

The Northern Review

I REALLY THINK WE SHOULD TAG ONE OF THOSE SCIENTISTS AND SEE WHERE THEY GO IN THE WINTER.



The Northern Review

Exploring human experience in the North

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Editorial: Number 55

Ken Coates

Yukon University

With issue Number 55, the *Northern Review* continues its commitment to the diversity of northern scholarship. The journal continues to support the work of northern-based scholars from across the Circumpolar World, and of southern-based researchers working on northern topics. We remain open to all disciplines and to a wide variety of approaches to communicating insights about the North.

The continued growth of northern post-secondary institutions—Yukon University’s expansion, plans for the polytechnic in the Northwest Territories, and the development of an Inuit institution in Nunavut—represent the latest Canadian additions to the fine tradition of northern scholarship. We have long admired the efforts and contributions of our friends and colleagues on the many campuses of the University of Alaska; and we are enthusiastic supporters of the impressive work of the fine universities and colleges in Scandinavia, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, to say nothing of the now (sadly) isolated academics in Russia. The *Northern Review* hopes that more scholars from throughout the Circumpolar World seek out the journal as a primary publication option for northern-centred scholars.

This issue reflects the core values and approach of the *Northern Review*. We have included several commentaries—impressive conceptual works that tackle such diverse topics as George Black’s legal career, Canada’s changing stature in the Circumpolar World, and new understandings of Dawson City during the Klondike gold rush. There are scholarly works on the evolution of university education in Manitoba and the transformation of Inuit Studies in Canada.

Impressive works explore the sad but consequential effects of domestic violence, and the potential environmental and economic impact of small modular reactors in the North. The tongue-in-cheek and provocative cartoons of one of

our senior editors, Amanda Graham, provide a visual commentary on the state of southern academic engagement with the North.

We know you will enjoy the diverse perspectives reflected in Number 55. We hope that this volume will encourage other northern academics to send their current work to the *Northern Review* and to work with us to continue developing a unique and powerful northern academic voice.

Ken Coates is a founding and senior editor of the *Northern Review* and is chair of the Indigenous Governance Degree at Yukon University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Research Article

University Education in Northern Manitoba: Inter Universities Services at 50

Dan Smith

University College of the North

Abstract: The long pursuit of university education in northern Canada has seen a variety of methods used to deliver higher education to northerners. One such approach, Inter Universities Services (IUS), has been supporting university course delivery in northern Manitoba since 1972-73. This article argues that IUS has evolved progressively over its fifty years from an initiative offering a disjointed set of university course options to become part of a coordinated, if unplanned, approach to university education in northern Manitoba. This article outlines the history of IUS, including origins, structure, issues, and key events, before looking to the future. Conclusions suggest that IUS has been central to the growth and stability of higher education in northern Manitoba.

Introduction

For decades, northern Canadians have risen to challenges created by geography, small populations, uneven educational and economic experiences, and widely dispersed and remote communities (Ferris, 1989; Senkpiel, 1997). These challenges have led to a variety of creative approaches to delivering university education in the North (Weller & Rosehart, 1985), including in northern Manitoba.

Demands from northern and Indigenous Manitobans for university education in northern Manitoba have been long-standing (Manitoba Advanced Education, 2002). Since 1966, education in trades and technology has been available in the region through the Northern Manitoba Vocational Centre, renamed Keewatin Community College in 1993 (Usher & Pelletier, 2017). It was only when that college became University College of the North (UCN) in 2004 that a more comprehensive approach to post-secondary education became available in northern Manitoba, including the development by UCN of an extensive set of regional campuses. While college programming was available in northern Manitoba, prior to UCN's creation, university programming was offered through extension efforts of universities in southern Manitoba.

Inter Universities North, later renamed Inter Universities Services ("IUS" will be used throughout for consistency), was the first of these arrangements in northern Manitoba. Starting formal operations in the 1972-73 fiscal year, IUS represented a collaborative approach to providing university education to northern Manitobans. Instead of a single institution delivering courses or programs, all three of Manitoba's universities in 1972 worked together to provide university course options.

Despite changes and challenges over the last half-century, IUS has retained its collaborative approach, reflecting a history of cooperation and innovation in Manitoba's post-secondary system. Over its fifty-year history, IUS has evolved from a disjointed set of university course options to a more coordinated approach to the provision of university courses, supporting activity undertaken by southern institutions while progressively contributing to greater stability and permanency of higher education in northern Manitoba.

This article is structured around the following research questions. First, what is IUS and how is it different from other approaches to delivering university education in the North? What were the major developmental events and outcomes in IUS's fifty-year history? What has this meant for university education for the peoples in northern Manitoba, and what might the future hold? After examining the literature on higher education in the North, this article explores the origins of

IUS, its structure, operations, and issues, before discussing its impact. Conclusions suggest that IUS has contributed significantly to the institutionalization and normalization of higher education in northern Manitoba.

Higher Education in the Canadian Provincial North

Northern Canada can be divided into the Circumpolar North, the Territorial North, and the Provincial North. While there are valuable lessons to be learned from all areas, space considerations mean that focus here is given to the Provincial North, an area often overlooked in scholarship (Coates & Poelzer, 2014). The Provincial North includes the northern reaches of the four western provinces, Ontario, Quebec, as well as Newfoundland and Labrador, although each of these provinces defines the geographic boundaries of their northern regions differently, and in the case of Alberta, not at all (Coates et al., 2014). Strong support for educational opportunities at the degree level, including a physical university, to meet northern cultural, economic, and social needs has been expressed among northerners in all jurisdictions (Coates, 2007; Morrison, 2014; Senkpiel, 1997). Similar sentiments have also been expressed in Manitoba (Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, 2000).

While the Provincial North has been well-served by technical colleges in northern communities (Coates, 2020), the establishment of stand-alone universities has sometimes been dismissed as unneeded (Coates, 2007; Morrison, 2014). Given small, widely dispersed populations, provincial governments have been reluctant to create universities in northern Canada, instead seeking a variety of other means to bring higher education to their northernmost regions (Coates, 2020; Morrison, 2014). Accordingly, discounting students moving to southern Canada for university education (Ferris, 1989), no single model has emerged for higher education in the Provincial North (Coates, 2020). Instead, a variety of models have been employed, discussed below.

Stand-alone universities are self-managed “bricks-and-mortar” institutions, often favoured by northern communities (Coates, 2020) in part because, despite the commitments of southern universities to northern education, this will never be their central focus (Ferris, 1989). Stand-alone universities located in the North, in contrast, focus their missions on the needs of the North. Because of the challenges of geography, population, and the cost of such ventures (Ferris, 1989), the creation of stand-alone universities in the Provincial North has been slow in Canada. In 1960, Laurentian University was established in Sudbury, Ontario. Other northern universities followed: in 1965, Lakehead University was established in Thunder Bay, although given its geographic location its status as a northern university has been contested (Morrison, 2014); in 1969, the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi opened, followed by the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue in

1970; in 1990, the University of Northern British Columbia was established; in 1992, Nipissing University opened in North Bay, Ontario; in 2004, the University College of the North (UCN) was established in northern Manitoba; and Algoma University in Sault Ste. Marie received its own charter in 2008 (Coates, 2020; Morrison, 2014; Wilson, 2021). Alberta and Saskatchewan are alone among the provinces in not operating universities in their respective northern regions (Morrison, 2014).

Access points are smaller service centres providing limited courses and programs, such as first- and second-year courses. Although not a university, Northern College provides such an approach in trades education in Timmins, Ontario (Coates, 2020).

Satellite campuses see existing universities deliver selected programs or offer courses that provide pathways to degree completion on southern campuses (Coates, 2020). The University of Manitoba's Northern Social Work Program located in Thompson, Manitoba, is an example of a satellite campus providing a complete, single program on a continuing basis in the Provincial North.

Specific, cohort-based program delivery sees a university provide a specific program in a community for a period of time, enrolling a single cohort of students. Upon completion, the program may move to another community (Coates, 2020). This model is used by UCN in northern Manitoba to deliver a Bachelor of Education program to cohorts at up to four communities at a time, moving to other communities once the program has been completed. The University of Saskatchewan's Master of Northern Governance and Development is another example (Morrison, 2014).

Multi-institution program offerings see multiple universities collaborate on program delivery, with different institutions offering different courses and other aspects of programming. This model is used in northern Ontario to deliver medical education through a partnership between Laurentian University and Lakehead (Coates, 2020).

Distance education sees online and other remote means used to deliver university courses and programs. This model is used in many provinces and may be more structured in some, for example, eCampus Ontario (Coates, 2007).

Laddered programs between colleges and universities allow students to start a program at one institution, often a northern one, and then continue their education through remote means, or by physically attending another, often southern, campus or institution (Coates, 2020).

There has been a wide variety of approaches to higher education in the Provincial North, and individual provinces may use multiple methods. Given that each province has an existing university system, it is perhaps no surprise that

provinces extend university education northwards through their existing systems. It is worth noting that IUS does not fit neatly into any these models, although given its consortium approach IUS has similarities to the multi-institution program offerings model except IUS offers only courses, not programs. However, there are also parallels to the access points model and with the distance education model, confirming Coates's (2020) observation that there are no firm models for the delivery of higher education in northern and remote regions.

Northern Manitoba

Northern Manitoba is defined as the region north of the 53rd parallel and is more than 560,000 km², approximately the same size as France. The 56 million hectares of boreal forest in northern Manitoba—46.5 million hectares undeveloped (Pew, 2015)—is rich in mineral and other natural resources. More than 80,000 people, the majority Indigenous, call northern Manitoba home, many living in small, isolated communities (Smith, 2016).

In Manitoba, government efforts to strengthen northern Manitoba have often focused on post-secondary education (Coates & Poelzer, 2014). In 1966, the Northern Manitoba Vocational Centre (later renamed Keewatin Community College) was established to offer trades and technical training in The Pas, Manitoba. The delivery of university education in the North followed a less direct trajectory. Prior to the conversion of Keewatin Community College to UCN in 2004, university education was offered in the North through southern Manitoba universities. Complete university programs were offered through three initiatives: the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP) was established in 1975, rotating among different communities (Robertson & Loughton, 1976); the University of Manitoba's Bachelor of Social Work Program was established in Thompson, Manitoba, in 1983 (Spearman & van der Krabben, 1983); and the University of Manitoba's Bachelor of Nursing Program was established in 1990 in The Pas, subsequently offered as a joint program with Keewatin Community College (now UCN) beginning in 1998 in both Thompson and The Pas (Rady Faculty of Health Sciences, 2018).

Another initiative, appearing before the others, did not focus on a specific degree program but instead offered individual university courses in a variety of disciplines. This initiative, IUS, was established in 1972 (Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, 2000; Morrison, 2014; UGC, 1973). All four initiatives, including IUS, relied upon southern universities to deliver university education in northern Manitoba. University education in northern Manitoba evolved slowly, in piecemeal fashion, and without a comprehensive plan—much like elsewhere in the Canadian Provincial North (Weller & Rosehart, 1986).

Research Methods

This article is an examination of the fifty-year history of IUS in northern Manitoba, from 1972-73 to 2021-22. The article draws on a variety of sources, including scholarly literature, government reports, institutional data, and minutes and other documents produced by IUS. Given the author has served on the IUS steering committee, participant observation also contributed to the research.

Inconsistencies in data retention and reporting by IUS, the Government of Manitoba, and UCN hampered analysis of IUS performance throughout the fifty-year period. While complete data exists identifying the communities within which IUS operated, there is a ten-year gap in funding data, and two sixteen-year gaps, one pertaining to registration, and one pertaining to the courses offered. While conclusions can still be drawn, gaps mean that a clear understanding of when changes occurred may not be possible.

Interviews were an important part of data collection. Using elite interviewing, participants were selected “on the basis of what they might know to help the investigator fill in pieces of a puzzle or confirm the proper alignment of pieces already in place” (Aberbach & Rockman, 2002). Interview participants were former executives from UCN with responsibility for IUS and/or serving on IUS’s steering committee. Interviewees helped to articulate the trajectory of IUS, as well as helped to reconstruct and confirm events in the initiative’s history (Tansey, 2007).

The scope of the research is narrowly focused on university education, and does not consider college education, which followed a different developmental pathway in northern Manitoba. This article seeks to contribute to the literature pertaining to the development of university education in northern Canada, describing and analyzing the IUS model for expanding higher education northward. The article also contributes to a deeper understanding of Manitoba’s system of university education, providing, for the first time, a detailed examination of IUS.

Findings

IUS’s beginnings were humble, originating in 1969-70 when a single University of Winnipeg psychology course was offered in the City of Thompson, Manitoba, in partnership with, and funded by, the local school division. Delivery of this one course led to involvement by all southern universities in the delivery of higher education in the North (Blonar, 1989; UGC, 1989; Waines, 1978). Considerable impetus was given to the project when in 1970 the provincial government’s planning and priorities committee, supported by the president of Brandon University, proposed a series of special projects designed to “increase

human potential through educational change in Manitoba” by reducing barriers to university education in northern Manitoba through establishing university extension activities (Waines, 1978, p. 5).

As a result of this government support, Brandon University, the University of Winnipeg, and the University of Manitoba established a joint office in the Town of The Pas, Manitoba. In September 1970, six university courses were scheduled in Thompson, Churchill, and Cranberry Portage, offered independently by each institution through their respective continuing education units. To ensure an efficient and effective approach, the three institutions worked together on course delivery, credit transfer, communicating admissions requirements, and shared revenues and losses. The next year, in 1971-72, twelve courses were offered in six communities. Funding of \$25,000 was provided by Manitoba’s Department of Youth and Education in each of 1970-71 and 1971-72 (UGC, 1989).

Early success was defined by the reduction of barriers, in particular geographic barriers, as well as the popularity, among northerners themselves, of the idea of university course offerings close to home (Blanar, 1989; Waines, 1978). The success of this early collaboration between the three universities led to a proposal to create IUS (Gregor, 1995; Levin & Letourneau, 1991; University College of the North Implementation Team, 2004; UGC, 1972). Manitoba’s university coordinating agency, the University Grants Commission (UGC), accepted the proposal and provided a funding envelope of \$90,350 in 1972-73, IUS’s first formal year of operations (UGC, 1973).

Administrative Operations

Between 1972-73 and 2021-22, IUS delivered university courses in forty-three different northern communities and saw tens of thousands of individual course registrations. Other projects and initiatives managed by IUS added to the number of course registrations and communities served throughout the years. The following section presents organizational features of IUS supporting these outcomes.

Governance. IUS initially reported to the Committee of Presidents of the Universities of Manitoba (COPUM) (Blanar, 1989). In 1977, and lasting into the 1990s, a senior university officer reported to COPUM and was responsible for IUS. A steering committee, the Inter Universities North Program Executive Committee (IUNPEC), composed of the senior university officer, the director of IUS, and a representative from each partner university oversaw administrative and academic operations (Blanar, 1989; UGC, 1989). Institutional representatives serving on IUNPEC were the continuing education deans or directors at each university (UGC, 1996).

In 1995-96, the IUNPEC steering committee was expanded to include the committee of vice-presidents, who replaced the dean/director representatives (UGC, 1996), and in 2005 the body was renamed the Inter Universities Advisory Committee (IUAC) when University College of the North (UCN) became the administrator of IUS (IUAC, 2020). Interview participants confirmed that reporting to COPUM, the committee of university presidents, was discontinued perhaps as early as 1999, with the reporting relationship resting between the IUS administrator—who was a senior executive from UCN—and the president of UCN.

