economic factors are only one force among many that influence community development and sustainable, socially just outcomes. However, economies are powerful drivers of social, political, and cultural regimes, and as such, they play a pivotal role in addressing decolonization, sustainability, and community wellbeing. In addition, the prospect of immediate, sudden, and rapid economic growth in the region is undeniable, making this particular driver of community change a timely one. For these reasons, an economic focus has been chosen for this project.

The goals of economic development outlined within the territory's strategic documents are self-identified aims of the GN's ED&T. As such, they present an

opportunity to compare and contrast the stated goals of Nunavut's territorial level economic development strategies with recommendations produced by the HPAIED. This will shed light on the potential strengths and weaknesses of Nunavut's territorial economic strategies. This investigation will also broaden our understanding of how the nation-building framework might be successfully applied in an Arctic context while also providing information that might be used to improve community wellbeing and increase capacity for adaptation in Inuit communities.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In order to accomplish the goals of this thesis research, an analysis of the themes and action items contained within the GN's five economic development strategy documents was conducted. These strategy documents were produced by the ED&T, whose primary goal is to ensure that "Nunavummiut participate in the benefits of economic growth" (Government of Nunavut 2014). This department is responsible for "ensuring sustainable growth (and) helping (to) build healthy communities and essential infrastructure" (Government of Nunavut 2014). Policies and plans made today, based on the strategies in the five development strategy documents will shape the development outcomes of Nunavut's communities now and well into the future.

The documents vary from 23 to 64 pages in length and contain strategic priorities, guiding principles, objectives, policy positions, action items, implementation plans, time lines, mission statements, task assignments, and structures for determining how to invest royalties from resource extraction activities. They consist of the documents listed in Table 3.1. These documents frequently reference the consultation processes that were embedded in their production. The transportation strategy lists the groups they consulted. These include the Marine Advisory Council, the Government of Nunavut Departments, the Northern Air Transport Association, Nunavut Association of Municipalities, and the Nunavut Economic Forum. The tourism sector strategy document relied on interviews with main players inside the industry. Consultation, led by the GN's ED&T, with a broad group of stakeholders informed the development of this strategy document. These stakeholder groups included Tourism and Cultural Industries,

Canadian Northern Development Agency, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., Arctic College,
 Nunavut Tourism and Parks Canada (Viken, Johnston, Nyseth, and Dawson, 2014).

Table 3.1 Economic development strategy documents

Title	Page Length	Publication Date or Relevant Time Frame
<i>Ikummatiit</i> : The Government of Nunavut Energy Strategy	23	Published: September, 2007 Time frame: frequent reference to 2020
<i>Ingirrasiliqta</i> : Let's Get Moving: Nunavut Transportation Strategy	32	Published: 2008? written 7 years after the 2001 Nunavut Transportation Strategy was published Time frame: None given
<i>Parnautit</i> : A Foundation For the Future: Mineral Exploration and Mining Strategy	64	Published: publication likely in 2006 Time frame: Action matrix contains references to dates ranging from 2006 to 2010
<i>Sanaugait</i> : A Strategy For Growth in Nunavut's Arts and Crafts Sector	38	Published: The plans outlined in the strategy were approved in 2006 and were to be revised in 2008 Time frame: the 2008 revisions were to apply through the year 2013
<i>Tungasajji</i> : A Tourism Strategy For Nunavummiut	53	Published: 2013 Time frame: 2013 to 2018

Data collection consisted of downloading these documents from the GN's website and then selecting the portions that appeared relevant to my research questions. I excluded images, charts, graphs, and tables from my primary (theme description) analysis and when identifying specific action items to subject to secondary (S.M.A.R.T. performance) analysis. Although they were not subjected to primary analysis, the presence or absence of rubrics and tables was noted, and the information contained within those tools was often used to assess the implementation potential of the specific action items that were presented in the main bodies of the documents.

Examination of the themes presented in these five documents reveals important detail regarding the procedural and ideological components of Nunavut's development process. According to Vaara (2010), strategy texts contain evidence of the promotion or silencing of particular ideas and voices. Not only do strategy documents promote and silence reforms, ideas, and voices, but they also determine the power of various actors and agents in the political process.

The form and vocabulary of these documents can have a powerful impact on the direction of policy development and implementation. Vaara (2010) found that strategy documents act as agents, having the capacity to produce action from a distance. For example, municipal policy makers and committee members in Finland were found to rely on strategy documents to back up their choices and decisions when challenged by other policy makers or members of their constituencies (Vaara, 2010). According to Vaara (2010) "strategy documents should not be treated as just any texts, but understood as powerful devices through which specific objectives, values and ideologies - and not others - are promoted and legitimated" (p. 699). Clearly, an

examination of Nunavut's five economic development strategy documents is vital to understanding the principles guiding the territory's development as well as the nature and identity of control, engagement, and voice within the territory's decision-making processes.

In order to examine the themes presented in these documents, a directed content analysis was conducted. A directed content analysis involves a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns within a document, using existing theory or relevant prior research as a basis for code development (Hsiu-Fang & Shannon, 2005). The investigation followed a deductive approach (Bowen, 2009; Vaismoradi et al., 2013) utilizing the nation-building framework (Jorgensen, 2007) as the basis for development of a coding structure. Key concepts were identified using the nation-building framework, and operational definitions for each category were determined, based on Jorgensen (2007) (see Table 3.2). These codes were used to analyze the themes contained within the five strategic documents. Data that could not be coded using the nation-building framework were identified and analyzed to determine whether they represented new categories (see Hsiu-Fang & Shannon, 2005) not included in the HPAIED nation-building framework.

This primary analysis required much more than simply counting occurrences of key phrases. As an example of the amount of critical thought and time required to analyze each statement, consider the following quotation from the mining strategy document: "The relationship Nunavummiut have with this untouched natural world is something that defines us as a people, and any proposed activity that significantly affects the sensitive ecological balance will not be well received" (ED&T, n.d., p. 41).

Analysis of this statement would start with the question, “What can the HPAIED nation-building framework tell me about the potential of this statement to produce community economic development?” Application of the nation-building portion of the coding rubric reveals a positive link between the statement and the theme “cultural match.” The next question I would myself regarding this statement is, “What does my understanding of alternative development, path-creation, and adaptation tell me about the potential of this statement to produce sustainable community wellbeing?” Using the portion of the rubric dedicated to community involvement and autonomy, I would conclude that the statement supports the theme “community voice.” Finally, I would ask, “What else seems to be important to the author of this statement?” The answer to this last question reveals an emerging theme: “sustainability.” This new theme is then added to the codebook and used in the directed analysis of all five documents.

Primary analysis of the GN’s five strategy documents involved applying this comprehensive investigative process to each line of text contained in the documents’ main bodies. Atlas.ti was used as a note-keeping aid, which allowed for data to be fully cross-referenced (Lowe, 2002), grouped, and counted. Additional calculations were performed using Excel.

Table 3.2 Codebook for Primary Analysis

Codebook for Primary Analysis	
Does this statement demonstrate that:	Nation-building Framework Code
attention is being given to the question of whether Nunavut’s political culture supports the initiative, principle, program, or mission being promoted?	Cultural Match
there is a focus on maintaining institutions free of political interference or corruption, so that the institutions can fulfill their intended purpose?	Effective Institutions
a priority is placed on nurturing and promoting indigenous leaders who are motivated by a desire to build a strong, self-determined nation?	Nation-building Leadership

economic development is seen as a political issue, not purely an economic issue?	Political Focus
governance is understood to be a political process, not only an administrative task. Does the government only function as a distributor of federal funds, or does its leaders shape and direct the course of future political and economic policy for the benefit of the indigenous nation?	Practical Sovereignty
decisions are made with long-term nation-building goals in mind?	Strategic Vision
Does this statement demonstrate that:	Community Involvement Code
the intention or the goal of the proposed action is to produce benefits at the community level?	Community Benefit
input from the community level shapes and directs the course of development decisions?	Community Voice
“community input” and “community benefit” specifically address inclusion of or prioritization of Inuit?	Inuit Participation
the intentions or proposed actions exclude community input or community benefit?	Exclusion
the intentions or proposed actions aim to produce benefits for the federal economy but not communities in Nunavut?	Federal Benefit
Does this statement demonstrate:	Autonomy Codes
the prioritization of territorial or community self-determination or self-sufficiency?	Self-Reliance
a reliance on external lifelines, either financial or political?	Dependence
This statement demonstrates:	Emerging Theme Codes
an awareness of the need to be prepared for changing circumstances.	Adaptability
a desire to work with other organizations or agencies to actualize the stated intention or goal.	Collaboration
a focus on increasing or maintaining clear and effective communication with agencies and communities.	Communication
an awareness of the need to nurture diversity within the economic sector.	Diversification
a focus on improving the quality and accessibility of education programs for Nunavummiut.	Education
that attention is given to the steps that will be necessary to actualize intention or goal.	Follow-through
a focus on acquiring financial investment, or a need to address a gap preventing actualization of stated goals due to a lack of adequate financial resources.	Investment
recognition of the unique needs and strengths related to Nunavut’s geographical, cultural, economic, and ecological niche.	Place
a focus on ensuring that communities are set up to thrive into the indefinite future – ecologically, economically, or socially.	Sustainability
an awareness of any time frames within which the intentions or goals must be acted upon.	Time-sensitivity

Plans and action items that were found to fit within the nation-building framework were further analyzed using S.M.A.R.T. criteria (see Table 3.3) to assess their potential for successful implementation. The S.M.A.R.T. criteria are commonly used to guide the setting and measurement of objectives. They are used as a management tool in planning processes. The mnemonic acronym “S.M.A.R.T.” represents the following criteria: specificity, measurability, accountability, and realistic and time-based nature (Doran, 1981; Haughey, 2014). Definitions of the terms used in this secondary analysis were adapted from Doran, (1981) and Haughey, (2014).

The statements subjected to the S.M.A.R.T. analysis share the following features: they are proposed actions, rather than statements of vision, context, intent, or theory; they are located within the main text of the document, not only in a table or appendix; they are linked to a code based on the nation-building framework; they are presented within the strategies as deliverables. In order to eliminate redundancy, these statements were grouped so that repetitions of each action item could be treated as if they were one statement. The resulting “action item” was then analyzed using the S.M.A.R.T. rubric.

Table 3.3 Codebook for secondary analysis

Codebook for Secondary Analysis	
Regarding this action or goal:	S.M.A.R.T. Standards
Is it well-defined and clear to anyone that has a basic knowledge of the project?	Specific
Is it possible to know how far away completion is and when the goal has been achieved?	Measurable
Is a specific department, office, officer, etc. designated to accomplish this task?	Accountable
Is the action item within the availability of resources, knowledge, and time?	Realistic
Is a timeline indicated?	Time-based

As an example of the methods used in this secondary level of analysis, consider the following action item identified through analysis of the arts strategy document: “The GN will monopolize products that are protected by intellectual property rights in order to increase market share.” Analysis of this action item utilized the rubric given in Table 3.3. After a careful reading of the entire document, it was found that the action item is specific: the “products” are Inuit arts and crafts, the “intellectual property rights” are traditional Inuit artistry and materials usage, and the methods of attaining this goal are specifically stated. Progress toward attainment of this goal can be measured, since those products protected by intellectual property rights can be listed, and monopolization of those products can be tracked and measured. The authors describe the resources required and available to accomplish this task and argue that the parties responsible for accomplishing this task are capable of success. The organizations responsible for implementation of this goal are listed as the Nunavut Arts and Crafts Association, the Canadian Artist’s Representation, the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Nunavut Economic Developers Association, and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. The timeline for implementing this action item is given as 2007-2009. This action item therefore meets all five standards included in the S.M.A.R.T. rubric, giving it a score of five. The arts strategy presented an additional ten action items, all of which also met all five S.M.A.R.T standards. The arts strategy’s action items therefore scored 55 (5 X 11), which is reflective of the number of actions presented as well as their potential for successful implementation. The arts strategy’s action items’ performance can also be represented as a percentage. Since the arts strategy presented 11 action items, each of which could score a maximum of five, the

total number of S.M.A.R.T. standards possible for this strategy is 55. This strategy met all 55, giving it a performance score of 100% (55 standards met/55 possible standards).

Strategies that contained individual action items meeting all five S.M.A.R.T. criteria were noted. According to the S.M.A.R.T. standards, these action items are currently ready for implementation.

The S.M.A.R.T. performance aspect presents an additional layer of analysis applied to a small sub-set of statements taken from the documents. While the primary analysis describes the thematic patterns that occur throughout the documents, the secondary analysis focuses on the specific action items presented in the strategies and describes their potential for successful implementation. This approach to understanding the data creates a snapshot of the foundational values currently guiding development in Nunavut as well as the existing implementation potential of the action items presented in the ED&T strategy documents.

The theories of community economic development (Markey et al., 2008), adaptation (Adger, 2003), path creation (Garud et al., 2010), alternative development (Freedman, 1992; Sen, 1990; Sen, 1999), neo-colonialism (Hicks, 2004; Hodgkins, 2009; Petersen, 1995; Shohot, 1992) and sustainable development (Braidotti et al., 1994) guided my interpretation of the data and informed my discussion of the practical effect these findings are predicted to have on policies, programs, community development, and Inuit lives. These theories also shaped my approach to analyzing the nation-building framework's utility in Nunavut.