Government Oversight. After the dissolution of UGC, the University Grants Commission, in 1996-97, official government reporting on IUS waned, no longer appearing in the annual reports of the UGC successor agency, the Council on Post-Secondary Education (COPSE). While data on course locations were reported in COPSE’s statistical compendium until 2014, the last year the compendium was published, there is a sixteen-year gap in registration data from 1997-98 to 2011-12 inclusive. Further, while IUS funding continued, it was not reported separately by the government after 2003-04.

Strategic Planning. In his 1978 review of IUS, Waines observed that, while IUS always had a strong operational and administrative focus, its strategic focus was unclear. The forty years since Waines’s report did not see this fact change significantly. While operationally IUS continued to be well-managed, there was no evidence of strategic planning until UCN assumed administrative responsibility for IUS in 2005. Further, interviewees described IUS planning, including planning for which courses to deliver, as being “organic,” relying on requests from communities, an assessment of students’ needs, and filling course requirements for degree programs such as nursing. After 2005, the Inter Universities Advisory Committee’s formal planning focused on day-to-day operations and future options (Cec Hanec & Associates, Inc., 2012; Tyler & Foy, 2009). Planning was also undertaken for the integration of IUS operations into UCN, which was to include the discontinuance of IUS as a separate entity—something that did not ultimately occur, as will be discussed later. IUS thus existed in this odd situation where its steering committee, the IUAC, was planning for the termination of IUS while, along with the University College of the North, it was also planning for continuing IUS activity (UCN Implementation Team, 2004; UCN, 2010a, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2018, 2020).

Administration. Initially, administrative duties associated with IUS were shared among the three partner universities (Gregor, 1995; UGC, 1978; Waines, 1978). Beginning in 1978-79, and continuing to the present day, IUS was managed from an office in Thompson. While records prior to 1978-79 are unavailable (Waines, 1978), after 1978-79, IUS was staffed by a director, a community

program coordinator, and an administrative secretary. Volunteer community coordinators, recruited based on their interest and commitment to increasing access to education and their own experiences, assisted with the determination of course needs, communicated opportunities to potential students, and helped to coordinate course logistics in communities where courses were delivered (UGC, 1978, 1989).

In 1978, Brandon University took over the responsibility for IUS's administration, library, registration, finances, and so on, an arrangement that was intended to be interim but continued beyond the two-year trial period (UGC, 1978). Individual universities offering the courses were responsible for hiring instructors, and IUS made travel and accommodations arrangements, as required, since instructors tended to travel from Winnipeg or Brandon to the teaching location (Blonar, 1989). By 1995-96, the office supporting IUS in Thompson had grown to include twenty-two full- and part-time staff positions, including an executive director, six academic support staff, and five administrative staff. Rounding out the staff complement were staff associated with the First Year by Distance Education (FYDE) program, which was managed through IUS from 1990-91 to 1997-98, and was funded through dedicated funding provided by UGC, the University Grants Commission (Levin & LeTourneau, 1991). FYDE operated with full-time coordinators and part-time assistants located in each of five sites operating in 1995-96, for a total of ten additional full- and part-time staff positions (UGC, 1996). By 2012-13, the FYDE initiative had been separated from IUS and relocated to Brandon University, and the size of IUS's administrative staff had declined to just two and a half staff members: a manager, an administrative assistant, and a half-time academic advisor/counsellor. IUS continues to operate with this administrative support structure today, supported since 2005 by UCN in the form of enrolment services staff, as well as support through human resources, financial, and other general administrative services (IUS, 2019-20).

Academic Operations

The academic purposes of IUS are to deliver “university level programming in direct response to individual and community-based needs throughout UCN's two campuses ... as well as [regional sites] ... Typically, the elective courses offered through IUS will be from faculties that UCN has not yet established, i.e. [sic] Psychology, Political Science, etc.” (IUS, 2019-20, p. 6). The model used by IUS is one where “each university accepts for credit, as its own, *all* courses offered by [IUS]. In addition, these courses fulfil the residency requirements for the degree taken” (UGC, 1989, pp. 11-12, emphasis in original). IUS's model is one that is simpler than the typical credit transfer process offered by universities (Levin & LeTourneau, 1991). Credit transfer arrangements are authorized by each

participating university, and equivalencies are managed by IUS administrative staff (IUS, 2019-20).

Between 1971-72 and 1985-86, IUS offered courses through traditional face-to-face instruction. Training was “usually in the form of ‘fly-in’ classes conducted by university faculty” with transferability facilitated amongst the three universities (Gregor, 1995, p. 10). Beginning in 1985-86, IUS added teleconferencing as a course delivery method (UGC, 1989). The expectation was that teleconferencing would increase the numbers of courses and communities served (UGC, 1989); however, and for reasons that are not clear, such increases failed to materialize. The year before the adoption of teleconferencing, in 1984-85, IUS delivered courses in fifteen communities, falling to thirteen communities in 1985-86, and delivery did not increase above fifteen communities until 1991-92 when the number of communities served was seventeen. IUS was slow to adopt remote learning, and interviewees were clear that IUS has always operated from the perspective that it primarily delivers instruction on a face-to-face basis. A more formal, albeit time-limited, foray into distance learning waited until the beginning of the 1990s (Levin & LeTourneau, 1991). This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Crisis and Change

IUS’s fifty-year history is marked with changes and crises that have informed its evolution, summarized below.

IUS’s First Existential Crisis: 1978. As part of a general budget reduction, the Government of Manitoba announced the elimination of IUS in 1978, with the final year of operations planned for 1978-79 (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012; UGC, 1978; Waines, 1978). Funding of \$67,100 was provided to manage wind-down activities (UGC, 1978; Waines, 1978), and a reduced grant of \$90,000 was provided in 1978-79 (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012).

The reaction from northern Manitoba regarding the government’s unexpected decision to eliminate IUS was swift and negative (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012; UGC, 1978), perceived “as just another item of neglect ... by the South, and by Winnipeg in particular” (Waines, 1978, p. 1). After much criticism of government by northern Manitobans, the UGC consented to continue the program, allocating an additional \$30,000 to the \$90,000 already earmarked for 1978-79 (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012; UGC, 1978). In the wake of the outcry, a review of IUS was commissioned and led by W. J. Waines, a former provost at the University of Manitoba. Waines was tasked with assessing the mandate of IUS, its accomplishments and current needs, and with making recommendations about its future (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012). Waines’s report focused on meeting the needs of northerners and noted that northerners would “raise hell” if IUS were not restored (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012, p. 32; Waines, 1978, p. 3).

Noting that Waines concluded that “[IUS] was the only rational way to serve the North educationally,” the UGC accepted all of the recommendations in the report (UGC, 1978, p. 8; Waines, 1978, p. 23). In the year immediately after the crisis, IUS funding increased to \$250,000 (UGC, 1978). In subsequent years, funding continued to increase, with grant increases of 8.0% in the 1980-81 fiscal year, 13.7% in 1981-82, 17.2% in 1982-83, and 6.5% in 1983-84 (UGC, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983). IUS had survived its first existential crisis, along the way revealing that northerners saw it as vital to providing access to university courses in their communities (Blonar, 1989).

Distance Education: 1990-91 to 1997-98. First Year by Distance Education (FYDE) was established in 1990 by the UGC as a pilot project and was managed as an offshoot of IUS (Campus Manitoba, 2020; Levin & LeTourneau, 1991). IUS’s involvement was pragmatic, taking “advantage of [IUS’s] existing expertise, networks, and working relationships with universities” (quoted in Levin & LeTourneau, 1991).

While styled as a distance education effort, the FYDE model incorporated physical centres where students attended courses delivered to those centres using distance technologies (UGC, 1991). FYDE was not designed to be solely a northern program, delivering in its first year of operation courses in the North, including Cranberry Portage, Flin Flon, The Pas, and Thompson, but also in the southern Manitoba communities of Dauphin and Russell (UGC, 1991). After 1997-98, the responsibility for FYDE transitioned to Brandon University, and in 1998-99, First Year by Distance Education was renamed Campus Manitoba (Campus Manitoba, 2020). In its last year of operations associated with IUS, FYDE continued operating in the same six communities, and in 1997-98 added Swan River, a community 100 kilometres south of Manitoba’s 53rd parallel (COPSE, 1998).

A New Home: 1993. The 1993 University Education Review Commission recommended that “Keewatin Community College become the comprehensive post-secondary education and training coordinator for the North ... including courses and programs offered through [IUS]” (University Education Review Commission, 1993, pp. 53–54). While the Government of Manitoba accepted this recommendation in 1994 (Mannes, 1994), transition to UCN began in 2004 and was finalized in July 2005 (UCN, 2005).

Preparatory Programming: 1995-96. Many northern Manitobans do not have the typical academic preparation for success in higher education (Ferris, 1989). Preparatory programming has been proven to help people succeed where the normal trajectory of education has failed (Ferris, 1989). With such findings in mind, starting in 1995-96, IUS partnered with Keewatin Community College to offer the Transition Year Program (TYP) in the northern communities

of Nelson House, Norway House, and Split Lake (UGC, 1996). The TYP supported a full-time cohort of up to twenty-five students each in three or four communities annually, offering preparation courses for higher education study. It was anticipated that the program would cycle through different communities in every year or every second year (UGC, 1996). The TYP continued until 2004 when the funding, which supported six faculty members, was reallocated by UCN to support the creation of arts degree programming (Faculty of Arts, Business, and Science, n.d.; UCN, 2005). The termination of the TYP program was not well received by northern communities, and a 2009 needs assessment documented the desire of communities for a return to this kind of program (Tyler & Foy, 2009). As will be seen, communities had to wait until 2020 before such programming re-emerged under the IUS umbrella.

IUS's Second Existential Crisis: 2004. IUS faced its second existential crisis between 2004 and 2013. This crisis was rooted in the establishment of University College of the North, whose first strategic plan stated: "As UCN develops its degree programming, it will offer a range of undergraduate courses. It is recommended that as UCN phases in its degree programs [IUS] will be phased out" (University College of the North Implementation Team, 2004, p. 28). Yet, planning IUS's phase-out was slow, with a timeline for transition created only in 2007-08 (UCN, 2008). Three years later, in 2010, a concept paper was prepared to manage the phase-out, and, at the same time, the initiative's name changed from Inter Universities *North* to Inter Universities *Services* (UCN, 2010b). In 2013, the date of the phase-out was extended from 2013 to 2016, and the Inter Universities Advisory Committee committed to reviewing IUS in 2015 (UCN, 2013).

Interviewees in this study identified three factors that contributed to the reversal of plans to phase out IUS. First was the fact that UCN and the government never undertook discussions regarding IUS funding staying with degree programming in northern Manitoba, meaning that basic elements of the wind-down were never initiated. Second, standing administrative arrangements around credit transfer simplified the University of Manitoba's Northern Social Work Program, which relied heavily on courses offered by UCN to fulfill elective requirements. The dissolution of IUS would mean that each social work student would have to complete multiple requests for credit transfer from UCN in each term, and thus the social work program objected to the phase-out. Finally, UCN's arts degree development, which includes English, history, Native studies (now called Aboriginal and northern studies), and sociology, could not support electives in northern degree programs that required sciences, math, statistics, and other courses not offered by UCN. While it was well funded to support stipendiary teaching appointments, IUS's funding envelope could not support salaries for the number of faculty required for IUS to offer the breadth of courses to support

existing northern degree programs, nor could UCN offer its own degrees without support from IUS. As a result, by 2014, plans to discontinue IUS were abandoned, and any reference to the phase-out of IUS disappeared from UCN's official reports (UCN, 2014). IUS had survived its second existential crisis.

Student Outreach: 2016. An outreach program supported by IUS was offered for the first time beginning in May and June 2017 to give Grade 4 and 5 students exposure to math and science at UCN's campus in Thompson (Darbyson, 2017). The eight-week program, called "UCNrich," was funded through IUS (UCN, 2017). The program was offered for just a single year.

Preparatory Programming Returns: 2020. Acknowledging the 2009 observation that the high school experience in many northern communities does not prepare students well for further education (Tyler & Foy, 2009), beginning in 2020 the Inter Universities Advisory Committee approved a change in its terms of reference that added to its responsibilities offering "preparation courses to help prepare students for success in university courses" (IUAC, 2020, p. 1). Implementation of preparatory programming began immediately, albeit slowed by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Inputs, Outputs, and Outcomes

Available data provides additional insights into the operation of IUS throughout its fifty-year history. The following presents data associated with funding, communities served, registration, courses delivered, student success, and partner university participation.

Funding. IUS began with a modest grant of \$90,350 in 1972-73 to support nineteen university course sections in six northern communities. Five decades later, in 2021-22, IUS received more than \$1,000,000 to support thirty-seven courses delivered in four communities. While government funding can always be a challenge, the nature of IUS's services is scalable, and course delivery can be adjusted to the funding available. Funding for IUS has not been a barrier to operations.

Course Registrations by Community. Throughout its history, IUS has operated in a total of forty-three different communities. Figure 1 shows the numbers of communities served in each of the fifty years of IUS operations compared to the number of annual course registrations. While there appears to be a cycle of growth and decline in communities served throughout the period, notable is the significant decline in the number of communities after 1999-00. In the twenty-eight years ending in 1999-00, IUS delivered courses in an average of 12.2 communities annually, whereas in the twenty-two years after 2000-01, IUS delivered to an average of just seven communities each year.

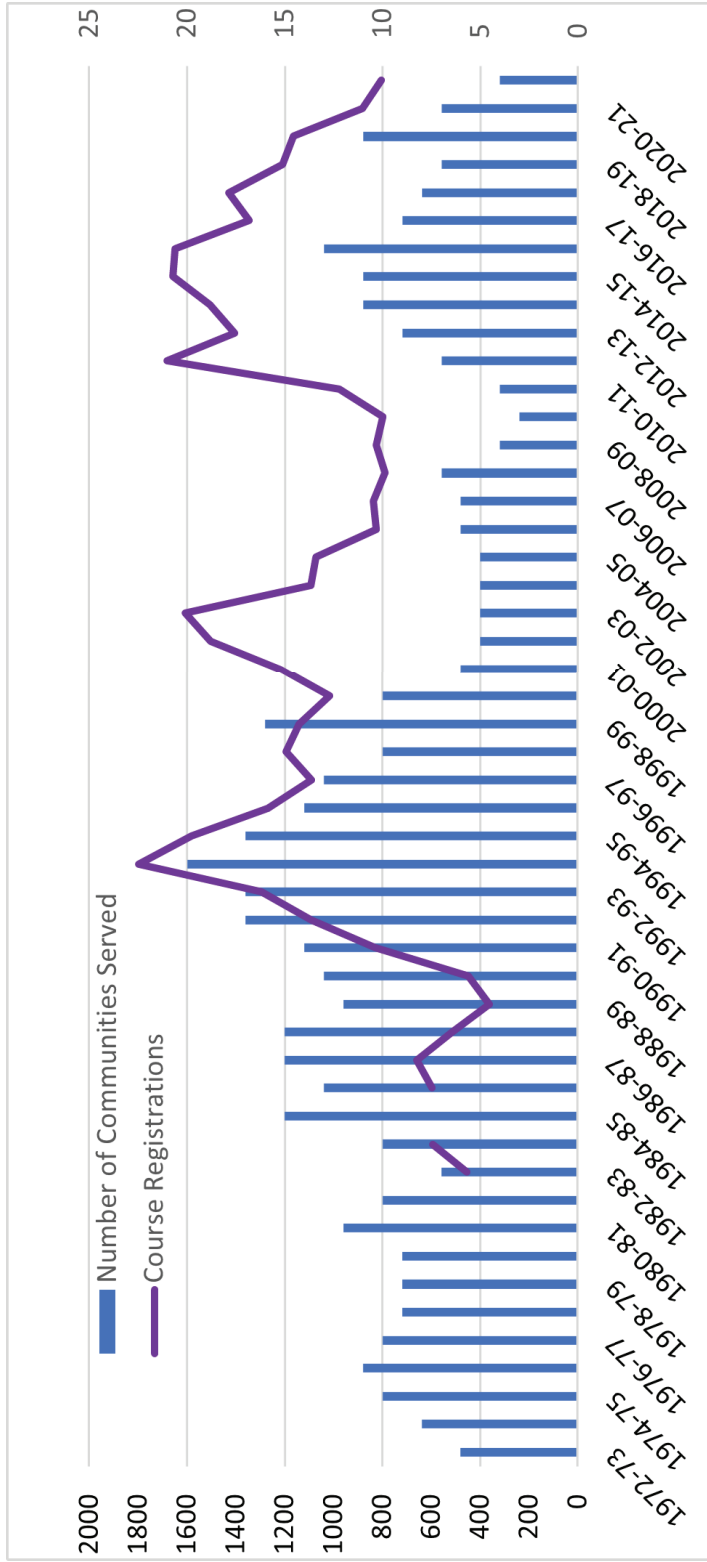


Figure 1. Number of communities served and course registrations at Inter Universities Services, 1972-73 to 2021-22.
 Source: Universities Grants Commission; University College of the North

Given their status as the two major centres in northern Manitoba, it is natural that Thompson and The Pas would be a focus of IUS activity. However, IUS was designed to bring university education to where people live, and there is an expectation that courses will be offered in multiple communities. In 1972-73, 42.1% of all courses were offered in Thompson and The Pas, with 57.9% of courses offered in other, smaller northern communities. Fifty years later, in 2021-22, fully 86% of courses were offered in Thompson and The Pas, with only 13.9% of courses offered in other communities. As will be seen below, this is the result of shifting the focus to offer courses supporting northern degree programs in education, social work, and nursing.