My interpretation was also informed by my previous and current academic explorations of sub-alternality and environmental justice. As a researcher, I came to this

work with an academic background in conservation biology and First Nations studies as well as a cultural background rooted in the communities of Northern Minnesota's Lake Superior watershed. Over the course of my academic and professional career, I began to understand that effective habitat conservation cannot proceed without consideration of the economic, social, political, and spiritual needs of human communities.

Additionally, in order to be effective, management programs and policies must fit the geographical context of each community. It was due to this realization that I chose to study economic development in Nunavut. By investigating the economic foundations of sustainable development in an indigenous, place-based context, my understanding of community-based natural resource management has been broadened. It is my intent to apply this knowledge to future projects relating to community-based conservation strategies. Such strategies, founded on an understanding of sub-altern theory, neo-colonial contexts, place-based community development and collaborative advocacy, offer system-level solutions to environmental conflicts and challenges.

In order to prepare myself for researching economic development in Nunavut, I undertook a review of available literature related to Nunavut's geographical, historical, and cultural context. In addition, I subscribed to web-based newsfeeds and advocacy outlets based in Nunavut in order to receive daily articles on political and legal news, editorials from local residents on an extensive variety of topics, as well as reports on local community events, cultural programs and hamlet civic meetings. In this way, I attempted to gain a toehold on the wide range of opinions, perspectives, and debates within Nunavut's communities. With this introductory understanding of the place, culture, and pulse of Nunavut, I was able to apply the literature on Arctic economic development

to my research question with an educated outsider's perspective. Recognition of my outsider's perspective heightened my awareness of potential biases in my interpretation of the data and introduced a strong element of self-analysis throughout the course of this research. Coupled with my academic review of Nunavut's culture, history and place, this caution assisted in the development of an additional level of rigor within my analysis.

As part of a larger research initiative, Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC), this thesis provides valuable baseline information regarding current territorial economic goals and plans, which will be useful for further research in the region. In addition, this research will add to our understanding of the utility of the HPAIED nation-building framework in Nunavut's unique historical and political context. Future research projects in CEDAC will consist of key informant interviews, community forums and workshops, and policy forums. The results of this project will be of use to strategists and planners in Nunavut in their work of building a sustainable, empowered, self-governing nation while also adding to our understanding of community economic development in the Arctic.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

In order to evaluate Nunavut's potential for attaining sustainable, nation-building, community economic development, it is first necessary to understand the strengths and weaknesses of Nunavut's current development strategy documents. Analysis of these documents produced two distinct groups of results. The first category, theme description, characterizes the themes presented in the documents and demonstrates the degree to which each theme was emphasized in the documents. The second category, S.M.A.R.T. performance, describes the extent to which the goals contained within the strategies are supported by plans for their implementation.

In this chapter, theme description data will first be used to create an outline of ED&T's current intentions and the foundations upon which they intend to build. This outline will then be filled in using S.M.A.R.T. performance findings, which describe the nation-building action items' potential for implementation, to complete the snapshot.

4.2 Theme Description

The nation-building framework, based on the research of the HPAIED, formed the central point of inquiry of this analysis and provided the initial code structure. The first category of theme description data, "nation-building factors", describes how the strategies compare to the nation-building framework. While coding the documents using

this framework, themes beyond the nation-building framework were also identified. The remaining categories are composed of these themes.

The category “community involvement” comprises elements vital to community economic development: the prioritization of community benefit and community input as well as the prioritization of Inuit involvement in the decision-making process. This category also contains two elements detrimental to community wellbeing: exclusion and federal benefit at the expense of community benefit. The category labeled “autonomy” contains only two themes: self-reliance and dependence. The codes within the “community involvement” and “autonomy” categories were developed after reviewing the literature on alternative development, path-creation, and community economic development.

The “emerging themes” category contains recurring values, concerns, and priorities expressed in the documents. This final category contains themes that were not included in the original coding structure, but emerged during the analysis.

4.2.1 General Findings

Nation-Building Factors

The strategy documents contain more references to strategic vision than to any other theme (Figure 4.1). According to the HPAIED, strategic vision involves thinking ahead to the distant future and making decisions that will result in long-lasting benefits. Statements such as “To take full advantage of these possibilities, we need to have specific goals and objectives and a plan to achieve them” (ED&T, p. 3) reflect strategic, long-term vision. Strategic vision also includes the sort of big-picture thinking that

acknowledges that individual policy decisions are not isolated from other decisions, and can even contribute to solving larger-scale issues. Statements such as “We must take advantage of opportunities to improve and build our infrastructure so that developments in one sector of our economy provide broad benefits throughout other economic sectors” (ED&T, p. 6) reflect this big-picture thinking.

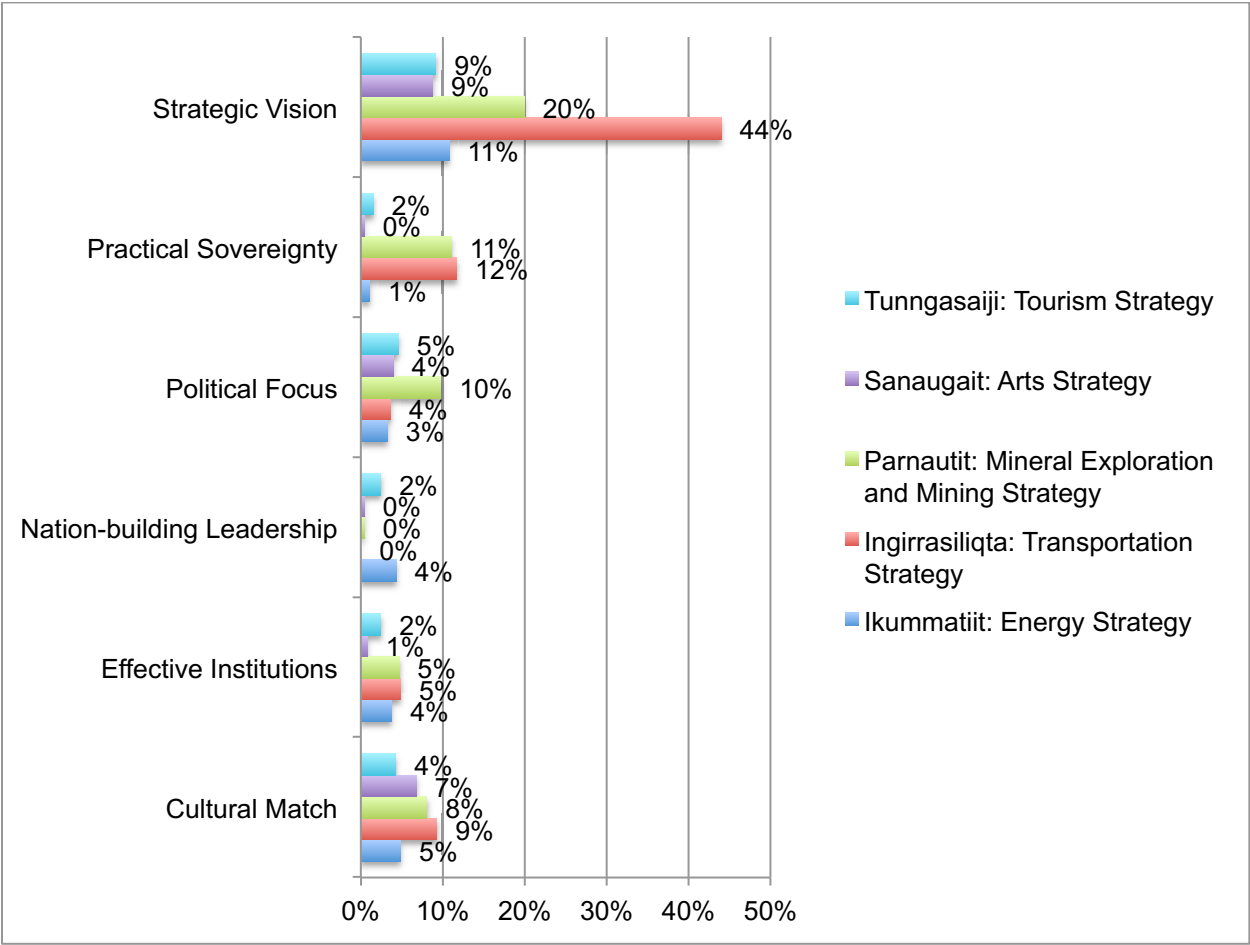


Figure 4.1 Nation-building factors: relative frequencies

References to nation-building leadership occur with the least frequency of all nation-building factor references (Figure 4.1). Arguably, the most interesting example of a statement supporting nation-building leadership was presented in the energy strategy. Reporting on input received from the community regarding the government's energy strategy, the strategy document notes "participants strongly suggested that the GN 'get its house in order' and demonstrate leadership" (ED&T, p. 12). Accordingly, throughout the energy strategy, demonstrations of leadership in energy reduction and energy conservation are given.

The second-most frequently occurring nation-building theme in the strategy documents is cultural match. All strategy documents claim adherence to the government's mandate to abide by IQ principles. The strongest demonstrations of cultural match, though, are those that focus on gaining Inuit approval before making decisions and on the need for Inuit to set the territory's priorities. For example, the mineral strategy states "the relationship Nunavummiut have with this untouched natural world is something that defines us as a people, and any proposed activity that significantly affects the sensitive ecological balance will not be well received" (ED&T, p. 41).

Emerging Themes

The strategy documents refer to sustainability more than any other emerging theme. References to both environmental and economic sustainability are exemplified in the following quotation from the energy strategy: "Nunavut will have a sustainable energy system that is secure, environmentally responsible, and optimizes economic benefits for Nunavummiut, both today and tomorrow" (ED&T, p. 6).

References to time-sensitivity, an important consideration in light of Nunavut's rapidly changing environmental and economic climate, occur with the least frequency in the strategy documents (Figure 4.2). The mineral strategy document contains two direct references to timeliness and the energy strategy makes one direct reference to the need for quick implementation of proposed leases. The transportation strategy pledges to "develop policy that recognizes how quickly opportunity can emerge in the face of development" (ED&T, p. 32) and the tourism strategy makes plans for business planning that will "recognize the longer timeframe required for establishment of new tourism products and services, given infrastructure and large-scale equipment requirements and for building a solid marketing network and client base" (ED&T, p. 44).

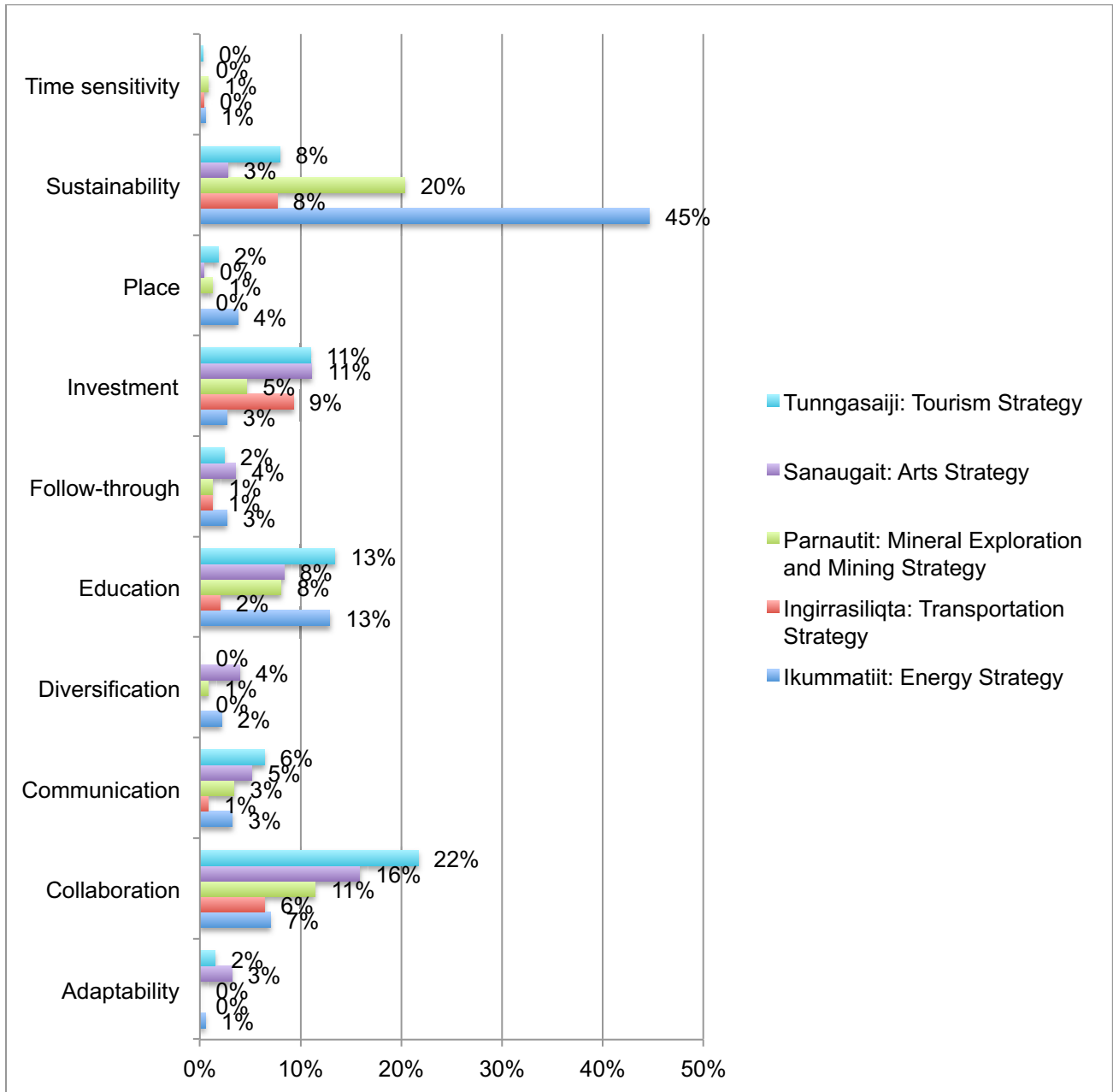


Figure 4.2 Emerging themes: relative frequencies

Community Involvement

The strategy documents refer to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme. Numerous references to a “high and sustainable quality of life” (see ED&T, p. 17; ED&T, p. 16; ED&T, p. 44) were noted throughout the content analysis. The mining strategy states that its vision “effectively focused all economic

issues on the much broader issue of quality of life for Nunavummiut” (ED&T, p. 7).