Course registrations also followed cycles of growth and decline. Beginning in 1985-86, when data are consistently available, until 1990-91, there was an annual average of 992.5 course registrations, but for the period from 1991-92 to 2021-22, IUS saw an annual average of 1,252 course registrations. As will be discussed below, this phenomenon is in part a result of IUS's growing support of professional programs—particularly nursing, teaching, and social work—offered in northern Manitoba by southern universities, and concentrated in the larger centres of Thompson and The Pas.

While the annual average number of communities served by IUS declined after 1999-00, the annual average number of course registrations increased significantly. Registration drop-offs accelerated after the 2018-19 academic year, attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic that saw many communities closed to non-residents, and because universities restricted travel for faculty and staff. It remains to be seen if and how course registrations will recover after the pandemic.

Student Profile. Available data on students registering in IUS courses throughout its fifty years is inconsistent, an artifact, perhaps, of these students being recorded in the statistics of each individual university, and not being identified separately. Available statistics in IUS's most recent decade suggest that students were mostly female (a low of 79% to a high of 84%) and tended to be 25 years of age or older (between 50% and 60%). These findings are generally consistent with enrolment statistics for university courses offered by UCN outside of the IUS mechanism over the last decade.

Course Sections Offered. In IUS's first year of full operation, 1972-73, Brandon University offered seven courses, as did University of Manitoba, and the University of Winnipeg offered five. Courses were in the disciplines of anthropology, economics, education, English, geography, history, and sociology (UGC, 1973). By 2021-22, and acknowledging the sixteen-year gap in course data, at least 1,640 course sections have been offered in at least forty different disciplinary areas.

Course sections offered through IUS have changed considerably since 1972-23. Figure 2 shows the proportion of courses by academic grouping over the thirty-four-year period where data are available. While social sciences and education courses were mainstays of IUS in the first 24 years, accounting for 47.7% and 25.0% respectively of all courses offered, in the ten years from 2012-13 to 2021-22, social sciences had declined to 30.2% of all courses, with no education courses offered. The prevalence of science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) courses increased significantly in the last ten years of IUS operations compared to previous years.

Table 1 shows these academic groupings in two twelve-year time periods and one ten-year time period to help show how course offerings have changed over time. Early on, courses in the social sciences dominated course offerings, but they were overtaken by STEM courses in the most recent decade of operations.

The complete disappearance of education is intriguing given its prominence in IUS course offerings earlier in the program's history. Indeed, while longitudinal data are not available, Waines (1978) noted that between 1972-73 and 1976-77, between 34.9 and 62.5 of IUS registrants each year were teachers, depending on the year in question. The drop-off in education courses can, for the last ten years at least, be explained by the 2012-13 absorption into UCN of the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP). While teachable courses in humanities, social sciences, and STEM fields continued to be offered through IUS, after 2012-13 all education courses were offered through UCN directly, and not through IUS.

Table 1. Changes in courses offered by Inter Universities Services

Grouping	First 12 years	Second 12 Years	Last 10 Years	All Years
	1972-73 to 1983-84 (%)	1984-85 to 1995-96 (%)	2012-13 to 2021-22 (%)	
Business	0.8	6.0	0.0	2.6
Education	30.0	22.1	0.0	15.6
Humanities	14.3	5.1	0.0	8.4
Social Sciences	46.9	48.1	30.2	42.5
STEM	6.6	13.9	51.2	22.9
Other	1.3	4.8	18.6	8.1
Total	23.0%	39.5%	37.5%	100%

Sources: UGC Annual Reports 1972-73 to 1995-96; IUS Statistical Reports 2012-13 to 2021-22
Following UCN's categorization, history courses are considered humanities, and Native studies courses are considered social sciences.

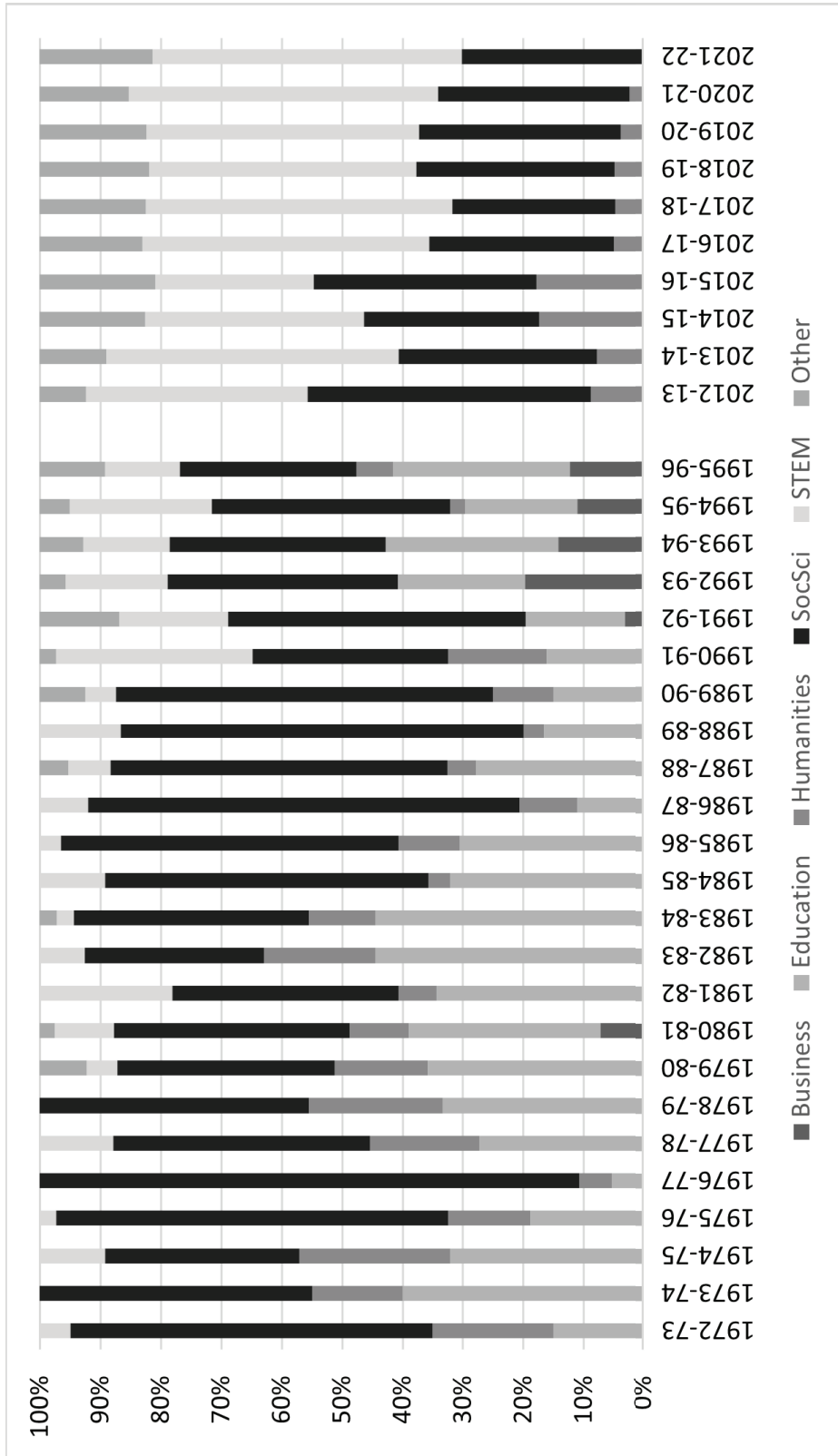


Figure 2. Proportion of IUS courses taught by grouping 1972-73 to 2020-21 (with a sixteen-year data gap)

Perhaps most interesting is the growth of STEM courses. Between 1972-73 and 1995-96, STEM courses accounted for just 11.2% of all courses offered, but between 2012-13 and 2021-22, such courses accounted for 42.3% of all courses offered. The growth of STEM courses after 1990-91 is accounted for by the northern Bachelor of Nursing program offered by the University of Manitoba, with IUS providing many course requirements and electives. Further, in 2010, UCN began offering a diploma program leading to a licensed practical nursing certification in the northern region. While not typical for college-level programs, university science and math courses form part of that diploma program and indeed are the same courses offered in support of the University of Manitoba's Bachelor of Nursing program—and are the same courses that have been offered through IUS. While the “Other” grouping is mostly a collection of other kinds of courses (e.g., music, fine arts) offered through IUS, more recently, courses from other disciplines have been offered through IUS to support the University of Manitoba's Northern Social Work program.

Given the fact that the IUS's operating model is one that offers courses and not programs, it is difficult to draw conclusions when looking at course section data. Generally speaking, it may be that in the early part of its existence, IUS offered a variety of first- and second-year courses to help individuals launch academic careers, pursue personal interests, and achieve other objectives important to them and their communities. It may also be assumed that throughout its existence, IUS has also supported students pursuing teacher education, first through BUNTEP, and then through UCN, by offering the arts and science courses that are part of Bachelor of Education programs. Students may also have taken courses supporting the University of Manitoba's Northern Social Work program, operating in Thompson since 1983. Additionally, the data also show that students took STEM courses, and perhaps humanities and social science electives, in support of northern nursing programs. Aside from these known reasons and given the large number of course registrations in general subjects, which themselves are requirements for many different programs, it is difficult to ascertain with certainty why students enrolled in particular courses throughout IUS's history.

How IUS determines which courses to offer in any given year does not help to clarify matters. One interviewee for this study outlined four considerations that IUS has used throughout its history to determine which courses to offer. First, requests made by communities through surveys and IUS's networks are considered. Second, “we would fill the gaps,” providing courses based on what electives and other courses were needed for a program in a particular year. Third, courses were offered based on those students required in order to graduate. Fourth and finally, practically speaking, courses may (or may not) be offered based on the availability of instructors. IUS's own approach to course delivery was multi-faceted

and allowed students to take courses in a variety of disciplines and locations, and for a variety of reasons.

After the 1990s, however, given the degree programs offered in northern Manitoba by southern universities, IUS appeared to focus heavily on supporting social work, nursing, and teacher education programs, filling gaps in those programs and, after the establishment of University College of the North in 2004, filling gaps in the degree programs offered by that institution. This realized, but unplanned, strategy seemed to be successful given the more than 20% increase in course registrations after 1990-91, despite the decline in the number of communities served over the same time period. It also appeared to have the unintended effect of concentrating activity in larger communities, with most courses being offered in The Pas and Thompson in IUS's most recent decade.

Course Pass Rates. Student outcomes data began to be reported by IUS in 2008-09, summarized in Table 2, below. Given IUS's focus on delivering courses rather than programs, course pass rates each year are a useful way to assess student success. However, the challenge with interpreting such data is twofold. First, individual course completion rates are not a common indicator used by institutions in Manitoba, and thus comparisons are difficult. Second, IUS courses are delivered by four different universities, in different communities, and within different program contexts. While pass rates are useful for year-over-year comparison of IUS student success rates, it is difficult to assess meaning in a broader context beyond noting that between 60% and 72% of IUS students successfully passed their courses.

Table 2. Student course pass rates, Inter-University Services

Year	Pass Rate (%)	Year	Pass Rate (%)
2008-09	61.3	2015-16	70.6
2009-10	64.0	2016-17	68.6
2010-11	65.4	2017-18	67.6
2011-12	68.8	2018-19	72.4
2012-13	67.0	2019-20	72.7
2013-14	64.7	2020-21	65.9
2014-15	59.9	2021-22	68.7

Source: IUS Statistical Reports. Pass rate = number of courses passed/course registrations.

Partner University Participation. Tables 3 and 4 show the number and proportion of courses delivered by each partner university where data are available. Before the 2004 establishment of University College of the North, both Brandon University and the University of Manitoba offered an average of nineteen courses per year in IUS's first twenty-four years (see Table 3). The University of Winnipeg offered an average of just under eight courses annually in the same time frame. While the University of Winnipeg never offered the most courses in a given year, prior to 1995-96 there were five years that it offered the second-highest proportion of courses amongst the three partner universities—1978-79, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1987-88 (tie), and 1989-90.

Table 4 shows the proportion of courses offered by partner universities for the ten years starting in 2012-13. Between 2012-13 and 2021-22, the proportion of courses offered by the University of Manitoba grew from 40.0% to 54.1%, whereas Brandon University declined from 21.3% to 10.8%, and UCN declined from 34.7% to 29.7%. The only other institution showing any proportional growth was the University of Winnipeg, growing slightly from 4.0% to 5.4%.

Konrad & Small (1986) report considerable benefits to consortia arrangements in higher education, but also note that such arrangements may suffer from an unequal commitment by all partners, leading to problems in the consortium. While the imbalance in the number of courses offered has been noted by the IUAC (the Inter Universities Advisory Committee) from time to time, it has not led to strife. Indeed, interview participants revealed that there has been little conflict among the institutions throughout IUS's history. Issues such as differing course contributions, disagreements about credit transfer, and general questions about IUS, often associated with new members of IUAC getting their bearings, were resolved amicably at the IUAC table. This reflects one interview participant's perspective that the IUAC members themselves were well-meaning; indeed, at one meeting of the IUAC, a member described IUS as a "labour of love," referring to supporting northern university education in general and supporting UCN specifically. Such experiences suggest that, in addition to the educational services provided to northern communities, one of the chief outcomes of IUS has been the creation of a positive, long-term framework for collaboration between the partner universities regarding higher education in northern Manitoba.