Demonstrations of federal benefit at the expense of community benefit occur with the least frequency of all community involvement theme references (Figure 4.3).

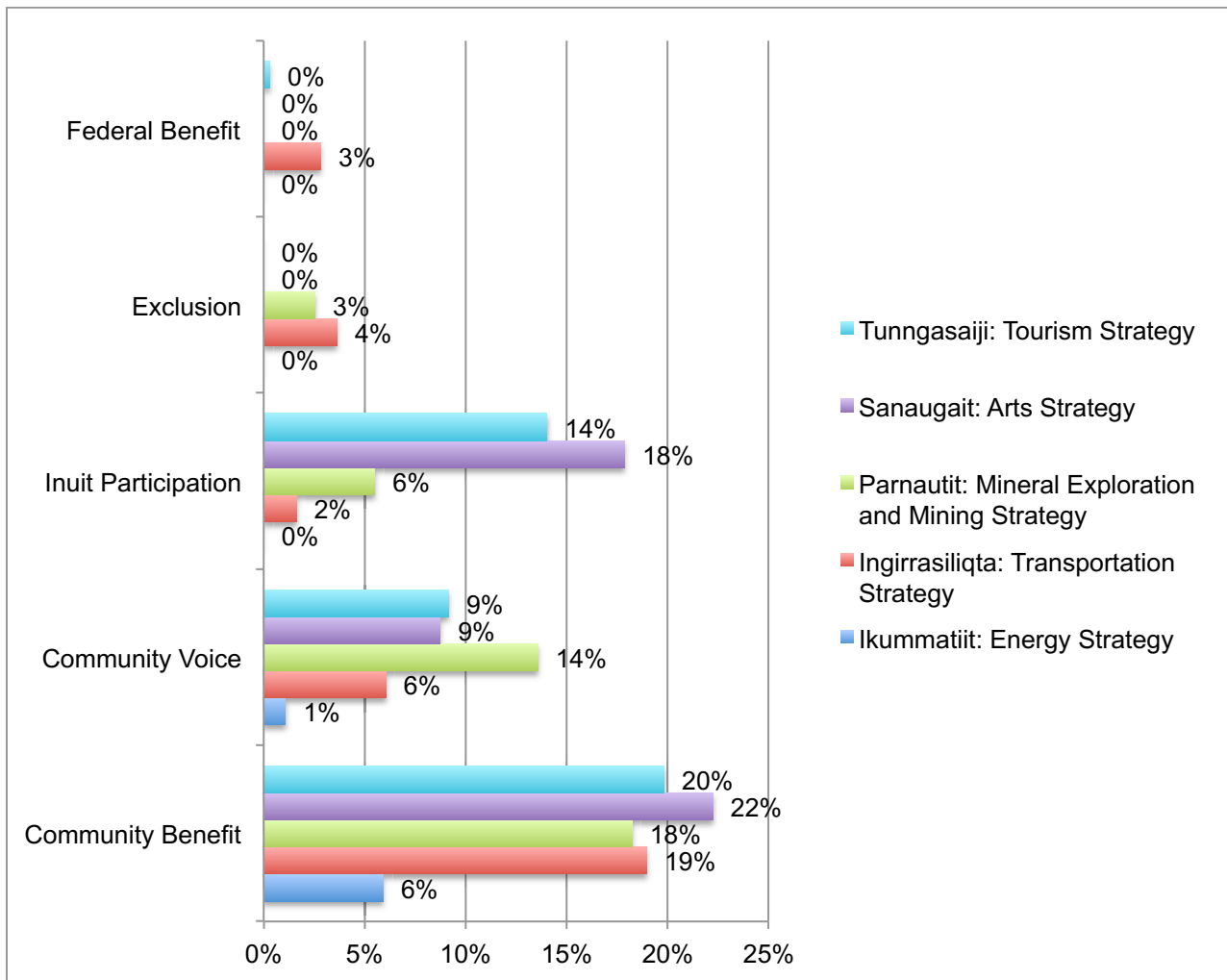


Figure 4.3 Community involvement: relative frequencies

Autonomy

Only 3.10% of all coded statements fit into the autonomy category. This was a surprisingly low value, compared to the level of emphasis the literature placed on the importance of self-determination, financial self-reliance, and political autonomy when addressing the challenges of indigenous nation-building and community economic development. The strategy documents contain more references to self-reliance than demonstrations of dependence (Figure 4.4).

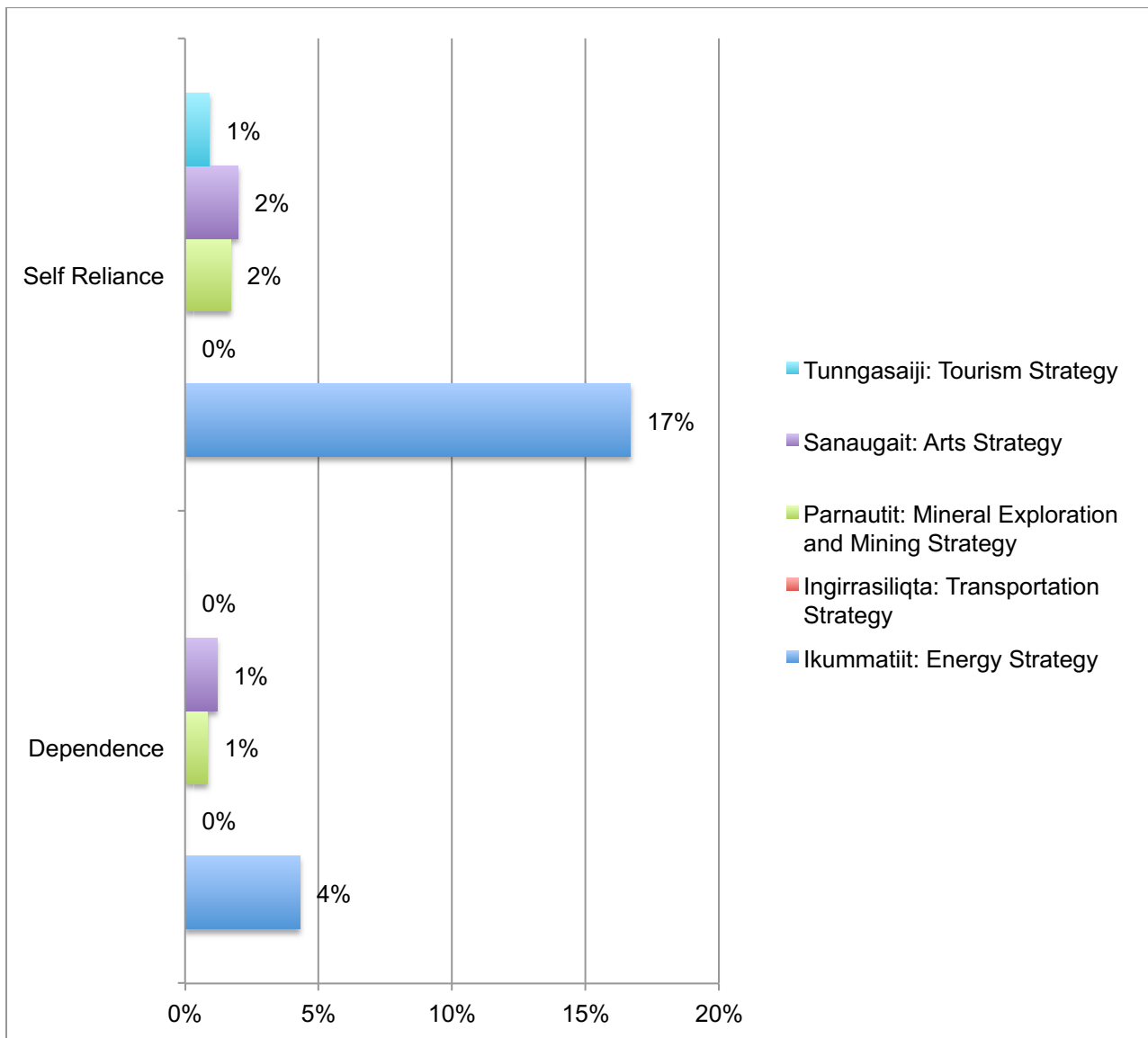


Figure 4.4 Autonomy: relative frequencies

4.2.2 *Ikummatiit: The Government of Nunavut Energy Strategy*

The energy strategy document contains more references to sustainability than to any other theme. Demonstrations of exclusion, federal benefit at the expense of community benefit, and references to Inuit participation are not present in the energy strategy document.

Reducing Nunavut's reliance on imported fuel is the main focus of the energy strategy. The document states "our primary objective (is) reducing Nunavut's dependence on fossil fuels" (ED&T, p. 6). Many of the references to nation-building factors are therefore related to Nunavut's energy security. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building factor. References to practical sovereignty occur with the least frequency of all nation-building factor references.

According to the document, "This energy strategy will enable Nunavut to reduce its dependency on fossil fuels, a dependency that holds Nunavut hostage to volatile world oil prices and makes us one of the largest per-person greenhouse gas producers in Canada" (ED&T, p. 5). The high priority given to energy security in this document is reflected in the attention given to sustainable energy use and production. Over half of all coded statements in this strategy fall into the emerging themes category, largely due to the emphasis placed on sustainability. This document refers to sustainability more than any other emerging theme. References to adaptability and time-sensitivity occur with the least frequency of all emerging theme references.

The energy strategy document treated energy security as a territory-level challenge and allocated less attention to community participation and benefit. This

strategy document refers to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme.

The energy strategy, more than any other strategy, placed more emphasis on issues relating to autonomy, with 15.35% of all statements relating to autonomy. In addition to outlining strategies for increased self-reliance, these statements include acknowledgements of dependence on outside entities for Nunavut's current energy needs. The strategy refers often to the "dependency that holds Nunavut hostage to volatile world oil prices" (ED&T, p. 5) as a roadblock to Nunavut's self-reliance. The energy strategy also states that certain policy initiatives will only proceed "if the studies are positive, licenses are approved, and funding is available" (ED&T, p. 16) from the federal government.

Acknowledgment of these dependencies formed the foundation of the strategy's argument for the need to increase Nunavut's self-reliance. "Simply stated, Nunavut needs to wean itself off oil" (ED&T, p. 5). The strategy goes on to state that its "primary objective (is to reduce) Nunavut's dependence on fossil fuels" in order to "improve the security of the energy system" (ED&T, p. 5). This strategy document contains more references to self-reliance than demonstrations of dependence on outside entities.

Nation-building leadership is referenced more often in the energy and tourism strategy documents than in the other strategy documents (Table 4.1). Community benefit and Inuit participation are referenced more often in the tourism strategy document than in the other strategy documents (Table 4.2). Demonstrations of dependence on outside entities as well as references to self-reliance (Table 4.3), as

well as references to place and sustainability, occur with the greatest frequency in the energy strategy document (Table 4.4).

Table 4.1 Nation-building factors: highest representation in strategy documents

Theme	Strategy containing most frequent occurrence of theme	Frequency of theme occurrence in document
Cultural Match	Transportation	23
Effective Institutions	Transportation	12
Nation-Building Leadership	Energy Tourism	8 8
Political Focus	Mining	23
Practical Sovereignty	Transportation	29
Strategic Vision	Transportation	109

Table 4.2 Community involvement: highest representation in strategy documents

Theme	Strategy containing most frequent occurrence of theme	Frequency of theme occurrence in document
Community Benefit	Tourism	65
Community Voice	Mining	32
Inuit Participation	Tourism	46
Exclusion	Transportation	9
Federal Benefit	Transportation	7

Table 4.3 Autonomy: highest representation in strategy documents

Theme	Strategy containing most frequent occurrence of theme	Frequency of theme occurrence in document
Self-Reliance	Energy	31
Dependence	Energy	8

Table 4.4 Emerging themes: highest representation in strategy documents

Theme	Strategy containing most frequent occurrence of theme	Frequency of theme occurrence in document
Adaptability	Arts	8
Collaboration	Arts	40
Communication	Tourism	21
Diversification	Arts	10
Education	Tourism	44
Follow-Through	Arts	9
Investment	Tourism	36
Place	Energy	7
Sustainability	Energy	83
Time Sensitivity	Mining	2

4.2.3 *Ingirrasiliqta: Let's Get Moving, Nunavut Transportation Strategy*

The transportation strategy document contains more references to strategic vision than to any other theme. There are no references to nation-building leadership, adaptability, diversification, place, self-reliance, and there are no demonstrations of dependence.