Table 3. Inter University Services course sections by university, 1972-73 to 1995-96

Year	Proportion of Total Sections Taught (%)			Total Sections (#)
	Brandon University	University of Manitoba	University of Winnipeg	
1972-73	36.8	36.8	26.3	19
1973-74	33.3	47.6	19.0	21
1974-75	35.7	46.4	17.9	28
1975-76	45.7	28.6	25.7	35
1976-77	32.4	37.8	29.7	37
1977-78	46.9	34.4	18.8	32
1978-79	46.2	19.2	34.6	26
1979-80	36.8	44.7	18.4	38
1980-81	11.9	57.1	31.0	42
1981-82	18.8	53.1	28.1	32
1982-83	30.0	53.3	16.7	30
1983-84	18.9	73.0	8.1	37
1984-85	46.6	29.3	24.1	58
1985-86	33.3	54.0	12.7	63
1986-87	30.8	47.7	21.5	65
1987-88	32.7	34.5	32.7	55
1988-89	30.0	43.3	26.7	30
1989-90	23.1	51.3	25.6	39
1990-91 ¹	35.1	43.2	21.6	37
1991-92	57.4	31.1	11.5	61
1992-93	57.7	42.3	0.0	71
1993-94	64.9	33.0	2.1	94
1994-95	61.7	33.3	4.9	81
1995-96 ²	53.8	41.5	4.6	65
Total	41.9%	41.5%	16.6%	1,096

Sources: Universities Grants Commission Annual Reports 1972-73 to 1995-96. Percentage calculations by author.

Notes:

1. The First Year by Distance Education (FYDE) program began in 1990/91 as a three-year pilot program operated by IUS. Courses offered through FYDE are not included in the count for IUS.

2. Data unavailable for the 16 years from 1996-97 to 2011-12.

Table 4. IUS Course Sections by University, 2012-13 to 2021-22

Year	Proportion of Sections Taught (%)				Total Sections Taught (#)
	Brandon University	University College of the North	University of Manitoba	University of Winnipeg	
2012-13	21.3	34.7	40.0	4.0	75
2013-14	18.8	31.3	37.5	12.5	64
2014-15	20.3	33.3	36.2	10.1	69
2015-16	17.9	44.0	27.4	10.7	84
2016-17	13.6	27.1	45.8	13.6	59
2017-18	22.2	25.4	42.9	9.5	63
2018-19	20.3	22.0	57.6	3.4	59
2019-20	13.7	29.4	52.9	3.9	51
2020-21	19.5	17.1	61.0	7.3	41
2021-22	14.0	23.3	58.1	4.7	43
Total	18.3%	29.9%	43.6%	8.2%	612

Source: IUS. Percentage calculations by author.

Assessing the Value Added by IUS;

This research has highlighted the value added to Manitoba’s post-secondary system by IUS. Findings fell into four general categories, the first and perhaps most obvious being accessibility. IUS was designed primarily to provide students with opportunities to pursue university education closer to home (Marchant & Mitchell, 2012; Waines, 1978). IUS has made higher education accessible to northerners in Manitoba, including delivering individual courses, and filling course gaps in complete university programs delivered in northern Manitoba.

Second, IUS helped to build relationships with northern and First Nations communities and higher education—often offering people their first opportunity to take university courses, as well as contributing to local social and economic development. In so doing, IUS created a network of communities involved in higher education, laying a foundation for the teacher education, nursing, and social work degree programs that were later established in northern Manitoba, and indeed creating those community networks upon which FYDE, the First Year by Distance Education program, relied when established in 1990, and that UCN continues to rely upon today in its regional network of community campuses.

Third, IUS helped to build relationships among universities in Manitoba through structured cooperation. Indeed, the absence of significant conflict observed was explained by one interviewee as the product of collegial discussion by IUAC of issues as they arose, without necessarily having to refer those issues

to higher bodies within any of the partner institutions. All interviewees spoke of the good intentions of all the institutions, and the members of IUAC, to work toward solutions to ensure continued delivery of university education in northern Manitoba. This finding is consistent with Blonar's (1989) observation regarding the dedication of all individuals involved in IUS as being a key part of its success.

Further, the collaborative relationship inherent with the IUS model also helped to lend stability and legitimacy to UCN in its first years as a degree-granting institution, creating a framework within which programs could be rolled out with the support of more well-established universities. One interviewee noted that IUS presented a framework to help "support UCN's identity and legitimacy ... and to ... establish myself as a competent administrator with my peers."

Finally, interviewees agreed that the flexibility of IUS was a significant strength of the model. This flexibility is reflected in both the structure of IUS, as well as an administrative informality that evolved over time. As described in greater detail above, IUS's structure helps to ensure that students do not face barriers associated with, among other things, residency requirements, credit transfer, or visiting student status. This provides students with greater flexibility, giving them a broad array of course options, and allowing them to stay in their home communities, at least for a period of time, to pursue university education.

The degree of administrative informality that evolved helped IUS through changes over its fifty-year history; flexibility has been key to adaptation. While there are certainly established, written, and well-managed procedures around credit transfer, visiting student status, and other critical processes, any formal, written agreement that may have existed in 1972-73 amongst the partner universities has been lost to time, but without much apparent concern from those partner universities; IUS operations and partner university relationships evolved as needed by changing circumstances.

Administrative informality is also observed in the inconsistent approach to planning, described by one interviewee as "planning as we went along." The selection of communities served and courses to be delivered was tactical, based on factors described above, and not based on a strategic plan mapping out the development of higher education in northern Manitoba.

Ultimately, the principal value added by IUS has been to provide increased access to university education in northern Manitoba. In so doing, IUS has been a framework to support the development of relationships between northern communities, programs, and among Manitoba's universities. In pursuing these values, IUS sought to be flexible, adopting informal approaches focused on achieving outcomes, which, as one interviewee explained, meant that IUS could "operate under the radar" to accomplish more than might have been possible otherwise.

Conclusion

This article has examined Manitoba's approach to delivering university education in the North, reflecting the shared understanding that the challenges to the delivery of higher education in northern regions requires different ways of doing things. Adding to the panoply of models used to deliver university education in the Provincial North, IUS is unique in that it is a consortium of the degree-granting institutions in Manitoba that provides course delivery in many different communities.

The research into northern university education is not robust, and there are many other avenues open for inquiry. Future research into the delivery of university education in northern Canada could examine the educational outcomes associated with differing approaches, to determine if some models have been more successful than others. Other research could consider the experiences of northerners in southern institutions, including comparisons to the experiences from other northern jurisdictions. Similarly, future research could also look into students' perspectives on the various different northern approaches. Other interesting areas could include consideration of socio-economic changes on enrolment in northern university programs. In Manitoba, additional research could also be undertaken regarding the history of Keewatin Community College, and the development of other university programs, such as the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP) and its intersection with IUS.

Throughout its fifty years, Inter Universities Services contributed significantly, albeit in an unplanned way, to the evolution of university education in northern Manitoba. First delivering individual university courses in northern communities, IUS expanded its role to include filling course gaps in the degree programming that was introduced in the North by southern Manitoba universities. When a stand-alone institution, the University College of the North (UCN), was introduced, IUS had laid a foundation for understanding university education within northern communities, and provided, and continues to provide, courses that support UCN's degree programming. Despite IUS's humble beginnings and its sometimes-precarious existence, the growth and success of university education in northern Manitoba has been inextricably linked to IUS.

Northerners in Manitoba have reason to be optimistic about the future of university education in the province's northern region, and in particular about the role that IUS will play in that future. A 2022 strategic planning exercise undertaken by the Inter Universities Advisory Committee more formally incorporated academic preparation of students so as to help them succeed in

the courses offered and the programs supported by IUS. Additionally, IUAC has committed returning to more communities in future academic years. Communities themselves are looking to learning technology to augment access, strengthening connections between northern communities and Manitoba universities, further solidifying IUS as a critical part of university education in northern Manitoba.

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Research Article

Community Governance for Small Modular Reactor (SMR) Development: Lessons from Northern and Indigenous Energy Projects

Mariia Iakovleva

School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan

Abstract: Remote Indigenous communities in northern Canada often suffer from energy insecurity and energy poverty. In developing local clean energy production, there is an obvious benefit for government and industry partnering with these communities. However, the record of these partnerships is poor, with some failing to produce the expected benefits and others failing to get off the ground at all. This article is based on a study of four case studies of renewable energy projects in Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, in which I interviewed community project leaders to understand why these communities were interested in energy projects, what they hoped to achieve, and their experience with their partners. I also interviewed government and industry partners. While the results underline the importance of Indigenous intermediaries who can move easily between the communities and the larger energy production context, they also reveal a fundamental misalignment of expectations between Indigenous communities and their partners. Recent discussions about the potential for small modular nuclear reactors (SMRs) in remote communities have generally focused on features of the technology rather than on aspects of the social context of Indigenous communities. I argue that, for communities to fully understand the advantages and drawbacks of this technology, much more attention needs to be paid to the construction of a safe space where communities can frame the discussion within Indigenous world views and lived experience. I offer some policy suggestions for how this space can be constructed and protected.

1. Introduction

Northern, remote, Indigenous communities are among the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change (Furgal & Seguin, 2006; NCCIH, 2022; Peace & Myers; Prowse et al., 2009; UNDESA, 2008). This risk drives the need for both enhanced energy security and an accelerated energy transition for those communities. Sustainability transitions (ST) theories have proposed a number of transformation processes through which established socio-technical systems shift to more sustainable modes of production and consumption (Geels, 2011; Kivimaa & Virkamäki, 2014; Köhler et al., 2019; Markard et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2010). Sustainable energy transition is fundamental for northern, remote, and Indigenous communities (Doyon et al., 2021; Hoicka et al., 2021; Karanasios & Parker, 2018); however, the majority of ST theories are based on Eurocentric approaches, where Indigenous communities are largely absent (Iakovleva et al., 2021). And while there is literature on just energy transitions for Indigenous Peoples, there is no existing framework for what the unique sustainability transition and engagement process for Indigenous communities could look like (UN, 2021).

Indigenous communities historically have unique perspectives on sustainability that are different from the Eurocentric approaches found in the sustainability transitions literature (Kouril, 2015; Sheridan & Longboat, 2006; Throsby & Petetskaya, 2016; Tom et al., 2019; Virtanen et al., 2020). With the accelerated development of technology and innovation, many Indigenous nations see value in engaging in the global goal of energy transition, but they want to do it on their terms (Hoicka et al., 2021; Savic & Hoicka, 2021). So the question is, can clean-energy transition acceleration, which is part of global plans in addressing climate change, align with Indigenous nations' world views and their views on sustainable energy transition?

To deploy innovative clean energy technology in Canada, either renewables or small modular reactors (SMR), developers are required to fulfill their duty to consult and accommodate with potentially impacted Indigenous communities (CIRNAC, n.d.). These requirements are a well-known feature of the constitutionally protected rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, and there is no suggestion that the proponents of SMRs fail to understand this or will try to evade their obligations. But the hypothesis is that there is a disconnect between the perspectives of Indigenous communities and those of governments and industry regarding the sustainability transition. Traditional sustainability transitions theories (Geels, 2011; Kivimaa & Virkamäki, 2014; Köhler et al., 2019; Markard et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2010) are more centred around enabling technological development, while social factors are used mainly to explain those technological

changes. However, recent research shifts that focus towards the combination of the technical and social, where factors like institutions, culture, and behavioural patterns play a more prominent role as drivers of change (Holtzet al., 2008). I acknowledge these developments as helpful in understanding how Indigenous communities can take part in and even initiate transitions. Indigenous governance becomes part of the broader socio-technical regime that confronts an innovation like an SMR and helps determine its prospects, but we should not lose sight of the possibility that Indigenous communities can also be places for niche innovation. Thus, in this study I consider socio-technical regimes as complex systems that perform societal functions.

In many cases, the challenge of energy transitions, apart from the capacity building of Indigenous nations, is about linking the skills and tools that now exist, or can be potentially accumulated within communities and nations, with the requirements of government and industry. Energy transition for communities involves getting into something far more technical, such that they benefit from an intermediary who can provide guidance and support in every stage of the project development process (Iakovleva & Rayner, 2023).

Thus, the goal of this research was to study community governance of energy projects and investigate the role of intermediaries in energy transitions. The article provides recommendations that include the vision of northern, remote, and Indigenous communities in sustainable energy transitions. This work is part of a larger project on SMRs (which currently only exist as demonstration projects), and is based on the lessons learned from clean energy technologies in sustainability transitions case studies (Iakovleva et al., 2021). This may be relevant for SMR development and the role of intermediaries (agents or brokers between parties in the innovation process) and storylines in SMR development (Iakovleva & Rayner, 2023).

In section 2, I briefly review the literature on sustainability transitions and community governance, including previous work on the lessons of other clean-energy technologies that may be relevant for SMRs and for the role of intermediaries and storylines around SMRs. In section 3, I describe the research methodology, and section 4 provides an overview of four case studies of community energy projects in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta. In section 5, I look at the themes that emerged from interviews with communitifes, while in section 6 I investigate government/industry perspectives. Then in section 7 I analyze those perspectives to see whether there is an alignment and/or a discrepancy between them. Section 8 provides brief policy recommendations based on the results, and section 9 concludes the article.

2. Background

In Canada, the energy transition is for the most part driven by the federal and provincial governments and by the energy industry, with provincial utilities (such as publicly owned or Crown corporations providing electricity) supporting the development of innovative technologies. Discussion of appropriate technologies focusing on community energy needs is limited (Hargreaves et al., 2013; Seyfanget al., 2014; Smith et al., 2016). The rapid and fairly recent development of small nuclear modular reactors in Canada (SMR), provides a good example of this disconnect and its potential consequences.

SMRs can be defined either as “small modular reactors” or as “small and medium-sized reactors” according to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA, 2020). The power output for a small reactor is up to 300 MWe (megawatt of electricity), and for a medium reactor it is between 300 and 700 MWe. Modular means that the reactors are assembled from different modules, where each module is part of a finished plant, not constructed on-site (Ingersoll, 2015; Sovacool & Ramana, 2015). Small nuclear reactors have been around for several decades. Ingersoll (2015) argues that “they are neither new to the nuclear industry nor represent a whole new technology” (Ingersoll, 2015, p. 3). However, their design features intend to offer an energy option to those customers for whom large nuclear plants are not a viable choice.

Micro modular reactors (producing less than 5 MWe) are specifically proposed for remote communities and resource extraction projects in order to reduce dependency on diesel-generated energy and, in the case of communities, to gain economic independence. Larger SMRs (up to 300 MWe) are generally of direct interest to provincially owned utility companies to offset the use of fossil fuels and reach net-zero emissions goals. With this, the proximity of Indigenous communities and their traditional lands will be important factors in siting and operations.

There is a proposed timeline for deployment based on technology and regulatory readiness levels. Conventional designs and advanced designs with fewer innovative features are expected to be demonstrated and commercialized before 2030, while more innovative SMRs may not be commercialized until later in the 2030s. Thus, nuclear energy experts identify phase 1 and phase 2 for SMR deployment (NEA, 2023). Saskatchewan and Alberta are signatories of a Memorandum of Understanding that also includes the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario (Government of Saskatchewan, 2022). Saskatchewan selected a 300 MWe water-cooled, natural circulation SMR to be built and integrated into the grid. Alberta has not made any plans yet, but in January 2024

advanced with Capital Power Corporation, a publicly-traded Alberta electrical utility, signing an agreement with Ontario Power Generation (OPG) to jointly assess the development and deployment of grid-scale SMRs in Alberta.

These developments are intended to provide clean, reliable energy for the provinces, yet they are predominantly driven by global actors, government, and industry to achieve clean energy goals, rather than by the visions that northern communities have for their own energy futures.