The transportation strategy takes on the challenge of Nunavut's inadequate transportation infrastructure. Reducing Nunavut's geographical isolation from national

and international markets and reducing communities' isolation from hunting grounds and from other communities requires an improved transportation infrastructure.

Over half of all coded statements in this strategy fall into the nation-building theme category. This is largely due to the emphasis given to the strategic vision required to create a functional transportation system that will support the territory's economic development and communities' cultural and social needs. The long-term feasibility of the territory's economic and social systems depends on adequate transportation infrastructures, and the transportation strategy placed great emphasis on this long-term vision. "Bringing our territory towards self-sufficiency and sustainability can only begin when our communities become physically connected to each other, to the vast resources that are currently out of reach, and to the world markets eager for those resources and the unique experience of Nunavut" (ED&T, p. 18). This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building factor. There are no references to nation-building leadership.

The cost of creating a functional transportation system in Nunavut creates a significant impediment to community economic development. Many of the statements within the emerging themes category refer to the need for investment in Nunavut's transportation infrastructure. The document refers to investment more than any other emerging theme. The strategy states that "Nunavut will ensure adequate funding to support the existing transportation system" (p. 9), although current funding is inadequate. For example, "the Community Access Road Program is currently limited to \$500 thousand per year across the territory. Typical submissions under this program are \$2 million per year" (ED&T, p. 12). Shortages such as these demonstrate Nunavut's

need for increased funding, and explain the strategy's emphasis on investment. There are no references to adaptability, place or diversification.

An improved transportation system was presented in this document both as a necessary component of the territory's economic development and as a vital requirement for maintaining cultural continuity and community sustainability, as individuals require improved access to hunting grounds and to family members in distant communities. The document states "the small but growing network of improved trails and all-wheel drive access roads is necessary for the wellbeing and cultural continuity of our people" (ED&T, p. 11). In addition, "improving Nunavut's connection to the sea presents opportunities to preserve traditional livelihoods and foster new economic activity that will promote healthy and productive living" (ED&T, p. 25).

The presentation of a dual-purpose transportation agenda resulted in considerable attention given to community involvement while at the same time emphasizing the importance of gaining access to national and international markets. This strategy document refers to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme. For example, "communities understand the value this program brings to the lives of their people in increased harvesting opportunities, access to recreational areas, historical sites, and granular or carving stone quarry locations" (ED&T, p. 12). References to Inuit participation occur with the least frequency of all community involvement theme references, and the document does not contain demonstrations of dependence on outside entities or references to self-reliance.

Cultural match, effective institutions, practical sovereignty, and strategic vision are all referenced more often in the transportation strategy than in any other strategy

document (Table 4.1). Demonstrations of exclusion and federal benefit at the expense of community benefit also occur most frequently in the transportation strategy document (Table 4.2).

4.2.4 *Parnautit: Exploration and Mining Strategy*

The mining strategy document contains more references to sustainability than to any other theme. There are no references to adaptability or demonstrations of federal benefit at the expense of community benefit.

Much of the mining strategy is focused on increasing the territory's control over mining activity in Nunavut. Political focus, practical sovereignty, and strategic vision play important roles in securing territorial control of the mining industry. Therefore, over a third of all coded statements in the mining strategy belong to the nation-building theme category. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building factor. References to nation-building leadership occur with the least frequency of all nation-building factor references. In the mining strategy document, 7.39% of all coded statements refer to practical sovereignty. For example, the strategy notes that now is the time to take charge of Nunavut's governmental processes and structures. "As legislative and regulatory responsibilities transfer from a federal to a territorial mandate, we have the opportunity to craft a jurisdictional framework particular to Nunavut" (ED&T, p. 3). Further, "We need to develop the strategies and initiatives that will build on our strengths and allow our people and communities to become full participants with a true sense of ownership in our minerals economy" (ED&T, p. 11).

The mining strategy addresses the territory's intent to access the economic potential of mineral extraction while also expressing an intention to protect Nunavut's environment. It emphasizes "as we move forward with development we must retain a balanced and sustainable approach to development" (ED&T, p. 3). References to environmental and economic sustainability resulted in a high proportion of statements falling within the emerging themes category; over a third of all coded statements in the mining strategy fall into this category. This strategy document refers to sustainability more than any other emerging theme. There are no references to adaptability.

The mining strategy appears to prioritize community benefit and community involvement. For example, the document states "we need to find the strategies and initiatives that will build on our strengths and allow our people and communities to become full participants with a true sense of ownership in our minerals economy" (ED&T, p. 5). However, demonstrations of exclusion are also evident. These all fall into the community involvement category.

This strategy document refers to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme. There are no references to federal benefit at the expense of community benefit. 1.70% of all coded statements in the mining strategy document demonstrate exclusion. These statements are often in reference to the current governance structure of the territory. For example "The governance of the mining industry in Nunavut largely rests with the federal government who...is managing the provincial-type jurisdictional responsibilities for Nunavut until those responsibilities are devolved to the Government of Nunavut" (ED&T, p. 13).

Political focus is referenced in the mining strategy document more often than in any of the other strategy documents (Table 4.1). References to community voice (Table 4.2) and time-sensitivity (Table 4.4) occur most frequently in the mining strategy document.

4.2.5 *Sanaugait: A Strategy For Growth in Nunavut's Arts and Crafts Sector*

The arts strategy document contains more references to community benefit than to any other theme. For example, “Promoting industries that build on skills that many Inuit already possess (e.g. in the arts industry or commercial wildlife harvesting) [will] increase Inuit participation in the wage economy” (ED&T, p. 11). There are no references to time-sensitivity or demonstrations of exclusion and federal benefit at the expense of community benefit in the arts strategy.

Statements referencing nation-building factors were often linked to promoting and protecting the intellectual property of Inuit artists. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building factor. References to nation-building leadership and practical sovereignty occur with the least frequency of all nation-building factor references.

The arts strategy document refers to collaboration more than any other emerging theme. It states that the strategy “provides clear direction for the arts sector and a method for moving forward: strategic partnerships” (ED&T, p. 3). Numerous examples of collaborative processes were given in the document. There are no references to time-sensitivity.

The arts strategy says more about community involvement than any other

strategy; over a third of all coded statements belonging to this category. This strategy document refers to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme. There are no references to exclusion or federal benefit at the expense of community benefit. 12.20% of all coded statements in the arts strategy refer to Inuit participation. The art strategy specifically identifies Inuit participation, as seen in the following statement: “This sector will contribute at least \$50 million annually to the territorial economy, while providing 250 full-time jobs, in addition to maintaining its high rate of participation by thousands of Inuit” (ED&T, p. 38). The theme of community voice is also represented. An example of including community voice is provided by the following quotation: “Consultations were held with artists across the territory, and an arts sector focus group met in Kimmirut, where the mission, goals and objectives for the strategy were agreed” (ED&T, p. 10).

References to adaptability, collaboration, diversification and follow-through occur with greater frequency in the arts strategy document than in all other ED&T strategy documents (Table 4.4).

4.2.6 *Tunngasajji: A Tourism Strategy for Nunavummiut*

The tourism strategy document contains more references to collaboration than to any other theme. Regarding the goals set forth in the strategy, the document states, “No single government, institution or business can achieve this alone” (ED&T, p. 36). There are no references to diversification. There are also no demonstrations of exclusion or dependence on outside entities in this strategy.

The tourism strategy document emphasizes the importance of creating new tourism legislation and improving current regulations. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building factor. References to practical sovereignty occur with the least frequency of all nation-building factor references. 3.02% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to political focus. For example, “a successful tourism sector must be built on a foundation of quality tourism products and services, supported by...a supportive, effective framework of legislation and regulation” (ED&T, p. 3).

Diversification is not referenced in the tourism strategy. 8.87% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to education. For example, “education and training is essential to developing the capacity of our tourism operators and communities that will advance the growth of the tourism sector” (ED&T, p. 8).

The tourism strategy placed great emphasis on the benefits tourism can bring to communities. Community input and Inuit participation are prioritized throughout this document. This strategy document refers to community benefit more than any other community involvement theme. There are no references to exclusion. 9.27% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to Inuit participation. The tourism strategy lists as one of its goals “increased Inuit participation and benefits in the development of the tourism sector in Nunavut” (ED&T, p. 7).

Nation-building leadership is referenced more often in the energy and tourism strategy documents than in all other ED&T development strategy documents (Figure 4.1). References to community benefit and Inuit participation (Figure 4.2), as well as

references to communication, education, and investment, occur with the greatest frequency in the tourism strategy document (Figure 4.4).

4.3 S.M.A.R.T. Performance

The majority of the statements examined in the primary analysis were intentional or visionary. Relatively few statements were action-oriented. In order to eliminate redundancy, these action-oriented statements were grouped into “action items.” This produced a set of action items that represent the action oriented statements presented by each strategy (Figure 4.5).

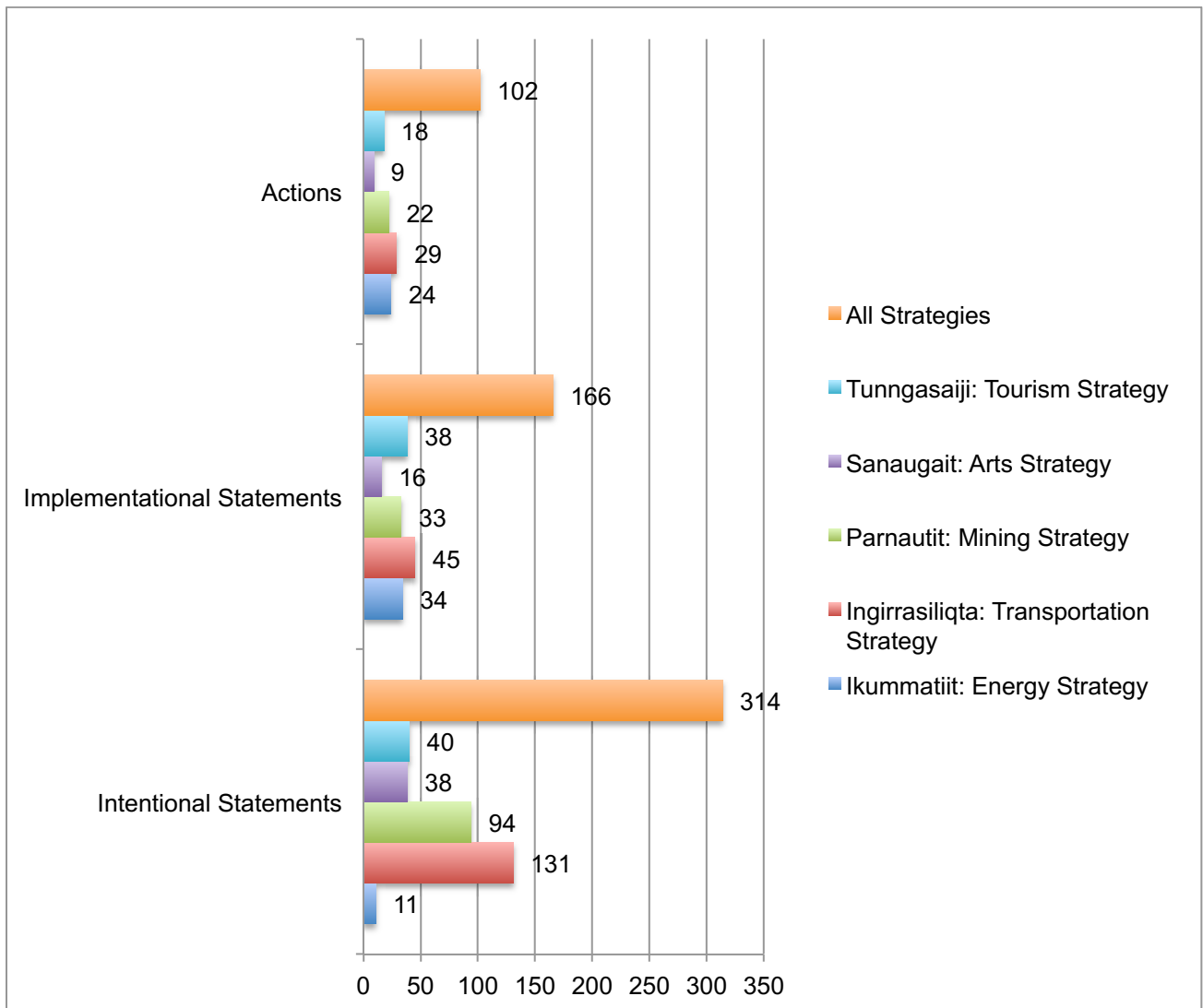


Figure 4.5 Statement purpose

It is important to note that each document displayed a unique approach to presenting these action items. Two of the strategies (*Ikummatiit: The Government of Nunavut Energy Strategy* and *Ingirrasiliqta: Let's Get Moving, Nunavut Transportation Strategy*) did not contain any table or rubric for presenting the proposed actions together with their associated logistical considerations. While these strategies at times referred to or inferred timeframes, expected outcomes, or responsible parties within the main text, such information was not consistently included. These strategies lacked concrete evidence that the proposed actions were more than intentional statements. The remaining strategies (*Parnautit: Exploration and Mining Strategy*, *Sanaugait: A Strategy For Growth in Nunavut's Arts and Crafts Sector*, and *Tunngasaiji: A Tourism Strategy for Nunvummiut*) all contained action matrices, strategic action plans, or implementation plans, each containing the proposed action with the associated timeframes for completion, responsible parties, available resources, expected costs, and success indicators. The presentation of these logistical considerations provided proof of the agencies' commitment to producing the stated actions.

4.3.1 General Findings

Analysis of the strategies' potential for producing sustainable economic development utilized a rubric based on S.M.A.R.T. criteria. The action items presented in the ED&T strategies met over half of these criteria (Figure 4.6). The arts strategy's action items received the highest S.M.A.R.T. score of all the strategies; the arts strategy's action items scored 100% on the S.M.A.R.T. performance rubric. The tourism strategy's action items attained 93.33% of the possible S.M.A.R.T. score. The mining,

energy, and transportation strategies scored lower on the S.M.A.R.T. scale; the mining strategy's action items met 71.11% of the S.M.A.R.T. standards, while the action items presented in the energy and transportation strategies met fewer than half of the standards in the S.M.A.R.T. rubric (Figure 4.6).

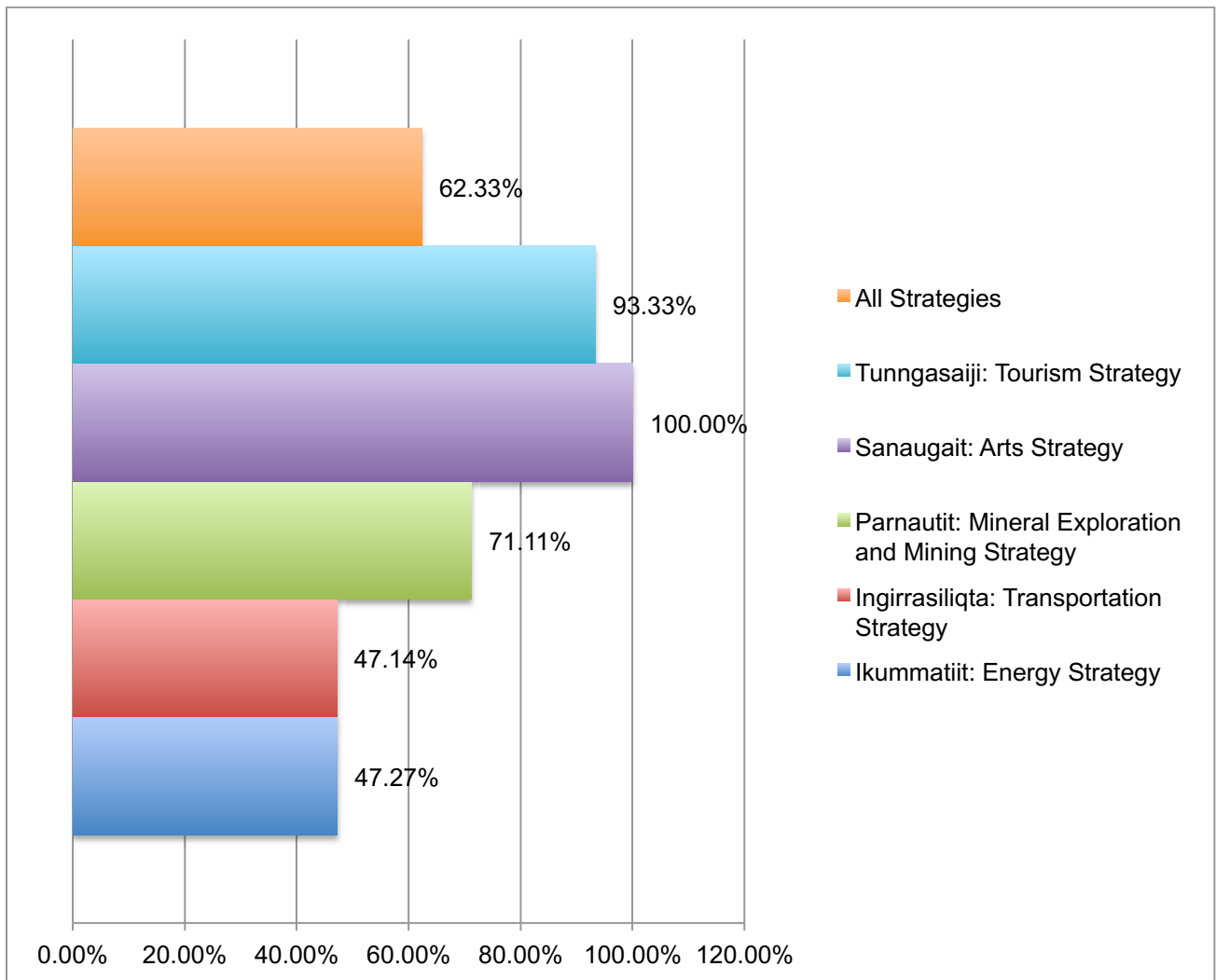


Figure 4.6 Overall S.M.A.R.T. performance

Cultural Match

S.M.A.R.T. performance scores for cultural match varied greatly between sectors. Only the arts sector met all of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria for all of the action items presented (Figure 4.7).

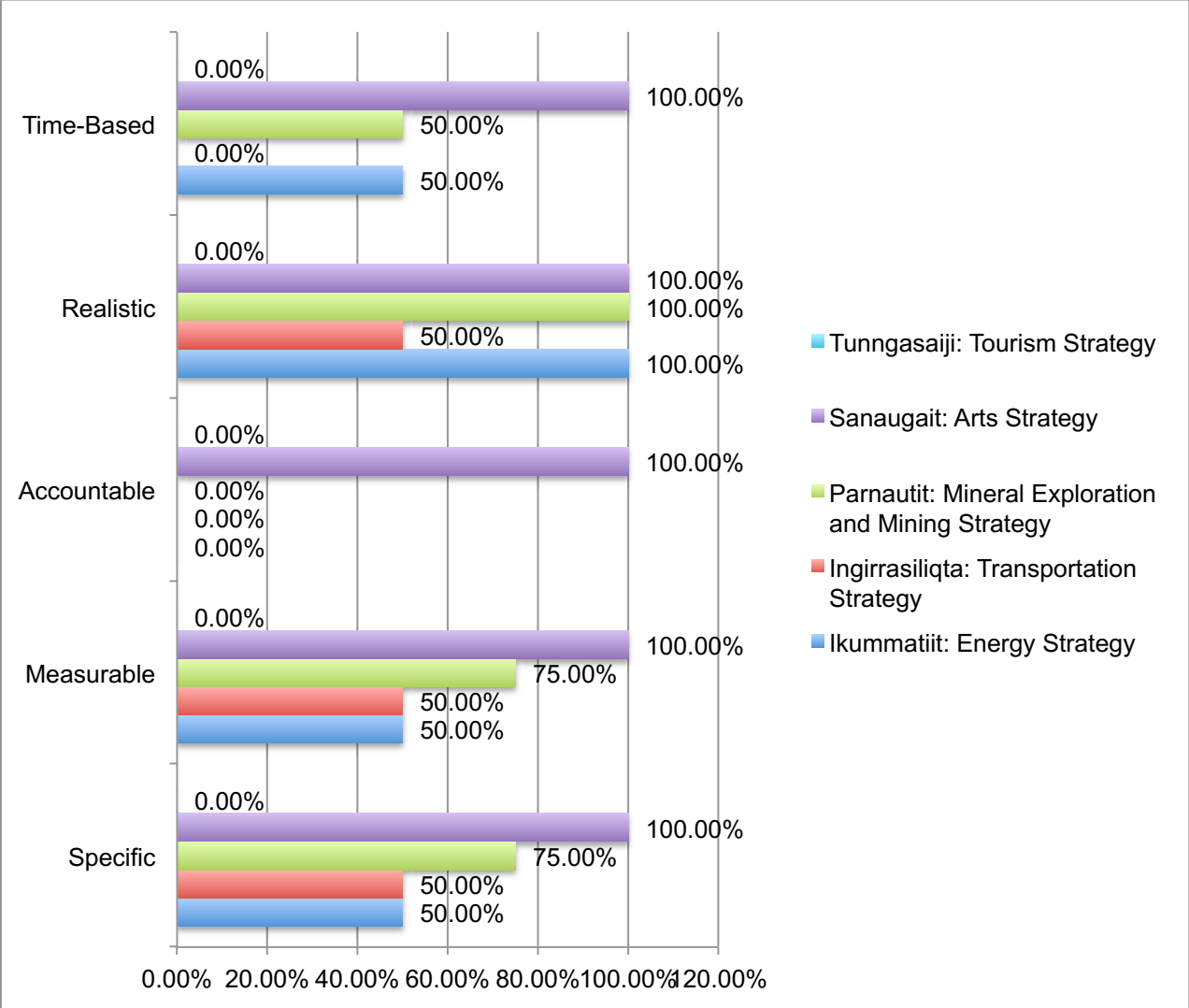


Figure 4.7 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of cultural match

Effective Institutions

Again, S.M.A.R.T. performance for effective institutions varied greatly between sectors. Only the tourism sector met all of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria for each action item it presented (Figure 4.8).

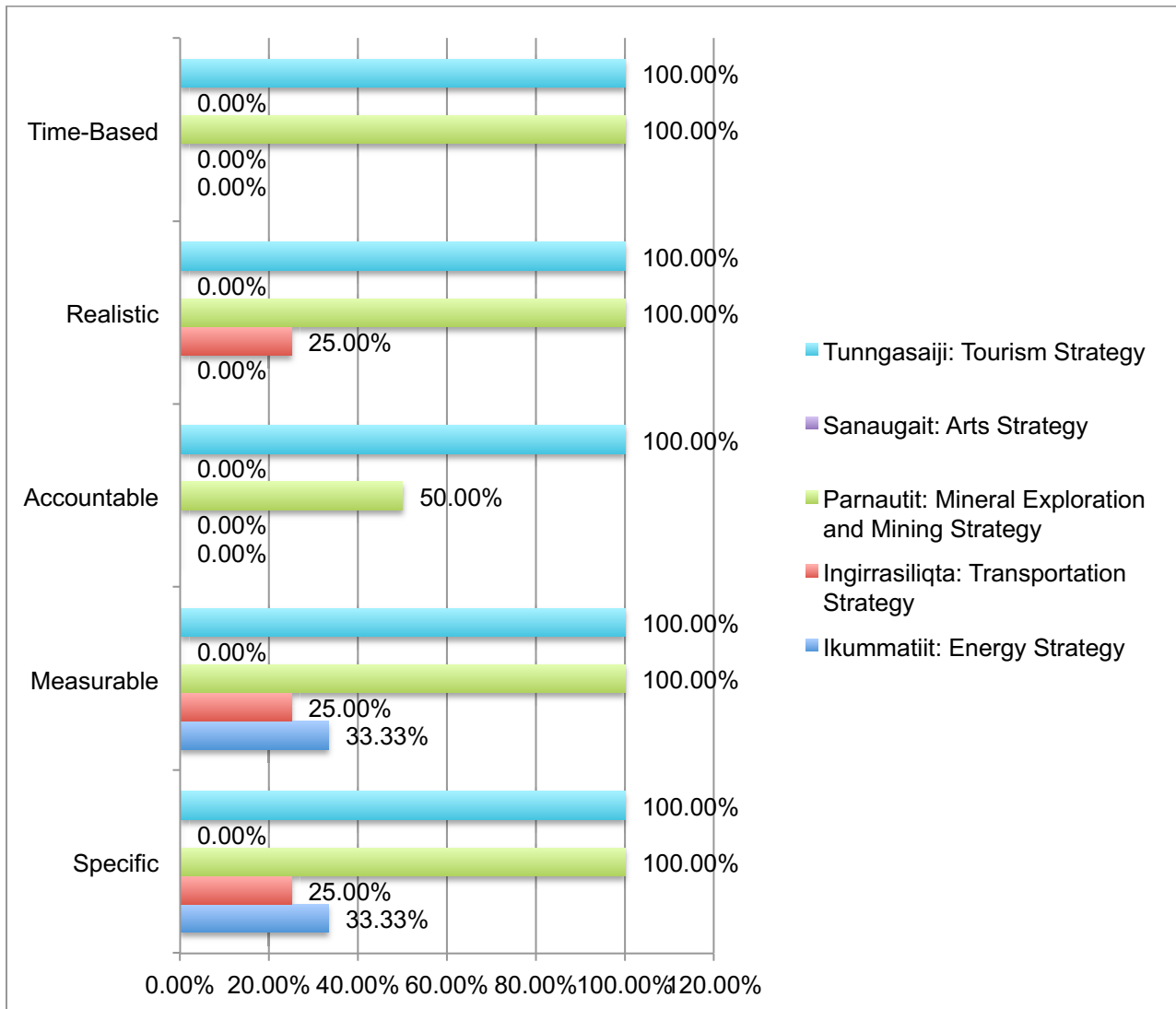


Figure 4.8 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of effective institutions

Nation-building Leadership

The tourism sector meets all of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria for all of its proposed action items related to nation-building leadership. The mining and transportation sector’s action items in support of nation-building leadership met none of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria (Figure 4.9).