3. Theoretical Framework and Method

3.1. Theoretical Framework

There is much literature that investigates the socio-cultural implications of the transition to renewable energies in Indigenous communities, particularly off-grid diesel powered communities in Canada (Bledsoe, 2022; Cook, 2019; Hoicka et al., 2021; Karanasios, 2018; Savic & Hoicka, 2021; St. Denis & Parker, 2009). However, limited research has been conducted on community-informed approaches that are embedded in a broader societal transition, especially those with application to SMRs.

This study takes a sustainability transitions approach (informed by Indigenous economic development and intermediaries), specifically the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) that focuses on the problem of taking innovative technologies from the protected “niche” environments they inhabit during research and development, and supporting their large-scale adoption in more competitive environments that are often dominated by incumbent technologies and institutions hostile to innovation (El Bilali, 2019; Geels, 2011; Markard & Truffer, 2008). This is important in understanding the development of innovative technology with potential application to northern, remote, and Indigenous communities. As such, this approach helps to understand similarities and differences between renewable energy technology and SMR development. Renewable technologies—solar photovoltaic, small-scale hydro, and biomass—had all broken out of their original niches and achieved broad social acceptance by the time the Indigenous communities in these case studies came to consider them. The challenge for the proponents was to have them adopted in a new context—remote, Indigenous communities—that posed additional challenges which, I will argue, were not well understood by proponents because of a failure to listen carefully to what their community partners were telling them.

SMRs, on the other hand, are still very much a “niche” protected-space technology, and proponents will have to surmount the double challenge of empowering an unfamiliar technology in an unfamiliar context, a case in which the technology stands very little chance of serious consideration unless the

community context receives more careful attention. This research demonstrates that the renewable energy projects now under development in Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta are mostly embraced by the communities, and are closer to the world views of those communities than other energy technologies. Thus, they present a good learning case for SMRs.

I also draw on the concept of intermediaries in the sustainability transitions literature, defined as “organization(s) or bod(ies) that act [as] an agent or broker in any aspect of the innovation process between two or more parties” (Howells, 2006). Intermediary actors and networks are the key agents that develop and spread the discourses that seek to empower technologies in their quest to escape the niche and survive and prosper in the broader regime (Sovacool et al., 2020; Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008; van Lente et al., 2020). However, there is the role of power and politics in the governance of socio-technical transitions (Iakovleva et al., 2021). Community governance, as this research demonstrates, is a broader concept than the traditional understanding of governance (Totikidis et al., 2005); in this research it includes traditional government (Band Councils, First Nations, Tribal Councils as set by the federal Indian Act), and governance of energy projects that include multiple actors and governance instruments. As such, institutionally privileged actors are able to make more forceful changes to multi-level dynamics compared to many others that play a less strategic role (Geels, 2004; Smith et al., 2005). I emphasize that SMRs cannot be adopted unless political obstacles are systematically addressed, which requires intermediaries to help guide the process by linking actors, activities, skills, and resources (Iakovleva & Rayner, 2023).

Therefore, I investigate the governance and development of the case study community energy projects and the role of intermediaries, to help provide a comprehensive understanding of their role and placement in the socio-technical regime.

3.2 Research Question and Method

This research is qualitative and uses methods of secondary data analysis, semi-structured interviews, and case studies. First, I conducted secondary data analysis of public documents from government agencies, utility companies, intermediary organizations, SMR vendors, communities of identified case study projects, and websites of relevant First Nations, Tribal Councils, and relevant Indigenous organizations. After that, between May 2022 and January 2023, I conducted twenty-one interviews with representatives from government, industry, and communities, including policy-makers, community project leaders, utility companies, SMR vendors, and intermediaries concerned with energy futures. I then made a verbatim transcript of the interview. Interview subjects were identified according to a

classification based on their organization: seven respondents came from industry (five utilities, one vendor, and one other); six from intermediary organizations (three advocacy organizations and three brokers); seven from community organizations; and one from academia. The community project interviews were with project leaders and representatives (Indigenous and non-Indigenous), which included two people for each case study except for the Tazi Twé project, where there was only one community representative. The project had been shelved a while ago and it was challenging to find multiple representatives for the project; however, I interviewed utility representatives who directly worked with the project development at the time. To test the hypothesis for analysis, the interview data was divided into a government/industry category and a community category. This was done to differentiate federal, provincial government, and industry perspectives from the community perspectives, and to represent or reflect the authentic voice of the communities via or through community project representatives.

Each transcript was coded with NVivo software using thematic analysis, which identifies and interprets patterns in a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Liebenberget al., 2020; Xu & Zammit, 2020); these patterns were found from interpreting keywords used by respondents. Identified themes were coded as nodes, which helped me to establish a set of codes that were applied to further categorize data. After that, I linked the recurring themes together as sub-nodes under one overarching node. To validate, I conducted a second revision of the data. This helped me to build a revised set of codes for the themes that emerged from industry/government and community projects' perspectives.

Based on the hypothesis that there is a disconnect between perspectives of Indigenous communities and those of government and industry perspectives on the sustainability transition. I studied community projects' governance to find a way to reconcile these perspectives, and to create a community-informed policy environment for innovative technology implementation that would contribute to the sustainability transition. This led to my research questions:

1. How can insights provided from sustainability transition case study lessons help us understand the community governance of energy projects in sustainable energy transitions for innovative technology, thus, create a policy environment for innovative technology adoption in northern, remote, and Indigenous areas?
2. Based on the experience of the community energy projects, what are the policy recommendations for innovative technology adoption in northern and Indigenous areas, for potential application for SMR projects?

To answer these questions, I studied innovative energy technology case studies from a community governance lens, then I applied the same lens to

the industry and government representatives' data to learn whether there is an alignment or discrepancy. This research takes a generalized approach to innovative technologies by including renewable energy and SMRs in the category of clean energy technology.

4. Community Projects

The four selected case studies involve innovative energy technologies, particularly renewable energy projects, that are driven and led by northern and Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan or Alberta. They are examples of Indigenous-owned and led projects that create a difference in their communities, including energy security, carbon emissions offset, infrastructure improvement, and investment opportunities. Two of the case studies represent a single community initiative, while the other two are a group initiative of the community. Case studies were selected based on the technology the project employed: biomass, hydro, or solar in on-grid and remote off-grid communities, as well as the location of each project. The selected projects also include examples of both successful and unsuccessful projects.

4.1. Meadow Lake Tribal Council Biomass Project

Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) is comprised of nine First Nations in northwestern Saskatchewan (Canoe Lake, Flying Dust, Island Lake, Makwa Sahgaiehcan, Waterhen Lake, Birch Narrows, Buffalo River, Clearwater River, and English River), with a population of about 16,000 people living on and off reserves. Like many rural First Nations, most of those in the MLTC have limited opportunities for economic development, so the main goal for the Meadow Lake Tribal Council Bioenergy Centre project was to generate revenue to fund their operations, services, and programs by providing clean energy from waste. Forestry is important in northwestern Saskatchewan, though harsh conditions and distance from markets puts limitations on the development of the industry. MLTC invested in two sawmills: one in Meadow Lake, and most recently one in Glaslyn designed for more intensive utilization of timber, including the production of posts, rails, and wood residues (biomass). The Glaslyn mill is now a 100% Indigenous-owned facility recycling waste from three existing mills in the area.

In 2018 MLTC secured \$52.5 million from the Canadian government's green infrastructure program to support the biomass project, and made a 6.6 MW (megawatt) power purchase agreement (PPA) with SaskPower, the provincial electrical utility. While the government provided funding, MLTC looked after the planning, operations, and development, choosing self-management over contracting externally. To receive federal funding for the project, MLTC

had to create a slightly complex management structure involving a not-for-profit corporation that returns dividends for distribution to MLTC Resource Development Inc. (RDI), an entity governed by a board comprised of the Chiefs of the nine First Nations, the Chief of the Tribal Council, and two external members.

4.2. Fort Chipewyan Solar Project

Fort Chipewyan is a remote community in northern Alberta with a population of approximately 1,200 people. The Fort Chipewyan Solar Project is the first and largest off-grid solar farm in Canada (Government of Alberta, n.d.). For the community, solar was seen as the most viable option to offset the use of diesel generators without investing in expensive infrastructure. With the help of ATCO, a publicly traded company providing natural gas and electricity in Alberta, Three Nations Energy (3NE) was created. It is owned collaboratively by Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation (ACFN), Mikisew Cree First Nation, and Fort Chipewyan Métis Nation. The 3NE Board of Directors consists of two representatives from each co-owner (Three Nations Energy, 2023).

In this case, 3NE invited Greenplanet Energy Analytics, an Alberta-based clean energy company, to help design, manage, and build the solar farm. The result is a total of 2.95 MW of capacity, comprising 2.35 MW owned by 3NE and 600 kW owned by ATCO. The entire cost of the project was about \$7.7 million, with \$4.5 million provided by Natural Resources Canada and the rest by the Government of Alberta, which also provided funding for the original Community Energy Plan.

The solar farm was built to offset diesel emissions (25% annually) and to provide additional support to the local grid. It was also intended to give the community a greater stake in their own energy system. 3NE owns the solar farm and sells the electricity under the provincial small-scale generation regulations, or SSGR—85% of revenue is divided equally amongst the three owners, and 15% is held for energy education and stewardship. However, 85% is approximately \$50,000 to \$70,000 a year, which is insufficient for social, educational, and other community programs.

Unlike Saskatchewan, Alberta has a partially privatized energy market so 3NE sells to the Alberta Electric System Operator (AESO), while ATCO manages the local grid. ATCO also has a maintenance and service contract and operates a battery storage for the solar project, which is connected to a 6 MW solar farm of their own. They are responsible for ensuring that the solar farm is maintained and operated in a way that integrates with their larger system. The three Indigenous nation co-owners agreed on ownership, percentage, and project

share percentage, and 3NE spent several months increasing the comfort level of the Fort Chipewyan community with the idea of building and owning a solar project in collaboration with ATCO.

4.3. Tazi Twé Hydroelectric Project

Black Lake Denesuline First Nation (Black Lake), with a population of about 2,000, is located in the far north of Saskatchewan, one of the twelve members of the Prince Albert Grand Council. A peculiarity of the Saskatchewan power grid is the existence of a separate northern grid based on hydro power with connections to Manitoba but not to the rest of Saskatchewan. The Black Lake First Nation proposed increasing capacity on the northern grid with Tazi Twé, a run-of-the-river (i.e., using the natural downward flow of river) 50 MW hydroelectric project. Lacking experience with large-scale infrastructure projects, Black Lake turned to the Prince Albert Development Corporation (PADC), the economic development arm of the Prince Albert Grand Council, and to SaskPower as a partner.

The deal offered by SaskPower, the Crown corporation electric utility, included a 49% ownership interest for the First Nation with a 50/50 revenue split. Unlike the situation in Alberta, SaskPower is the sole power purchaser in Saskatchewan and would have been simultaneously a purchaser and a business partner. They were naturally interested in buying the power at the cheapest rate possible, while the First Nation's interest lay in maximizing revenue. The environmental impact assessment process for the project took over three years, during which time the estimated cost of the project inevitably increased while the main customer for the electricity, the northern Saskatchewan uranium mines, entered a prolonged period of low prices, resulting in mine closures and reduced demand.

In the end, the project was postponed. Thus, this project represents a case of failure, indicating not just how regulatory hurdles can affect community energy projects, but also the challenge of working with a monopoly power purchaser. Nevertheless, working with SaskPower created the opportunity to develop a number of energy efficiency projects in the community.

4.4. Muskoday Solar Projects

Muskoday Solar Projects are developed by Muskoday First Nation, a member of the Saskatoon Tribal Council. Band membership is approximately 2,200, of which about 780 live in the community, which is located in the area covered by the main, southern section of the Saskatchewan power grid. There are two solar projects overseen by the First Nation's economic development arm, the Muskoday Economic Development Authority (MEDA) (Muskoday First Nation, 2023). The first, in 2017, was a small community development project to provide solar panels for three community buildings, funded in part by the federal government's

Low Carbon Economy Challenge. Muskoday First Nation applied for \$500,000 but received only \$375,000 in funding from the federal program, financing the balance themselves. The second project was intended to generate revenue from selling power to the grid under a power purchasing agreement with SaskPower. Originally proposed as a 1 MW project, it was eventually reduced to 324 kW because of funding difficulties and the risks of financing agreements. Though the amounts may appear small, the project received only \$250,000 from the federal government and would have been required to generate close to capacity in order to finance larger bank loans, a risky proposition with solar power.

Planning and support for the project was provided by the First Nations Power Authority (FNPA)—an intermediary Indigenous non-for-profit development company that helps build clean energy projects in Indigenous communities—and the Muskoday Economic Development Authority. MEDA's Board of Directors consists of seven members, four Muskoday First Nation members and three independent members. Grants were essential to the feasibility of the projects. They were never sufficient to cover all the costs, however, and they involved the same circuitous process observed at Meadow Lake; MEDA prepared the application, and the Muskoday First Nation formally applied for the grant and then turned the money over to MEDA. Like Meadow Lake, both Muskoday and Tazi Twé ended up with a more top-down approach in contrast to the more bottom-up governance found at Fort Chipewyan.

5. Key Themes from the Community Interviews

The themes identified from the interviews with community representatives reveal high-level goals such as economic self-sufficiency and sustainability, while process, recognition, and capacity building are seen as the main challenges and opportunities that need to align with Indigenous world views.

5.1 High-Level Goals: Economic Self-Sufficiency and Sustainability

For all those interviewed, one of the main goals of energy projects was to generate revenue to fund programs and services. The nations want to become self-sustaining; the interviewees emphasized that they “don't want control through ‘handouts’” (community interviewee #1). The other goal is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and gain energy security by creating clean energy projects that also align with the interviewees' Indigenous perspective of respecting the land. The findings show that escaping dependence is the main driver behind the nations' development of renewable energy projects. The interviewees admitted that federal transfers are not enough, so communities still face a lack of funding for community programs and services. Therefore, the communities in these case studies look for projects that can help gain self-sufficiency, but which also align with their Indigenous world views.

5.2 Challenges and Opportunities: Process, Recognition, and Capacity Building

The community leaders, as well as the government and industry respondents, agree there is need for a better process when it comes to the planning and implementation of energy projects. Interestingly, community leaders see the pre-planning phase as the most difficult. Funding is certainly a challenge, but their frustrations revolved around the failure of government and industry to see Indigenous communities as equal partners, and to ensure that the communities have the decision-making space and capacity to turn that equal vision into reality:

you have to build capacity from within and do your research properly. But I think there needs to be more willingness by government and by Crown corporations to walk down that road together. It's in everybody's interest ... (community interviewee #5)

Achieving equality in part requires a change of attitude but, as community respondents expressed, that change comes with a responsibility to rethink what true partnership involves.

For these community leaders, the future of their communities is tied up with the planning process and funding in complex ways. For communities it seems like a one-sided approach that they need to come up with proposals, make inquiries, and go to a power utility. When it comes to who has more influence in decision making, the communities argue that it is “those who can control the purse strings at [the] provincial and SaskPower level” (community interviewee #5). Whether the utility is public or private, the concerns are similar: “In Saskatchewan, we're limited to one purchaser, so they pretty much hold the cheque book” (community interviewee #1). SaskPower has negotiating power and control in a number of aspects, as a respondent said: “you have a group there, that's a gatekeeper” (community interviewee #1). This is equally applicable to the Alberta case where ATCO and AESO are seen as the main decision makers.

This broad perception of inequality is supported by two specific areas where community leaders mentioned capacity deficits. The first is funding in a context where the partner sets up high expectations in project development that requires sufficient capital funding: “Any kind of project that's going to generate sufficient energy that's worth selling back to SaskPower is going to be costly” (community interviewee #5). Therefore, all the community representatives emphasized the difficulty in raising the finances for starting the project and the time that it will take to recoup the investment.

Global and Canadian climate change policies have created a window of opportunity for Indigenous nations and for government to find energy options that do not require much capital cost but are efficient in combating climate change. So,

the federal government started to develop clean energy grants and funding that became, in most cases, the only way for First Nations to develop their renewable projects. Even then, when part of a project needed to be financially covered by the Indigenous nations, they encountered many difficulties. The revenue for all projects was modest so the projects could not have proceeded without grants. Indigenous groups in some of the case studies were able to successfully secure parts of their funding from the federal government and another part from a commercial bank. In the case studies, interviewees emphasized that the projects were not considered profitable from an investment perspective. They argued that power purchase agreements are not lucrative, but they are a stable revenue model.

The challenge posed by rising interest rates is that the same revenue could be generated from investment rather than capital expenditure. While this might not seem like a problem, the communities saw projects as essential to developing their own capacities. Even though the return on investment for the projects would not meet standard investment criteria, it made sense for other reasons. For Indigenous nations in these case studies, it was about becoming more self-sufficient. Even then, for all the projects, the reasons behind developing their projects filter down to financial support of community programming, hence more programs and services for First Nations.

Despite difficulties with acquiring the funding and grants, interviewees agreed that government has a role in finance and public support: “Government plays a key role, absolutely. Without government, it wouldn’t happen but at the same time it’s not an easy process” (community interviewee #2). They emphasized that the work with the federal government was more straightforward and within predictable time frames, compared with the provincial government. However, as interviewees noted, some of the funding was provided by the federal government but paid through the province. And since Saskatchewan is limited to one power purchaser, interviewees argued that “SaskPower held more power, and acted as a customer, not as purchaser” (community interviewee #4). Community interviewees felt like they could not make better returns for their communities, as there is gatekeeping. Government creates processes where First Nations would be excluded from pursuing some of those opportunities to begin with. They emphasized that the government needs to think about reasons other than just the cost in developing renewable energy projects. They see that SaskPower policy started creating opportunities for Indigenous people, but they need the provincial government to take a leadership role.

Thus, the financial issues are directly connected to the other capacity challenge, human capacity:

Government can be their own worst enemy ... they come up with various grant funding opportunities that are well intentioned, but quite often the community doesn't have the bench strength ... to apply for these grants or administer these grants (community interviewee #2)

In the Fort Chipewyan case, the process was perceived to be onerous even though their industry partner was responsible for the application: "when you have industry experts [ATCO] that are challenged by some of the bottlenecks of government as well, I don't know how any individual community could be successful in getting millions of dollars in funding for such projects, despite their best intentions" (community interviewee #2). Once successful, the nation found that the government wanted to deal with its industry partner and not with the community:

There was a collaborative approach but ... NRCan wanted ATCO to administer the bank accounts, process payments for a project that was supposed to be Indigenous. So, we had to go back and lobby the government to allow us to actually oversee the funds ... (community interviewee #2)

The power differential in decision making is aggravated by the heterogeneity of the Indigenous communities. A community project leader pointed out that "people within the communities have very different perspectives ... so often government and media ... they kind of look at it as a blob of the same and they fail to recognize the complexity" (community interviewee #3). For instance, in the Tazi Twé project there were at least three factions within the community: those whose overriding concern is protection of the environment, those who want business development driven by financial interests, and those driven by personal political interests. The latter maintain the middle-ground position when it comes to new projects as it would most likely affect who might vote for them. Some advocates of development argued that they have to understand and accept the politics of their communities:

Others maintained that successful projects are a result of strong leadership backed by the community. Thus, in the Tazi Twé case, the respondents argued that "the leadership was standing on the sideline ... and 'yes' side won ... had the leadership truly been leaders and taking a stand? Maybe that would have been different, maybe the majority would have been stronger"; "The project would have

gone ahead, had not the economic conditions changed, but it was a struggle all the way through because there was no consensus in the community or the leadership” (community interviewee #3).

Another division in a community can be generational. As a community respondent pointed out, Elders generally were not supportive for a number of reasons: “afraid of change; hoping to go back to the old ways; stressing independence; wondering why they couldn’t bring a diesel generator back in to generate power; concerned about the land and the impact on the environment” (community interviewee #3). However, even within Elders there is a split between those focusing on the future and those wanting to go back to the past:

Some saw this as a future for the children, the profits generated from this project would have made a fundamental change in the community. Over time, the community could have become financially independent. It would have provided employment opportunities and training. The young people, particularly the males, were supportive because they wanted jobs, particularly through the construction ... to obtain skills and income. (community interviewee #3)

There was also a group that preferred not to be involved or were indifferent to any project development.

5.3 Energy Projects Continue to be Framed within Indigenous World Views

Community interviews revealed that in developing innovative technology projects like renewable energy, there is an alignment with Indigenous world views and the concept of a cycle and circularity: “First of all, I think, what you have to consider is [the] First Nations world view. First Nations consider Mother Earth the most important thing because everything we get, we get from Mother Earth for use, benefit, and survival” (community interviewee #5). Using sun, wind, and geothermal energy is believed to have minimal effect on the land and, therefore, does not damage the cycle and circularity of life: “So, it fits in with our world view to develop these natural resources: sun, wind, geothermal, but that’s so expensive to develop geothermal. Wind and sun, we think we will always have, at least we hope we will. So, why not utilize as best we can and more than fossil fuels so [we don’t] pollute Mother Earth” (community interviewee #5). For Meadow Lake Tribal Council the goal of the biomass project is for the community to “become more self-sustaining, generate more revenue, and then better fund programs and services ... there’s also the goal of clean energy and not wasting”; “And it creates employment as well” (community interviewee #4). Underlining this is the traditional teaching that “not one piece of the tree should go to waste, everything should be used” (community interviewee #4). For most

of the case study communities, the broader objectives of the renewable energy projects align with their Indigenous world view and concepts. For example, Cree Peoples have the concept of *pimachesowin*, an “ability to make a good living,” which is similar to the Anishinaabe Peoples’ concept of *bimaadiziwin*, the “Good Life,” and *ayii yorege* “teachings of good spirits,” in my Sakha/Yakut Peoples’ culture. The concept of “making a good living” unites the idea of the land, good conduct, and self-sufficiency, which includes values such as self-worth, dignity, and independence that are essential to a community’s or a nation’s security. This concept is especially relevant today in the context of the threat of environmental and technological disasters. In this context, the concept of “making a good living” has an importance for Indigenous Peoples in the rebuilding of the communities and in decolonization (Iakovleva, 2022).

These priorities of communities are not the main reason for industry and government seeking partnerships. They are oftentimes driven by the incentives of economic benefits and, recently, addressing climate change. However, climate change is linked to sustainability, which presumably has different meanings for communities and industry/government. Therefore, learning the government and industry perspective will help to understand their position when it comes to building clean energy projects in northern, remote, and Indigenous communities, which will then help to reveal whether there is an alignment or discrepancy in the perspectives of Indigenous communities and those of government/industry.

6. Key Themes from Industry and Government Interviews and Lessons for SMR Development

This section provides insights from the interviews with government/industry (including Crown corporations, and public and private companies in the energy industry), as well as from the community interviews on potential SMR development. While SMRs are not currently under consideration, the general sentiment of community respondents is neutral.

There’s been little or no discussion on what communities think of SMRs as far as environmental issues ... But as far as an opportunity for a community that feels they’re comfortable with it produce electricity and heat, district heating system, it’s probably a tremendously smart idea. With these new, safer microgeneration systems, the one that generates 5 MW, you’re able to do just like we did with the biomass; the federal government, they have to get off a diesel grant program out there right now... (community interviewee #1)

Community acceptance is another big challenge with any type of new project: “if you’re talking about nuclear, time will tell ... to be honest with you, it was challenging enough to get community buy-in for a solar project”; “Swaying public opinion in a small community, it would be very challenging to say the least, not impossible but challenging”; the “Alberta government is hoping to [get SMRs] in the oil sands, and maybe further into the north but you need to consult; you need buy-in from the locals ...” (community interviewee #2).

Ironically, SMRs are not considered feasible for power production in Saskatchewan’s uranium mines, which are currently powered by hydroelectricity on the northern grid: “in the north, that would be [the] absolute last place they would put a small nuclear reactor”; “Uranium mines buy power at cheap cost, locked in agreements for multi years” (community interviewee #3).

The concern over waste is still one of the main issues, however, and a community leader hoped that a solution to the current practice of storing spent fuel on-site could be found:

I’ve got a little bit of mixed feelings on nuclear energy ... personally, I’m on the fence a little. The biggest story is the waste ... I know that tremendous potential it has. There’s got to be a way that modern technology can deal with it that’s going to be sustainable into the future ... (community interviewee #5)

The overarching theme that the government/industry interviewees see around the work with communities in the development of SMRs and other clean energy projects, is relationship building—inviting the communities to talk and listening to them as a way to amend past relationships and actions. Thematic analysis demonstrated that governments cannot always control the dynamic, however; as the sustainability transitions lessons for SMR development demonstrated, it is still a political strategy to argue for empowering the niche, in this case the SMR niche (Iakovleva et al., 2021). Governments and industry do make an effort, but this is done, as Smith and Raven (2012) put it, in a way that presents “important change processes as resting in actors strategically re-telling the past to make new sense of the present and envision alternative futures” (Smith & Raven, 2012). This is clearly uncovered in the industry/government interviews.

We’ve all learned over the years that it does have to be a partnering and a two-way conversation; it can’t be ‘this is what we’re trying to do’. And that’s one of the things that we’ve heard about is that don’t come with what you plan to do, come with ‘this is what we’re interested in doing’ and listen ... (industry interviewee #1)

As such, actors in the government and industry see the development of SMRs as a window of opportunity to amend the relationships damaged in the past with larger nuclear plants. “It is a matter of understanding where the relationship exists today, what is the history of the relationship, and being very respectful of legacy issues” (industry interviewee #2). Both federal and provincial governments as well as electricity utilities have difficult legacies with Indigenous communities in Canada in developing any type of energy projects. They base their understanding of the need to build new relationships on the lessons of the past and in alignment with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) and Calls to Action:

we’re trying to make sure that we’re not moving too quickly, that we [don’t] blow by those communities, the broad public and Indigenous people in the province, right? And so, it’s a journey that we’re going to take together, and you just try to be very respectful of every situation, and what the history and legacy is (industry interviewee #2).

These statements reveal the difference between Indigenous/community and industry/government perspectives in understanding the matter of timing. It is impossible to say how long it will take to build trust and reconcile relations with Indigenous nations, but for government and industry it is just an objective like any other and put in the time frame of what will work for the project. As such, government/industry plan for relationship-building with communities to take as long as the project's development, while Indigenous nations perceive that this will take a longer time. Reconciliation is a long process that may take decades and longer.

This is not to say that the communities in the case studies deliberately drew out the process. In fact, the reverse is true because the consequences of failure were so much greater for the communities. The project failure represented the community’s lack of decision-making power, which didn’t affect the industry to the same extent. The governments and industry fail to understand the power differential, and that engagement with communities does not grant decision-making power to the communities:

the thing about investing in a nuclear power plant or a hydroelectric dam is you’re asking folks today to make an 80-year decision ... somebody had to have the courage 60 years ago to make that capital decision and to get the community support, and then generations just benefited from it. (industry interviewee #3)

This informs how government/industry holds the perspective of giving the communities a choice by providing all the benefits of clean energy, such as SMRs, and then expecting the communities to make a decision and accept the technology. They see it as the way of being welcoming, acknowledging the lack of answers and providing information for communities to decide: “if they were presented clear, evidence-based options, I don’t see how all of them would say no” (intermediary interviewee #4).

And so, I think it’s on us, right? Like, Indigenous communities know what they want, they know what they’re doing, they know what their priorities are, they are the experts in their own lives and history. And if we forget that or ignore that, we’re going to blow up our own projects, right? (industry interviewee #5)

the key is to invite communities, welcome them to learn, but not ordering them to learn, if you can see the difference. (Industry interviewee #6)

However, these government/industry actions create a one-dimensional approach where the provision of information and options for communities, without realizing the power differential, creates predisposed inequality. Thus, even informing communities of options and providing the necessary information does not fulfill the requirements of meaningful engagement with communities. Nevertheless, that does not mean that government/industry actors do not make steps towards meaningful engagement. There are authentic attempts towards building trust and relationships with communities by open and frequent communication and collaborative work: “I think we often forget that, we forget the human element of building trust and building relationships. And that is something that I think policy makers can’t afford to forget” (industry interviewee #5).

The government/industry respondents expressed a will to approach communities in a meaningful way, but from the interviews at large it seemed there was a lack of unanimity and understanding of where to start in approaching the communities. On this point, the community interviewees pointed out that an Indigenous advisor or specialist in a utility organization or government usually carries the largest share of the responsibilities in working on building trust and relationships with Indigenous communities.

Among the actions that the government/industry takes as meaningful engagement and empowerment approaches is the idea of providing equity participation to Indigenous groups in SMR projects. There is no clear picture among the interviewees on the process, but it is, again, based on changing the way things were done in the past. The interviewees admit that historically

Indigenous communities had not been part of the equation and that needs to change: “Indigenous people are rights holders, but they’re to me, they’re number one on the list of influencers. And they have to be brought along, and this is an opportunity for them to be involved from the ground up in a new industry being developed” (intermediary interviewee #9).

Other actions include attempts to legitimize the work towards Indigenous engagement. The first includes organizational policy documents such as, for example, Ontario Power Generation’s Reconciliation Action Plan: “it’s got some real metrics on there. So, this is not just words, this basically says we’re going to spend X dollars in the next 10 years with Indigenous companies and committing to us, and we’re measuring our performance against that, we’ll continue to measure performance and publicly convey whether we achieved those goals that we set out” (industry interviewee #7).

The second legitimization attempt is the work with intermediaries, and the third legitimization attempt is community agreements. These actions are a step forward towards actual steps in building a meaningful engagement process with communities.

7. Discussion

Governments, both federal and provincial, have decision-making power when it comes to any energy project development in northern, remote, and Indigenous communities. Electrical utility companies may also have a role, especially if they are private corporations. The previous sections of this article show that government and industry have the power to walk away from new projects anytime, as in the Tazi Twé case study, while communities are more dependent on government and industry. The system is set up so that organizational barriers are created for Indigenous nations in funding, regulation, and overall project development.

Although most projects are 100% Indigenous owned, the case studies reveal the complexity of the federal funding distribution system and the power imbalance it creates. An economic development agency, or similar type of organization, generally takes the lead in project management, but the governance arrangements are set up so that the federal government does not release funds directly to economic development authorities but to First Nations, which distribute the funds back to their economic development arms. In the Meadow Lake case study, the process was even more complicated, where they had to create a separate non-for-profit company in order to receive funding from the federal government.

Another barrier is non-transparency and the discretion in federal and provincial funding decisions. The case study projects show that First Nations were almost never successful in getting the amount requested in funding applications.

This is a special problem for First Nations as they are limited in options to make up for those shortfalls. In comparison with private corporations that can make up for shortfalls with external investments, First Nations encounter difficulty raising financing for the projects to begin with, and then recouping the investment if they succeed in getting it. This creates a lack of trust from Indigenous nations when it comes to even start developing innovative energy projects that also do not come with roadmaps.