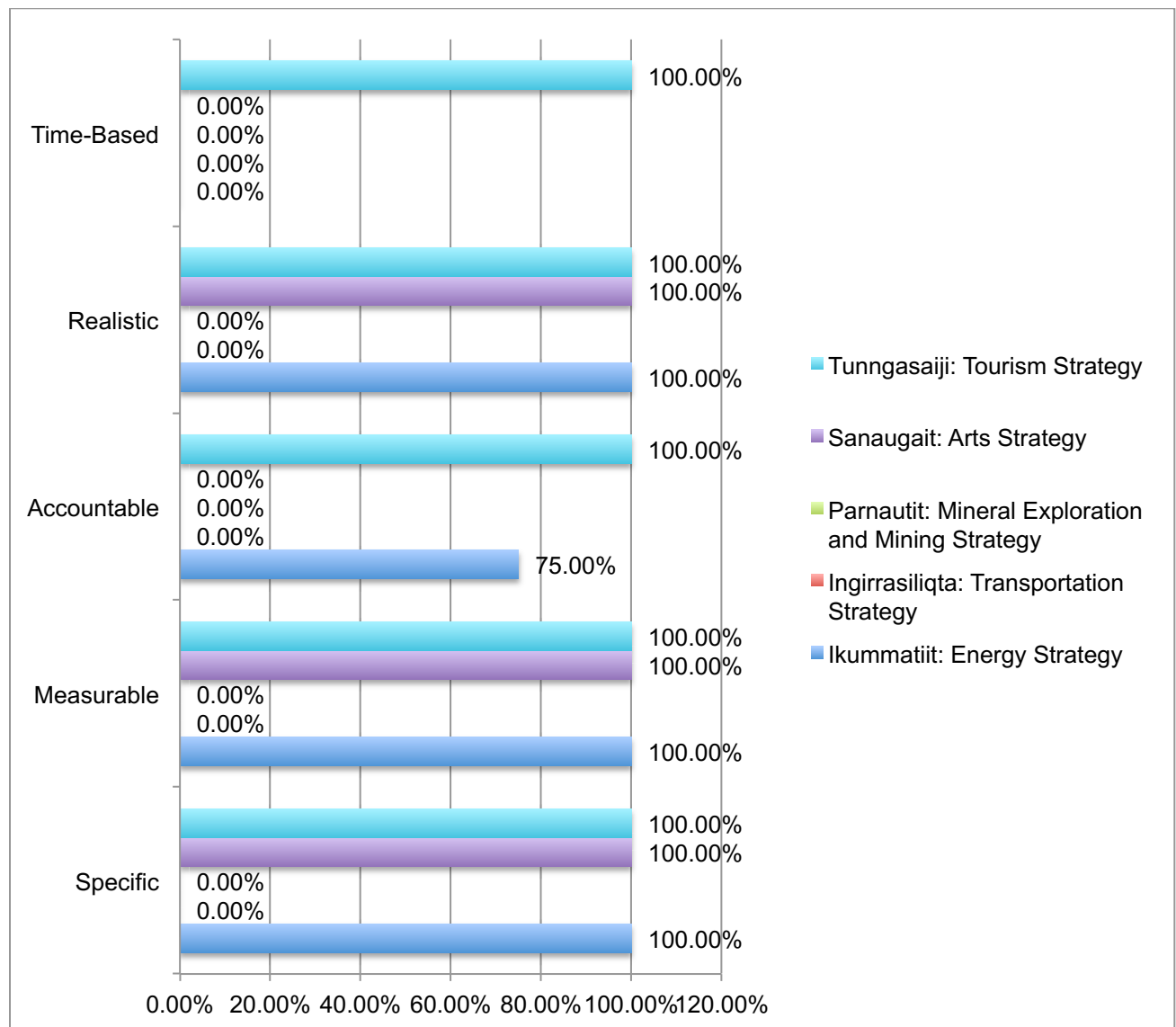


Figure 4.9 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of nation-building leadership

Political Focus

When examining actions involving political focus, all of the sectors except the energy sector appear to demonstrate significant potential for successful implementation of their action items (Figure 4.10).

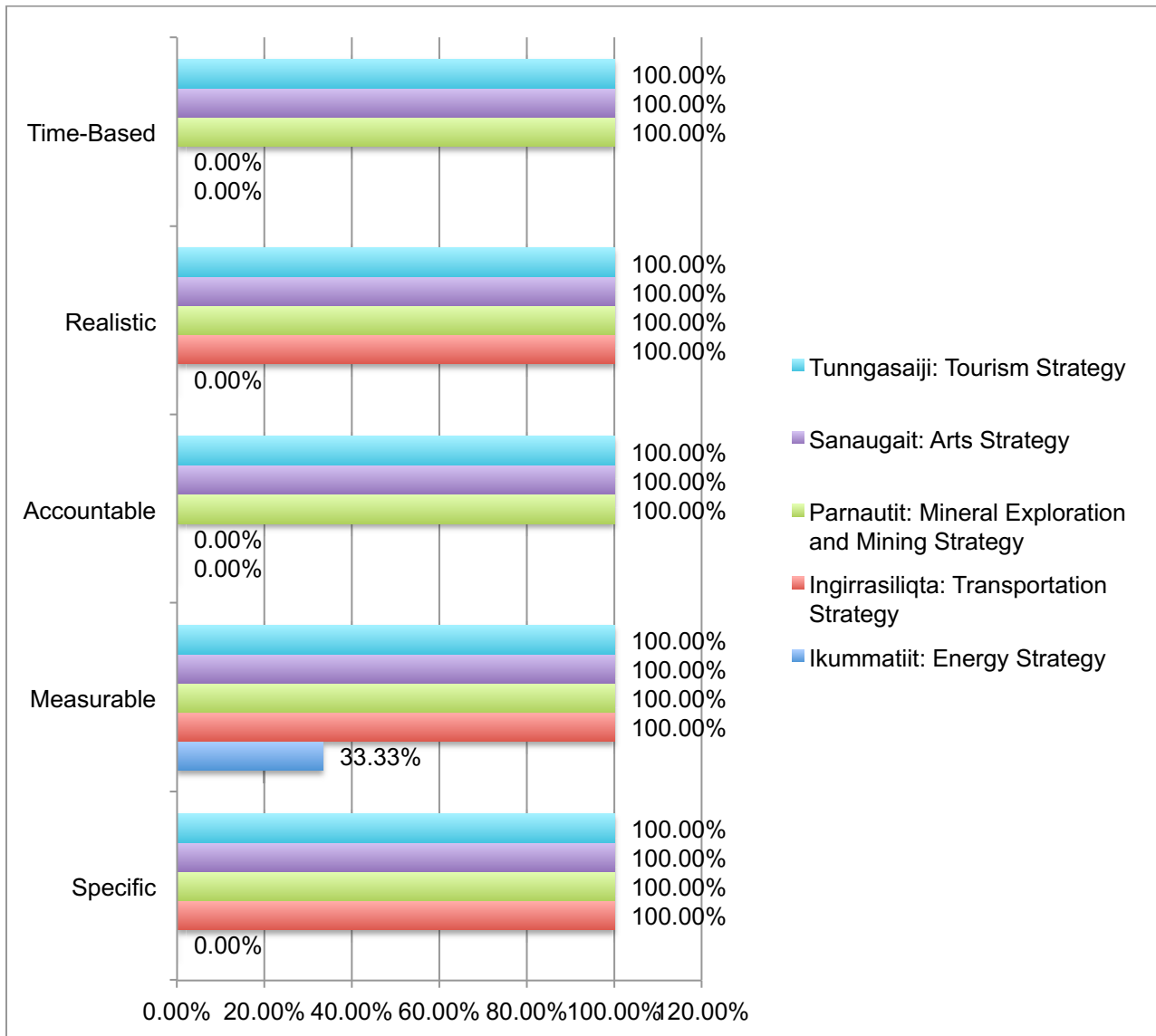


Figure 4.10 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of political focus

Practical Sovereignty

Again, all sectors, except the energy sector, appear to demonstrate significant potential for accomplishing their proposed actions that involve practical sovereignty (Figure 4.11).

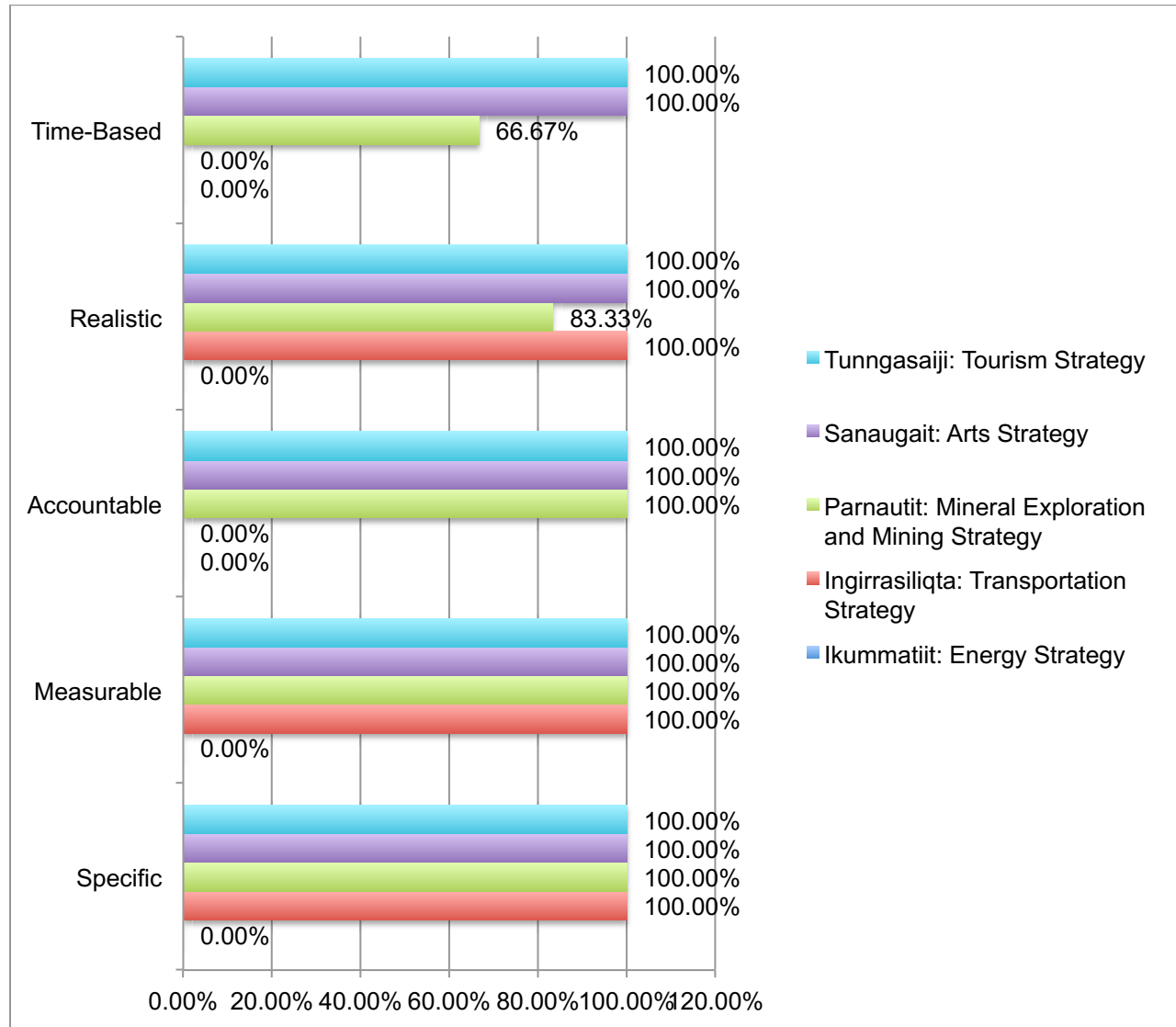


Figure 4.11 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of practical sovereignty

Strategic Vision

All of the sectors appear to demonstrate some degree of potential for successful implementation of the action items that support strategic vision (Figure 4.12).

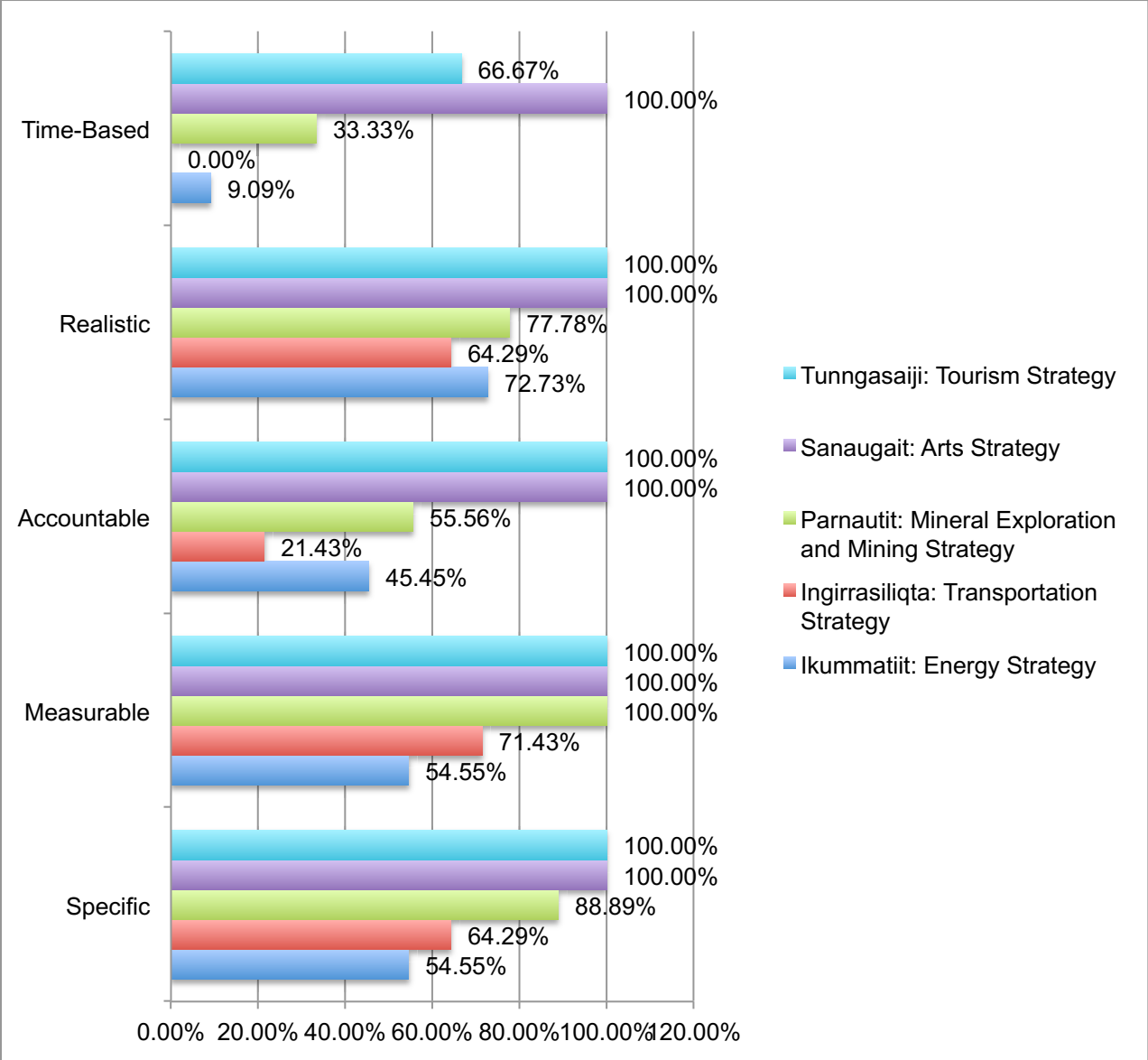


Figure 4.12 S.M.A.R.T. performance: actions in support of strategic vision

4.4 Summary

The GN appears to be in a visioning stage of its planning process. The majority of the coded statements represent visions or intentions rather than action items. Within these visioning and intentional statements, strategic vision is the most frequently occurring nation-building theme. Nation-building leadership is the least frequently occurring nation-building theme. Sustainability is the most frequently occurring emerging theme, while time-sensitivity is the least-frequently occurring emerging theme.

Relatively few action items are presented. These action items were analyzed using S.M.A.R.T. performance criteria, which describe the extent to which the goals contained within the strategies are supported by plans for their implementation. As a group, the action items received a score of 62.33%. However, the arts and tourism strategies performed remarkably better than the remaining strategies. This indicates that the arts and tourism sectors may be better prepared to meet their development agendas than the remaining sectors.

These findings contain valuable information that will assist Nunavummiut to capitalize on areas of strength in their economic development strategies. These findings also contain information that indicates areas within Nunavut's strategies that require additional attention, as well as areas within the nation-building framework where additional research could improve the framework's applicability in a wider range of settings. This information will prove beneficial when addressing the challenges Inuit face as they work to achieve self-determined community economic development.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Neo-colonial structures and a rapidly changing climate present unique challenges to achieving self-determined community economic development in Nunavut. Within this challenging context, it is important to consider how Inuit might harness the potential of economic development and use it to create sustainable structures that will support and encourage community wellbeing, self-determination, and local capacity for adaptation to a changing climate and economy.

In order to begin investigating this central question, an analysis of Nunavut's economic development strategy documents was conducted. The goal of this analysis was to answer the following three questions. 1) What are the goals of Nunavut's regional economic development strategies? 2) Are these goals currently achievable? 3) How do the contents of the economic development strategies compare to what the literature and, in particular, the HPAIED nation-building framework, say will produce community wellbeing? In this chapter, evidence gathered over the course of the analysis is examined through the lenses guiding my understanding of community economic development: sustainable development, alternative development, adaptation, path-creation, and the community economic development.

5.2 What are the goals of Nunavut’s regional economic development strategies?

The strategy documents describe foundational principles and visions for economic development, but relatively few action items are presented. This is not to say that the strategy documents do not present real potential for shaping a sustainable, community-focused future. Intentional statements, visions, and foundational principles influence the direction and the form of policy development and implementation (Vaara, 2010). According to Vaara (2010), strategy documents promote and silence reforms, ideas, and voices, while also determining the power of various actors in the political process. These documents act as agents, producing action from a distance (Vaara, 2010). They are “powerful devices through which specific objectives, values and ideologies – and not others – are promoted and legitimated” (Vaara, 2010, p. 699). Intentional statements are powerful, even if they are not accompanied by action statements, in that they set in place the values and ideologies that will influence future actions.

The results of this analysis of Nunavut’s five ED&T economic development strategy documents indicate that the GN is currently in a visioning stage of its planning process. The visions, values and ideologies set forth in Nunavut’s strategy documents seem to demonstrate that the territory’s planners recognize the importance of strategic vision, defined within the HPAIED as the ability to think ahead to the distant future and make decisions that will result in long-lasting benefits (Jorgensen, 2007). Strategic vision also involves recognition of the interconnectivity of individual policy decisions -

the potential for individual decisions to compound, thereby producing broader, systemic changes in the economic and social environment (Jorgensen, 2007).

In the analysis of the GN's economic development strategies, strategic vision was identified more often than all other themes. This indicates that one of the strategies' strengths is long-term, big-picture thinking. Community benefit was also found to be a dominant theme of the strategy documents. It appears that Nunavut's strategists value the wellbeing of Nunavut's people and communities. In addition, the most prevalent emerging theme in the documents is sustainability. This should not be a surprising finding; according to the 2004 Nunavut Household Survey, more than three quarters of Nunavummiut said that protecting the environment is more important than creating jobs, whereas only one third of Canadians living in the provinces placed environmental protection over job creation (Henderson, 2007). Nunavummiut appear to be more supportive of environmental protection than residents of British Columbia, the 'greenest' province in all of Canada (Henderson, 2007, p. 172).

This is a remarkable finding, especially considering the economic and social struggles facing most Inuit today (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Despite high rates of poverty and unemployment (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013) Nunavummiut place more value on environmental sustainability than on job creation (Henderson, 2007). This focus on sustainability, demonstrated in the strategy documents, indicates that Nunavut's planners value the long-term viability of Nunavut's environment, economy and society.

The weakness of the strategies appears to be implementation of these visions. Time-sensitivity is the least represented theme, followed by nation-building leadership.

Successful sustainable economic development requires that strategic vision be accompanied by timeliness and nation-building leadership. Especially in the rapidly changing context of an environment and an economy impacted by climate change (ACIA, 2004; Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012; IPCC, 2001; Prowse et al., 2009), addressing sustainable community economic development is a time-sensitive task. However, Nunavut's economic development strategy documents give little evidence of consideration given to the timing required to ensure a sustainable future for Nunavut. In addition, strong and representative leadership appears to be infrequently emphasized within the strategy documents.

Action-oriented statements differ from intentional statements of vision and principle. While intentional statements aim to set the foundations upon which policy will be built, action-oriented statements describe the structures that are ready for construction. Nunavut's strategy documents propose implementation of several specific action items. These include plans to reduce Nunavut's dependence on imported fuels, develop multi-use transportation infrastructure, protect and market the intellectual property of Inuit artists, streamline the approval process for mining project proposals while increasing the stringency of environmental protection standards, and enact legislation aimed at ensuring Nunavummiut, and particularly, Inuit, have access to the benefits of a growing tourism industry. What remains to be determined is whether Nunavut is truly prepared to enact these plans.

5.3 Are the goals currently achievable?

In order to determine whether the action items presented in the documents are ready for implementation, I subjected them to additional analysis. It was found that the action items as a group do not consistently meet the S.M.A.R.T. criteria, which were used to assess the action items' potential for successful implementation. However, the arts and tourism strategies perform remarkably better than the remaining strategies, indicating that the arts and tourism sectors may be better prepared to implement their development agendas.

The arts, tourism, and mining strategy documents all contain rubrics or matrices outlining timelines, budgets, responsible parties, and measurable outcomes associated with each action item. These matrices demonstrate that the authors of these strategies have given consideration to how they plan to accomplish their goals. In addition, within the text of these documents, frequent reference was made to the items contained in the matrices. Nine of the 22 action items presented in the mining strategy document met all five of the S.M.A.R.T. standards, indicating that over a third of the goals set by the authors of the mining strategy are currently actionable. Of the action items presented in the tourism strategy, 16 of 18 met all five S.M.A.R.T. standards, indicating that they are currently actionable. Analysis of the arts document revealed that all of the action items presented met all five of the S.M.A.R.T. standards and are all currently actionable. The repeated referral to indicators of implementational preparedness, together with the comprehensive attention given to the logistics of implementation, suggests that the authors of the arts and tourism strategy documents prioritize actualization of the goals set forth in the documents.

The energy and transportation strategy documents do not contain any rubrics or matrices outlining how the strategists intend to accomplish their goals. This may indicate that the authors of these documents have not given adequate consideration to how they plan to attain their stated goals. This possible explanation for the absence of matrices is supported by the results of the content analysis. A thorough search of the text of these documents revealed relatively few indications of potential for successful implementation of the action items. Of 24 total action items presented in the energy strategy document, none met all five of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria. None of the transportation strategy's 29 action items met all five of the S.M.A.R.T. criteria. This indicates that none of the action items presented in the energy and transportation strategy documents are not currently ready for implementation.

5.4 How do the contents of the economic development strategies compare to what the literature, and in particular, the Harvard Project's nation-building framework, say will produce community wellbeing?

Nunavut's unique geographical, social, economic, and political environment presents a new and mostly unexamined context for the application of the HPAIED nation-building framework. Content analysis of Nunavut's economic development strategy documents provided an opportunity to examine the applicability of the framework to Nunavut's unique situation, as well as an opportunity to examine areas where the framework could be expanded to address previously untested contextual factors. In other words, this analysis allowed for two questions to be asked: "How applicable is the nation-building framework to Nunavut?" and "How can the nation-

building framework be expanded or improved upon after testing its applicability to Nunavut's unique context?" Alternatively, we could rephrase these questions as "How can Nunavut benefit from HPAIED research, and at the same time, how can HPAIED research benefit from experimental application in Nunavut?"

The HPAIED nation-building framework offers multiple insights that might be of use to Nunavut's planners. For example, one of the elements identified by the HPAIED as vital to successful indigenous community economic development is strategic vision. This is a well-represented theme in Nunavut's strategy documents. However, nation-building leadership is not emphasized within the documents. Local leadership is vital to actualizing Nunavut's strong strategic vision. HPAIED research stresses the importance of both strategic vision and nation-building leadership. Without strategy-minded, culturally matched, nation-building leaders, nation-building cannot proceed (Jorgensen, 2007).

Markey et al. (2008) found that successful alternative development requires community buy-in and inclusion as well as local agents and leaders. An increased focus on local leadership and local participation transforms community economic development from a purely economic endeavor to one that is political. In successful alternative development, responsibilities are shifted away from centralized state power and toward local agents and institutions. Government institutions play a vital role as instigators and facilitators of regional action and capacity (Markey et al., 2008).

Nunavut's strategy documents display an emphasis on strategic vision and economic development, but little attention is given to nurturing local leadership or political capacity. In order to accomplish alternative development that results in self-

determined community economic development, it is necessary for indigenous nations to focus on governance and not just economics (Jorgensen 2007).

The most outstanding areas that present opportunities for an expanded understanding of the nation-building framework's potential in Nunavut can be grouped into the following topical categories: sustainability, geographical isolation, population density, and rate of development.

The documents' authors placed a significant degree of emphasis on attaining sustainability. Reducing Nunavut's dependence on imported fuels and fossil fuels, ensuring sustained access to natural resources for economic gain and cultural survival, and preserving the spiritual and social relationships that are reliant on healthy ecosystems are all presented within the documents as non-negotiable goals. The authors of the documents recognize the vital importance of including sustainability in their strategies. However, it was not determined in the course of this analysis whether the frequent references to sustainability are coupled with action-oriented statements or whether related action items have the potential to be successfully implemented.