Communities experience a lack of information in how and where to begin with the innovative technology development process, and they emphasize a lack of awareness of other communities' experiences. They argue that there is no guide or playbook in terms of where to start. The necessity of roadmaps is clear from the broader lessons of the transitions literature (Iakovleva et al., 2021). But interviews revealed that the government/industry action plans have not been fully integrated, including the part on community engagement. There are some attempts to create local roadmaps; for example, Ontario Power Generation and Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation came up with the Reconciliation Action Plan and the Community Energy Plan respectively. However, there's no comprehensive plan that represents both government/industry and community guidelines towards the development of clean energy technology. Even though government and industry interviewees voice the need for a streamlined process in the energy development process, overall they seem to have a unilateral understanding of where to start with community engagement, mostly founding their actions on narratives of building trust and relationships as a way of amending past actions. However, the relationship between government and industry or a utility can also be nuanced, for example, in the way that the provincial government can play a role directing a Crown corporation, which is different from a private organization. While private organizations would need to be involved and held accountable for the decision-making, Crown corporations are a part of the government and therefore if a project fails, governments can place responsibility on the Crown corporation; and if a project succeeds, governments can take all the credit. Overall, governments arguably see conducting business with Indigenous nations in energy projects as a risky venture.

Most communities have no prior relationship with Crown corporations on any energy projects. Therefore, communities also voice the need for a streamlined process both in funding and regulation, as well as a proactive role for the federal and provincial governments for policy decisions that support that process. As such, community interviewees emphasize the need for creation of a "space." The concept of space in this context entails several meanings. On the one hand, it is similar to the idea of "safe space," Indigenous space, that can take the form of formal and informal networks. Formal networks could be an institutionalized

space that potentially includes funding opportunities, such as procurement opportunities, access to private capital, funding platforms to build on, and so on; policy tools to have more decision-making power, such as expedited regulation for community projects, community decisions on technology options, and so on; and infrastructure development plans and others. Informal networks could be a non-institutionalized space where communities connect, learning from each other and approaching industry and government where they also get information on processes around project development and training (Rhodes, 2006).

On the other hand, the idea of space can be thought of in the sense of space creating time. This sense of space means that communities can take time to examine more and make an informed decision about project development. So, in addition to safe space, this relates to the space created through the results of government/industry actions. Overall, that is what the engagement process includes. However, industry/government see the engagement process only from the regulatory lens where in fact what is needed is time to engage with communities beyond legal processes and create space for a dialogue and a long-term reciprocal engagement process. Another issue is the question of a degree of institutionalization where government/industry work within the space of formal networks rather than informal, therefore running a risk of the space becoming institutionalized when it does not necessarily have to take that path. This contrasts with the traditional idea of institutional arrangement and aligns with the Indigenous world view of space, where informal networks can act as non-formalized spaces where nations reciprocate and build relationships. By creating that space, government and industry's role is to enable possibilities for communities to explore so that communities will not miss opportunities as in the past.

So, there is a role for intermediaries in helping to create and manage the space where it is possible to find ways to align the perspectives of government/industry and communities. From the sustainability transitions multi-level perspective, intermediaries can create a shift in a socio-technical regime (El Bilali, 2019; Geels, 2011; Markard & Truffer, 2008). In our previous article (Iakovleva & Rayner, 2023), intermediaries were studied from the lens of enabling technology adoption or “bridging the ‘valley of death’ between R&D and market introduction” (Schot & Geels, 2008, p. 538), where we found that intermediaries act as policy entrepreneurs, i.e., “actors who engage in collaborative efforts in and around government to promote policy innovations” (Mintrom, 2019, p. 319). Most vendor and utility interviewees mentioned the First Nations Power Authority as an organization they work with to build meaningful engagement with Indigenous communities. They argue that they have a collaborative relationship, where the FNPA helps to understand Indigenous issues and vendors help FNPA understand the technology, what's involved with the process of licensing, construction, and

operation. They point out that it's not a systematic approach yet. FNPA represents an organization that government and industry understand. It is a formal institution with clearly organized structure, therefore, "easy" to work with compared to First Nations and their organizational systems. However, FNPA is an Indigenous organization that also works to support First Nations, therefore it acts as a policy broker. This research reveals that Indigenous-based intermediaries have a vision that is different from a non-Indigenous intermediary. Both are driven by the common goal of a sustainable future, but they have a different understanding of the process and outcomes. Indigenous-based intermediaries have a role in creating a space that can operate through both formal and informal networks: formal institutionalized space and informal non-institutionalized space.

Therefore, intermediaries play an important role but the precise type and role of successful intermediaries is, as the innovation literature concedes, context dependent (Iakovleva & Rayner, 2023; Iakovleva et al., 2021). Communities have had intermediaries involved in the process. The case studies demonstrate that for the projects to be successful, the communities need to be the decision makers on the project; however, providing decision making is not enough, they also need space. There is still a role for an intermediary chosen by the community (for example, FNPA or Greenplanet Energy Analytics). In the case of Fort Chipewyan, the Greenplanet Energy Analytics company, was hired by 3NE to build and manage the project. In Meadow Lake, the project was contingent on biomass that has been developing in the area for decades. With the leadership of the community and the help of the intermediary FNPA, they strengthened their work in the development of the biomass project. Muskoday First Nation worked closely with FNPA, which helped the First Nation to recognize potential in SaskPower's call for proposals to build solar projects in Indigenous communities. The Black Lake First Nation needed support from an intermediary, which would have helped them build their case and work with SaskPower.

The role of FNPA is seen as lobbying on behalf of First Nations, where the nations acting individually were unsuccessful or inactive. Additionally, FNPA stands as a consulting agency when nations need assistance with administrative processes and other organizational barriers. FNPA could be seen as an incumbent-oriented intermediary (e.g., centrally considers interests of the established government) since it is mostly funded by the federal government and a Crown corporation; however, from the community projects' perspective, FNPA can provide support in creating that space of formal and informal networks. FNPA acts as a policy broker in creating the space for Indigenous nations.

Indigenous nations need a space where they can be present outside of just an Indigenous Relations' team. As the interviews reveal, Crown corporations have an Indigenous Relations team that mostly works with Indigenous communities on

energy projects and that could be limiting. A corporation's Indigenous Relations team has to cover many grounds, spanning over different areas and technologies. The breadth of responsibilities means that specialists need to be a "jack of all trades," which creates a shortage of more thorough work with communities. Therefore, this calls for skilled specialists on the capacity and management side, and that is where training is needed, in particular training in transferable skills. The education system provides specialists that can take on specific professions but, as the case study interviewees emphasize, there is need for project management and evaluation skills for energy technology development in Indigenous areas.

Project management plays a great role in success or failure. The case study projects reveal similarities in governance structures. For the Muskoday First Nation solar project, Meadow Lake Tribal Council biomass project, and Tazi Twé hydro project, an economic development arm played an important role as the project lead, while the Fort Chipewyan solar farm involved a collaboration of three First Nations and they hired a company to manage the project. If First Nations or a Tribal Council develop projects independently, as in the Muskoday, Meadow Lake, and Black Lake projects, they normally develop and manage projects through economic development agencies. If two or more nations develop projects together in collaboration, like the Fort Chipewyan project, they might do the same through their respective economic development agencies, or they may create a separate organization to oversee the project, in this case 3NE, and hire an agency for management. Therefore, it is critical to find the governance structure that fits the requirements of each First Nation and community. Fort Chipewyan is one of the most successful among the case study projects, which demonstrates that an energy co-operative is among the most efficient structures, where every party can benefit if the project succeeds.

As we can see, intermediaries creating space and capacity building are important factors in innovative technology adoption. Communities emphasize that Indigenous nations need to make the decisions, but the federal and provincial governments play an important role in initiating the change for those decisions.

8. Policy Recommendations

Based on the interviews with government/industry and community representatives, I identify the following policy recommendations or good practices for sustainable innovative technology adoption in northern and Indigenous areas, which are potentially applicable to future development of small modular nuclear reactors (SMRs). These recommendations are driven by the perspectives of Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta regarding their experiences with the development of renewable energy projects, but the recommendations include a broader narrative of clean energy technology

development. Learning from the existing experience and knowledge of northern Indigenous communities regarding renewables as a clean energy source provides advantages both for industries developing the technology, as well as for other communities—so that they have a comprehensive understanding and can make informed decisions on the development of clean energy, and potentially SMR projects. The federal government, utility companies, and SMR vendors argue that nuclear energy will play a key role in meeting Canada’s net-zero goals, in particular, SMRs (GE Hitachi Nuclear Energy, 2021; SaskPower, n.d.). However, large reactors are less relevant for northern, remote, Indigenous communities, except for mining site applications, and currently there is no development of SMRs in the communities. However, there are other projects, such as renewable energy projects, with lessons that can be applied to SMRs. With mining as the most probable application for SMRs, there is an issue of proximity to communities, and the possibility that community perspectives might misalign with the industry perspective on SMR projects’ development. Developing innovative technology projects that include a community governance perspective will help advance the energy transition not only in accordance with the development goals of industry and government but, more importantly, with those of Indigenous communities and pursuant to reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples.

It is important to note that Indigenous communities are not homogenous. Each community has a unique history, knowledge, experience, culture, and people. So it is essential for project developers to not generalize communities, and to approach each one individually with a focus on local priorities in order to build meaningful relationships and develop a shared vision.

Communities are not only different from each other, but there is not necessarily homogeneity within communities. There may be different groups, political interests, and Elders within nations who support or oppose the same project. The governance systems of Indigenous nations are complex and different from Western systems. Socio-cultural practices are deeply embedded and drive governance systems and community operations. As such, there is a special role for Elders and Knowledge Keepers whose voices are as important in decision making as the voices of Chiefs and Councils. Traditional forms of governance exist alongside the colonial structures. So, it is important to remember the uniqueness of the communities, and to avoid deepening any divisions within communities with policies that may not be appropriate.

Hence, creating a space in the form of formal and informal networks that will benefit communities is important. The case studies reveal that First Nations’ experiences are exacerbated by the history of complicated relationships with governments and Crown corporations—this history makes many First Nations hesitant to engage with a potential project if they do not receive financial and/

or administrative assistance. Therefore, building a community business portfolio and regaining confidence will require space, even more so when developing a potentially contentious niche technology such as SMR.

Create Space in the Form of Formal and Informal Networks

There are a number of approaches to creating space. The formal network that I propose includes a general partnership of Indigenous owners in the form of co-operatives that can help develop projects and increase Indigenous participation as equal partners in the energy sector. When it comes to developing innovative technology, the form of ownership and cooperation that aligns with Indigenous-based concepts of reciprocity and connection, as in the case of Three Nations Energy, proves to be efficient. 3NE is in the process of diversifying its economic portfolio by investing in a large \$145 million portfolio of solar farms in southern Alberta. In building that structure, the initial step should be for the federal and/or provincial governments to create policy that creates opportunities and provides economic guarantees with equity partnerships for Indigenous nations. Industry and government seeking to develop clean energy technology, and especially SMRs, need to discuss equity arrangements with those Indigenous nations impacted by the projects but, most importantly, Indigenous nations need to come up with the arrangements and the amount of equity themselves.

Let Communities Decide on Space Arrangements

In creating space, co-creation, co-governance, and co-development are important constituents of the relationship between government/industry and Indigenous nations. Remedying the power imbalance is of utmost importance. Governments need to recognize the levels of Indigenous governments and to not interfere while delimiting their control in regulatory and policy arrangements. Based on that, Indigenous nations can create their own arrangements. This research reveals a gap between Indigenous communities and industry/government in understanding and perceiving the terms space and time. Building trust and relationships in order to work with and reconcile relations with Indigenous communities takes a long time, but for government and industry this is placed in the time frame of what will work for the project, while for Indigenous nations it is perceived as a long-term continuous process. Another aspect is that “time” as an embodiment of the concept of “space” can benefit the communities in the development of new projects, along with formal space (project that has a space is not tied to the timeline of the government and industry but led by the community). Streamlining the process is seen as beneficial for both sides. We need to listen to what communities say about streamlining the process. First, governments need to create a clear, transparent process of support for the community project’s development. Second, communities

can streamline the process of forming community energy plans by educating people as to the possibilities for the community, and advancing the community's energy priorities. This needs to be substantiated with the help of specialists to conduct training in project management and helping to build local employment.

Include Intermediaries Chosen by the Community

An important discrepancy between government/industry and communities is their different definitions of successful intermediation. For government/industry successful intermediation is more individualistic, requiring the effective adoption of knowledge-based practices through which internal value (financial and non-financial) is generated (De Silva et al., 2018). For communities, however, successful intermediation means taking into consideration community values and perspectives in making an informed decision. In creating that space, Indigenous nations require assistance from intermediaries who are chosen by the community. An intermediary's role is being a trustee for both sides, but advocating and advancing the community perspective and building space (formal and informal networks) for energy project development. For example, the First Nations Power Authority (FNPA), headquartered in Regina, Saskatchewan, is such an organization; or it could be another organization that acts as a policy broker. FNPA is an example of an intermediary that has an independent position where it stays open-minded and unbiased towards either of the sides and creates space of its own. For government and industry, the intermediary's role is to help them understand communities, and to contribute to industry and government having an authentic and meaningful engagement with Indigenous nations.

Align with Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action

In accordance with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Calls to Action (TRC, 2015), the goals I strive to reach in these recommendations include governments, industry, and project developers committing to meaningful consultation; building respectful relationships; obtaining the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples before proceeding with economic development projects; and ensuring that Indigenous communities gain long-term sustainable benefits from economic development projects. Therefore, good practices should be community-based, and community-driven by intermediaries to create that space where Indigenous communities are informed, educated, and empowered.

9. Conclusion

This article has discussed innovative energy technology development in remote, Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the alignment or discrepancy between the perspectives of communities and those of governments and industry regarding innovative technology adoption. This research shows that there is no clear direction for industry and government in understanding Indigenous perspectives on energy security and sustainability with respect to clean energy technologies.

Both parties stress the importance of intermediaries in bringing about change, but they think of their roles differently. Industry and government see the process as a linear path to material abundance and individual achievement, where actors are enablers of the energy transition in the socio-technical space. This view is based on the ideas of innovation development from the sustainability transitions perspective. Indigenous communities have a different, unique perspective of an integrated sustainability transition where change agents create a space that helps to align and connect the community and industry and government needs.

As such, the findings show that while current global policy actions in sustainability transitions are significantly driven by the climate emergency, Indigenous nations' development of clean energy projects, though recognizing the climate emergency and experiencing its effects, are driven by concerns about energy security. Communities in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta are in a position where their energy transition is taking place while they are still managing poverty and creating economic development opportunities. And these challenges are exacerbated by the heterogeneity between and within Indigenous communities.

For this research, I focused on the socio-technical regime in the context of sustainability transitions. During interviews, representatives of northern communities expressed frustration with the socio-technical regime and called for a different approach to developing innovative energy technology for Indigenous nations. The approach is based on an Indigenous world view of technology development grounded in connection to the land and circularity of life and nature processes (i.e., leaving no waste), as well as a desire to pursue economic development, ownership, and self-sufficiency. The results show that from the multi-level perspective there is a need for a governance approach that expands the limits of the local network within the niche where communities can influence the institutionalized regime (International Science Council, 2019). Therefore, community-driven intermediaries play an important role where they can create the space that links niche and regime with a scope that is outside of a traditional understanding of the socio-technical niche. Currently, the government and

industry approach to understanding engagement with Indigenous communities, and the ways it should be conducted, is limited to the conventional niche-regime interaction level.

The recommendations of this article are intended to apply to any technology, including SMRs. However, SMRs are a more complex technology than renewable energy, so it is hard to predict their relevance in northern, remote, and Indigenous applications. For SMRs to be implemented at a commercial scale, they need to gain community acceptance so that they can compete at the same level as renewables. This can only be achieved if government and industry work towards resolving the misalignment of their perspectives with those of Indigenous communities.