While the nation-building framework does address factors such as self-determination and cultural match, it does not explicitly address provisions for ecological sustainability. Self-determination and cultural match often include cultural and spiritual values related to natural systems, such as ensuring the renewability of resources, respecting ecological systems and maintaining awareness of humans' dependence on natural resources. It could therefore be argued that the concept of sustainability is implicit to the nation-building framework. However, sustainability is not an explicit component of the framework. This may be an area that requires further investigation,

especially in light of Nunavut's high valuation of sustainability and the apparent lack of metrics available for measuring or describing the presence of sustainability in a nation-building context or for determining the feasibility of goals relating to sustainability.

Geographic isolation is an additional factor unique to Nunavut's development context. Nunavut's vast distance from external markets, together with the high cost of transport and of constructing transportation infrastructure, combine to create a unique set of limitations to Nunavut's development strategy options. Economic activity is hampered by the territory's distance from external markets. The nation-building framework might be expanded to address this unique set of circumstances. This would allow the framework to be of more use to Nunavummiut and to other indigenous nations in similarly isolated locations.

Additional factors unique to Nunavut's economic development context include the ecological limitations of an Arctic environment and the low human population density that results from these ecological limitations. This makes it difficult to generate a tax base sufficient to run a territory (Henderson, 2007). Some degree of dependence on federal transfer payments appears to be an inescapable component of Nunavut's economy. While devolution offers to improve Nunavut's ability to exercise self-determination, within the strategy documents certain degrees of dependence on federal support appear to be assumed. For example, supporting the existing transportation system requires an estimated \$2 million per year, but is limited to only \$500 thousand per year. Improving the Community Access Roads Program would require significant increases in federal support (ED&T, p. 12). By addressing this unique situation, HPAIED

research could provide Nunavummiut with an incredibly useful tool to apply to their strategic planning processes.

Timeliness is another factor to consider when describing Nunavut's preparedness for economic development. The speed at which the territory needs to adapt to a changing economic climate is a significant threat to successful community development. However, mechanisms of response and adaptation can be manipulated by communities (Garud et al., 2010). The empowerment of communities would therefore contribute to effectively solving the problems associated with creating sustainable and beneficial economic development (Garud et al., 2010).

Nunavut's development strategy documents contain very few references to timeliness or to empowering communities to rapidly adapt to a changing environmental and economic climate. In addition, the HPAIED nation-building framework fails to address how to ensure that the rate of nation-building matches or exceeds the rate of economic development. The HPAIED might be expanded to address this challenge and to investigate routes indigenous nations might take to ensure that the speed of their nation-building processes matches or exceeds the speed of impending economic development.

The concepts developed within adaptation theory offer potential solutions to this gap in the nation-building framework. Adaptation theory recognizes the need for flexible and quick responses to rapidly changing environments. By using political, economic, and social institutions to nurture and encourage local adaptive capacity, and by improving the level of collaboration between local and institutional decision-makers (Adger, 2003), local capacity for adaptation can be expanded. Since local capacity for

adaptive response is directly affected by distribution of power between various interest groups and levels of government (Keskitalo, 2009), adaptation theory would prescribe that institutions of governance at every level facilitate local capacity to determine appropriate adaptive responses. This could be a route to improving Nunavut's capacity for rapid and flexible responses to the economic and environmental impacts of climate change.

5.5 Summary

Analysis of Nunavut's Economic Development and Transportation Department's five economic development strategy documents revealed several important findings. These may assist Nunavut's planners to increase the potential of their strategies to produce sustainable community economic development. First, it was found that the GN is currently in a visionary stage of its planning process, which is an important step required for implementation of successful community economic development policies. Unfortunately, the strategies provide evidence that the territory is currently unprepared to act on many of these visions. However, the arts and tourism sectors may be better prepared than the other sectors to implement their development agendas. Finally, Nunavut's planners need to increase the focus on nurturing local, indigenous leadership in order to actualize their strong strategic vision.

HPAIED research also stands to gain from this analysis of Nunavut's strategy documents. Several topics unique to Nunavut provided an opportunity to examine areas where the HPAIED nation-building framework might be expanded to address previously untested contextual factors. The most outstanding topics that present such opportunities

are those related to sustainability, geographical isolation, population density, and rate of development. The adaptation approach offers a potential solution to this gap in the nation-building framework.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Economic development strategies that focus on achieving self-determined community economic development in Nunavut have the potential to ensure community wellbeing for Inuit. The results of this analysis present information that could prove useful to Nunavummiut in their efforts to improve Nunavut's economic development strategies and increase their potential for producing sustainable community wellbeing. In addition, this analysis presents an opportunity for the HPAIED to examine areas where the nation-building framework could be expanded to address previously untested contextual factors.

It has been repeatedly noted throughout this project that strong and representative leadership is vital (Cornell et al., 2010) to implementing the principles and values set forth in Nunavut's development strategies. Additionally, consideration must be given to the degree of compatibility between the rate of development and the rate of nation-building in order to ensure a sustainable future for Nunavut. To successfully control development and harness the resulting benefits for sustainable, local use, Nunavut will need to increase its focus on timeliness and on generating strong, capable, representative leadership from among its communities.

While the nation-building framework already addresses the necessity of nation-building leadership, it does not currently address the rate of development facing indigenous nations that are in the process of building or rebuilding their governance

structures and economies. More specifically, it does not address how such nations can ensure that they are prepared to take charge of development processes before such activities proceed without their control. Adaptation theory has the potential to fill this gap.

In addition to addressing rates of development, the HPAIED might also be expanded to include several other contextual factors that present unique challenges to Nunavut's nation-building process. These additional factors include geographic isolation and population density.

Finally, it is crucially important to note that the authors of Nunavut's strategy documents place a great degree of emphasis on their intent to attain economic and ecological sustainability. In order to accomplish that goal, it will be necessary to investigate the degree to which Nunavut is prepared to define and actualize the stated intention. In order to provide a platform from which Nunavut might initiate such an investigation, the HPAIED nation-building framework might be expanded to include recommendations for including sustainability as a component of any indigenous nation-building processes.

6.2 Nation-Building Leadership

HPAIED research stresses the importance of both strategic vision and nation-building leadership. Without strategy-minded, culturally matched, nation-building leadership, nation-building cannot proceed (Jorgensen, 2007).

Nunavut's strategy documents display an emphasis on strategic vision and economic development, but little attention is given to nurturing local leadership or

political capacity. Attaining sustainable community economic development will require Nunavut's planners to nurture local leadership in order to actualize their strong strategic vision. Nunavut must focus its attention governance and not just economics.

6.3 Rate of Development

Nunavut's strategy documents propose implementing several specific action items. They also describe numerous foundational principles and visions intended to guide the course of Nunavut's development. Setting in place the values and principles that are shared among Inuit is a necessary step toward constructing and implementing policies that will produce self-determined community economic development. Without giving adequate attention to strategic planning, policy actions are not likely to lead to the development of self-determined indigenous nations (Jorgensen, 2007).

At the same time, however, Nunavut does not have an unlimited amount of time to prepare for development pressure. Addressing economic development strategy in Nunavut is a time-sensitive task. Climate change is already affecting environmental patterns in the Arctic. Research has noted that these changes translate to altered economic contexts (Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012; Prowse et al., 2009; Stewart, Dawson, and Johnston, 2015) and that the speed at which development is likely to occur in the Arctic's changing economic and ecological climate will necessitate a quick response to development pressure (Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 2004; Ford et al., 2012; Prowse et al., 2009; Stewart, Dawson, and Johnston, 2015). Will Inuit be ready to control the direction and the form of development before development is imposed on Nunavut from outside the territory? Will

Inuit be prepared to harness the benefits of development before they leak away to enrich external entities? Will the visions and values set forth in the strategies will be firmly represented in Nunavut's future policies, laws, regulations, and governance structures? What can be done to ensure that the answers to these questions are positive? Nunavut's planners will need to address these issues in order to exercise control over the course of development in Nunavut.

In order for Inuit to be prepared to control development, timeliness and strategic vision are both necessary. One cannot be sacrificed for the other. Nunavut's strategic vision must serve to set the stage for strategic action in a timely manner.

The HPAIED nation-building framework does not address the challenge of ensuring that rates of nation-building match or exceed rates of economic development. The HPAIED might be expanded to address this challenge and to investigate routes indigenous nations might take to ensure that the rates of their nation-building processes match or exceed the rate of impending economic development. One potential solution to this gap in the nation-building framework is to combine HPAIED findings with adaptation theory. This may allow Nunavut to craft an approach to development that allows for flexible and rapid adaptation to rapidly changing environments.

6.4 Geographic Isolation

Nunavut's geographic isolation and the cost of transportation impose severe limitations on market access. This presents a unique challenge to applying the nation-building framework in Nunavut. Economic activity is directly hampered by the territory's distance from external markets. The nation-building framework could be expanded to

address this unique set of circumstances. This would allow the framework to be of more use to Nunavummiut and to other indigenous nations in similarly isolated locations.

6.5 Population Density

The ecological limitations of an Arctic environment and the low human population density resulting from these ecological limitations are additional factors unique to Nunavut's economic development context. Without an ample population from which to collect sufficient tax revenue, the territory faces a deficit of funds to pay for the higher-than-average cost of running a government in the Arctic (Henderson, 2007).

In addition to the low population density, poverty and social pathologies resulting from Nunavut's history of colonialism further exacerbate the problem of generating a tax base sufficient to run a territory. The result is a dependence on federal transfers (Henderson, 2007). By addressing this unique situation, HPAIED research could provide Nunavummiut with a useful tool to apply to their strategic planning processes.

6.6 Sustainability

The documents place a significant degree of emphasis on attaining sustainability. This demonstrates that through the process of the creation of the documents the vital importance of including sustainability in the ED&T strategies was recognized. However, it was not determined in the course of this analysis whether the frequent references to sustainability are coupled with action-oriented statements or whether related action items have the potential to be successfully implemented. Further investigation is

required to determine the level of commitment associated with these statements in support of sustainability.

It can be stated, however, that sustainable development in the North is not possible without the direct involvement of Arctic communities (Rasmussen, 1999). Local, indigenous control of decision-making processes has been lacking in the Arctic, a legacy of the North's colonial past (Rasmussen, 1999). A lack of economic diversification, loss of political autonomy, and little to no sustainability are the end results of external concentrations of power (Markey et al., 2008).

In addition, economic systems that result from externally funded, non-indigenously determined strategies lack accountability to the people who are affected by extractive activities and whose land is tapped to provide raw resources to fuel the growth of the Canadian economy (Duerden, 1991). Continued withdrawals from the northern resource bank without reciprocal deposits will exhaust the resources and leave the region impoverished (Banta, 2006). Therefore, if Nunavut's planners are committed to attaining sustainable development, they will need to prioritize local, direct community involvement and indigenous control of decision-making processes.

The HPAIED nation-building framework does not contain recommendations regarding sustainability. It does contain findings supporting the necessity of cultural match, which, in many cases, involves prioritizing the relationships of reciprocity between humans and the ecological systems that support the existence of all life. It could therefore be argued that the concept of sustainability is, in most cases, implicit to the nation-building framework.

However, sustainability is not an explicit component of the framework. This is an area that requires further investigation, especially in light of Nunavut's high valuation of sustainability and the apparent lack of metrics available for measuring or describing the presence of sustainability in a nation-building context or for determining the potential for successful implementation of Nunavut's goals relating to sustainability.

6.7 Summary

At the outset of this thesis investigation, I asked myself, "How can indigenous nations rebuild their economies from the rubble of colonialism? What should they build to replace what was lost?" After investigating these questions, I have come to the conclusion that they require rephrasing. Instead of asking *how* or *what*, we need to be asking *who*. Who is in control of determining the course of political and economic decisions affecting indigenous communities? If decisions are being made outside of the communities being affected by the outcomes of those decisions, a neo-colonial regime, wherein the economic benefits of economic growth and resource extraction leak away to enrich external power structures and external economies, is the likely outcome. On the other hand, including local voices in decision-making processes, prioritizing institutional support of local adaptive capacity, and nurturing locally resonant, nation-building leadership will contribute to self-determined community economic development, community wellbeing, and local capacity for adaptation to the economic and environmental impacts of climate change.

Analysis of the economic development strategy documents produced by Nunavut's Department of ED&T revealed that very little emphasis is being placed on the

importance of governance or nation-building leadership, and extremely few references were made to nurturing Inuit political leadership. To actualize the strong strategic vision of sustainability and community wellbeing described within the documents, Nunavut will need to increase its focus on generating strong, capable, representative leadership from among its communities.

A neo-colonial regime is not the only developmental outcome possible for Nunavut. An alternative path exists, which could lead to an outcome in which Inuit are able to harness the financial benefits of economic growth within their territory. Inuit could invest the benefits of economic growth into the creation of a sustainable, self-determined, regional economy that supports adaptive responses to Nunavut's rapidly changing environment.

By taking control of the flow of financial resources produced by increased economic activity in the Arctic, Inuit will be able to take control of the course of their economic and political development. This could allow Inuit communities to use the benefits of development to create sustainable, self-determined political and economic structures that will nurture local capacity for adaptation. This, in turn, will allow for development to produce sustainable wellbeing for Inuit and for all of Nunavut.

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