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Perspective

A Circumpolar Perspective on Northern Development: Is Canada Falling Behind?

Carin Holroyd
University of Saskatchewan

Abstract: This essay considers the state of the contemporary Circumpolar World and provides a general overview of the way the various circumpolar jurisdictions are addressing the challenges and opportunities of the twenty-first century. It considers how northern areas are attracting the resources necessary to lessen the socio-economic divide between northern and southern/urban areas. An overview of infrastructure, basic services, economic development, regional leadership, security, Indigenous governance, and plans for the future of the countries and regions that make up the Circumpolar North reveals significant strengths and challenges. This examination focuses, in particular, on where Canada sits in comparison to its northern neighbours, a perspective that does not always put Canada in the best light. In many respects, Canada's efforts in the North lag—sometimes considerably—behind circumpolar norms (aside from Russia). National and sub-national governments in Canada have not always attracted the funding, commitment, and vision needed to capitalize on the political, technological, and economic resources needed to better serve the peoples of the North; in recent years, some Arctic regions have done much better than others.

Introduction

The Circumpolar North is the focus of much attention at present, driven by Russian military adventurism, China's growing Arctic interests, the region's vulnerability to climate change, and global interest in northern resources and Indigenous rights. On international, national, and sub-national levels, Arctic affairs are attracting funding, media attention, and increasingly coordinated regional efforts at economic development, technological innovation, political empowerment, and the recognition of Indigenous treaty and legal authority. Across the Arctic, efforts are being made to improve infrastructure, strengthen the quality of life for residents, respond to environmental challenges, and build more diverse and stable economies.

This commentary considers the state of the contemporary Circumpolar World, based on professional engagement with the region as a political scientist (including study tours, conferences, and interviews with local specialists); the available scholarly and government literature; and recent field observations in all the regions, save for Russia. The goal is not to provide a detailed statistical analysis, which is done systematically and with some regularity by the *Arctic Human Development Report*,¹ but instead to provide a general overview of the way the various circumpolar jurisdictions are addressing the challenges and opportunities of the twenty-first century. The essay considers how northern areas are attracting the resources necessary to lessen the socio-economic divide between northern and southern/urban regions. An overview of infrastructure, basic services, economic development, regional leadership, security, Indigenous governance, and plans for the future of the countries and regions that make up the Circumpolar World reveals significant strengths and challenges. This examination focuses, in particular, on where Canada sits in comparison to its northern neighbours, a perspective that does not always put Canada in the best light. In many respects, Canada's efforts in the Far North lag—sometimes considerably—behind circumpolar norms.

National and sub-national governments in Canada have not always attracted the funding, commitment, and vision needed to muster the political, technological, and economic resources to best serve the Peoples of the North. The conclusion, argued below, is that Canada developed as a major force in Arctic affairs in the 1970s and 1980s, only to surrender its high standing in the last twenty years. Canada played a major role in the creation of the Arctic Council, the primary forum for the discussion of intra-regional affairs, and was instrumental in the establishment of the University of the Arctic, the leading example of circumpolar academic cooperation. The country had impressive and comprehensive research programs in the Arctic. In many ways, Canada has stepped back from its prominent

role in northern affairs. Canada's northern cities, educational institutions, economy and infrastructure, and social conditions lag behind most other northern nations (except Russia, although we fall behind the Russians in strategic investments and some types of infrastructure). Canada has, in effect, fallen behind other circumpolar countries, with considerable and negative effects on the people living in northern Canada. This is particularly true with respect to Indigenous Peoples in the region, whose life chances, economic options, and socio-cultural realities point to continuing intergenerational trauma due to the Indian Residential School history, and formidable public policy challenges. Many of the key socio-economic indicators for Indigenous Peoples living in northern Canada, such as life expectancy, educational attainment, income levels, and access to housing, among others, lag well behind Indigenous communities in the European North.²

Infrastructure development, social and economic programs, and human settlements reflect the real and fundamental challenges of the North: isolation, cold weather, darkness, long winters, short construction seasons, and a small population. The Circumpolar World is a diverse region consisting of the northern Norwegian counties of Troms, Finnmark, Nordland, and the island of Svalbard; Sweden's northernmost counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten; Finland's provinces of Northern Ostrobothnia, Kainuu, and Lapland; in Canada the three northern territories (Nunavut, Northwest Territories, and the Yukon), Labrador, and the northern parts of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec (the Provincial North); northern Alaska (excluding the panhandle and southern coastline); Greenland and the Faroe Islands (autonomous Danish territories); Iceland³; and the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, which includes the regions of Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, the Republics of Karelia and Komi, the Nenets Autonomous Area, the Sakha Republic, and the Chukotka Autonomous District.⁴ There are great variations in climate, population, and geography across the region. Northern Scandinavia—largely Subarctic in climate while northern in latitude, close to European markets, and beneficiaries of wealthy social-democratic nations—has produced and sustained a high quality of life, strong regional economies, and impressive state-provided services and infrastructure. The northern regions of Norway, Sweden, and Finland are reasonably large but lightly populated. The Sami, the Indigenous Peoples of northern Fennoscandia (Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Northwestern Russia), have been reindeer herders, hunters, gatherers, and fishers in their traditional homelands for generations. Of the estimated 90,000 to 100,000 Sami, approximately 2,000 live in Russia; 8,000 in Finland; 20,000 to 40,000 in Sweden; and 50,000 to 65,000 in Norway—with many Sami living in southern cities and coastal areas of these nations. The Sami, like Indigenous Peoples in many parts of the world, have been moving from rural areas and traditional towns into urban settings.⁵ In comparison, there are

approximately 180,000 Inuit in the Circumpolar North: 70,000 in Canada, 55,000 in Alaska, 56,000 in Greenland, and a smaller population in Chukotka (Russia).⁶

Russia's northern regions, with over half of the Arctic's residents, have numerous cities of reasonable size—the largest Siberian city, Novosibirsk, has 1.6 million residents. Siberia has experienced a sharp decline in population over the past three decades after the breakup of the Soviet Union and the relaxation of controls over personal movement. This period of retrenchment was followed by a major surge in mineral and energy development and the rapid remilitarization of its vast northlands and Arctic coastline, but without a major increase in permanent population.

Alaska has a strong but variable resource economy (primarily oil and mining) and a large military establishment, which both contribute to prosperity in the forty-ninth state. Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands have capitalized on the rich fishing resources of the North Atlantic to produce intensely innovative societies and they have become increasingly active and more assertive in circumpolar affairs. Iceland is a relatively small island state, most of which sits just below the Arctic Circle. The bulk of its population of under 400,000 lives in the capital city Reykjavik. Iceland relies on fishing, aluminum processing, and increasingly on tourism.

Canada, which has the second-largest share of the Circumpolar North after Russia, has an especially diverse northland. The territories of Nunavut, Northwest Territories, and the Yukon receive high subsidies from the Government of Canada and have active, if not expansive, resource economies. Their capital cities are particularly well-resourced and, by northern Canadian standards, quite prosperous. Indigenous Peoples are prominent in the economic and political landscape of the territories and many Indigenous governments have signed comprehensive land claims and self-government agreements.⁷ The Provincial Norths, from Labrador in the East to northern British Columbia in the west, are substantially “northern” in terms of climate, geography, and socio-economic isolation from the Canadian south, but they are not all incorporated into the Government of Canada's definition of the Arctic. Northern Quebec and Labrador, by dint of Quebec's special status in the Canadian Confederation and the presence of Inuit in both regions, are included in the federal boundaries of the Arctic; northern Ontario and the northern regions of the Canadian West are not. Consequently, the rest of the Provincial North relies on the “generosity” of provincial governments and, for constitutional reasons, receives no direct federal funding on a regional basis, and much less national interest. Across much of the Provincial Norths, many Indigenous Peoples and communities endure serious poverty, marked by insufficient housing leading to overcrowded conditions, poor infrastructure,

and the lack of adequate economic opportunities, although engagement with resource development has increased in recent years. With the important exception of northern Quebec, the Provincial North in Canada is considerably poorer and disadvantaged in terms of infrastructure, regional autonomy, and national attention.

Infrastructure

The quality of infrastructure in a region determines how easy it is for the region's citizens to live, learn, socialize, and do business. Infrastructure, such as transportation systems, electricity lines, and digital networks, connects places, people, and information. In the Circumpolar North, the population is sparse and spread out over vast distances with many small and isolated communities. This creates additional challenges and expense for governments in the building of inter-community transportation and digital infrastructure. Add winter into the mix, with its cold weather, snow, and limited winter daylight, and both challenges and expenses rise. As a result, northern infrastructure often does not compare well to national standards or standards of service across the nation, although people in northern and remote regions do not expect that all infrastructure will reach the standards of southern urban areas.

The difficulties in building good infrastructure are not the same across the Circumpolar World. Some regions have milder winters (much of Scandinavia) or larger population centres (particularly in Russia), but most of the North faces familiar Arctic challenges such as transportation. Countries have taken different approaches to travel across a region or territory especially during the winter months. Iceland does not prioritize rapid road clearance during the winter but does subsidize air travel to its coastal communities. (The 2020 program Loftbrú or Air Bridge, provided a subsidy of 40% off the cost of travel to the nation's capital, with each community resident eligible for three trips per year).⁸ Greenland, whose communities are all coastal, subsidizes a ferry service along the west coast between April and January (weather-dependent in the winter), and is now investing heavily in airport construction.⁹ Good quality roads have been developed and maintained across the rest of the Nordic countries, including on the Faroe Islands although its secondary paved roads are single lane with frequent pull-outs to allow cars to pass. Of the eighteen islands that make up the Faroe Islands, seventeen are inhabited; they are well connected with tunnels, bridges, and ferries.¹⁰ The communities of the Alaskan panhandle in Southeast Alaska and along the southern coast are serviced by the subsidized Alaskan Marine Highway System year-round. Juneau, the state capital, has regularly scheduled air service. There are good roads connecting the major communities of the interior to the coast, the Alaska Highway connects to

the continental United States through the Yukon and northern British Columbia, and there are extensive (and compared to Canada, inexpensive) air services to the far-flung communities of the state.

Canada's northern territories are different when it comes to transportation infrastructure. All of the Yukon's communities except one (Old Crow) are accessible by good quality, all-season roads. The southern Northwest Territories is accessible by road, but all communities in Nunavut and the northern Northwest Territories are small, isolated, and without road connections. Air services between communities or to and from the territorial capitals are expensive—a return trip flight from Gjoa Haven to Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut, is over \$3,300¹¹ (some government or employment travel subsidies are available). Canada's Provincial North has reasonably good road connections although the roads decline in quality outside of more major centres. Roads to First Nations or Métis communities are often poorly maintained as are roads in Indigenous communities.

Maritime transport is a key part of Russia's plans for the Arctic. As global warming melts Arctic sea ice and makes the northern waters navigable for more of the year, the potential for Russia's Northern Sea Route (a 5,600 km route stretching from the Barents Sea to the Bering Strait) becomes extremely significant. The Northern Sea Route would enable Russia to get its oil, gas, and minerals to world markets in a timelier manner. If the route were to be ice free for significant blocks of time, a portion (it remains debatable how large a portion) of the world's shipping could take the Northern Sea Route rather than routes like that through the Suez Canal,¹² a longer and, due to the risk of piracy, more dangerous route.¹³ The bulk of Arctic deepwater ports that are viable for commercial purposes, sixteen in total, are in Russia, on the Bering Strait and along the Arctic coast.¹⁴ Many of these ports have been in existence for years and are visited regularly by the Russian fleet of military and commercial icebreakers. Murmansk, the largest deepwater port north of the Arctic Circle, remains ice-free all year and has been expanded significantly over the past two decades in response to the increased production of offshore oil and minerals.¹⁵ Along with the sixteen ports, over the past decade Russia has also built up other aspects of its Arctic presence including fourteen new airfields, six military bases, anti-aircraft missile systems, small ports, and four new Arctic combat teams.¹⁶ Russia is prepared to protect its territory from any perceived northern threats.

The rest of the Arctic, including Canada and Alaska, is far behind Russia in terms of infrastructure, particularly in terms of economically vital deepwater ports, despite the long northern coastlines. None of Alaska's four deepwater ports are along its Arctic coastline; the closest to the Arctic is in Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands. In 2022, however, the United States Congress approved funding for half the cost of a deepwater port in Nome.¹⁷ Greenland's west coast

hosts a number of deepwater ports, although only a few currently handle large-scale commercial traffic. Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands have many ports developed for local fishing purposes and a few (Tromsø, Hammerfest, Kirkeness, and Bodø in Norway, and Torshavan in the Faroe Islands) are deepwater commercial ports. After over a decade of negotiations, in 2021 Iceland and Bremenport, a German port operator, finalized plans to construct a deepwater port and industrial site at Finnaþfjörður in northeastern Iceland. The location was selected in the hope that it would make Finnaþfjörður an important Arctic shipping hub.¹⁸ With the acceleration of Arctic militarization, the strategic significance of deepwater ports has come into focus, a reality that emphasizes the scale and reach of Russia's investments, the American effort to catch up with its Nome project, and the minimal role of Canada's northern investments in strategic preparations.

Canada, with the longest coastline in the world (half of that in Nunavut), has a deepwater port in Tuktoyaktuk although it is of limited use since the approach is quite shallow; Canada's best deepwater port is in Churchill, Manitoba, on Hudson Bay.¹⁹ In 2021, the federal government announced the construction of a deepwater port in the Nunavut community of Qikiqtarjuaq, at the approach to the Northwest Passage.²⁰ Discussion about a deepwater port in Nanisivik, an old mining town on Nunavut's Baffin Island, emerged in 2007. A Nanisivik port, operating seasonally, would give Canadian sovereignty patrols and civilian ships an opportunity to refuel, allowing for further Arctic travel. Plans for the Nanisivik Naval Facility have been subject to numerous delays.²¹ Currently the port is scheduled to open in 2024 (nine years behind schedule) as a summer season refueling station, not of sufficient scale to jump-start any economic activity in the region.²²

The development of Arctic infrastructure in the Circumpolar World, launched in earnest during and after the Second World War, has accelerated in recent years. Noting that Russia has reopened and modernized thirteen Cold War-era military bases across the Arctic since 2000 as well as dozens of other smaller posts, the University of Calgary's Rob Huebert has asked: "They can find the political will to make that happen and we can't get Nanisivik up and running?"²³ The infrastructure gap between the Canadian North and the rest of the Circumpolar World, already substantial in the twentieth century, has only widened since that time.

Icebreakers have become of increasing importance, particularly with the opening of Arctic waters due to climate change. In support of its goal to keep the Northern Sea Route open year-round to allow for the shipping of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) and oil, Russia has been expanding its fleet of icebreakers. Russia now has over forty-five icebreakers, with more under construction or planned. Six of these are over 45,000 BHP (Brake Horse Power), making them the most powerful of the polar icebreakers. They are also nuclear-powered, which allows them to stay at sea for a longer period of time than a diesel-powered ship.²⁴

The Russian government approved funding for two additional nuclear icebreakers for Russia's fleet in January 2023.²⁵ The United States Coast Guard has five icebreakers, two of which are over 45,000 BHP, although one of those is no longer used except for parts.²⁶ Concerned that it only has two icebreakers capable of operating in heavy ice, the US Coast Guard hoped to have three to six more of these icebreakers by 2027 or 2028. However, delivery of the first of these, the USCGC *Polar Sentinel*, has been subject to numerous delays and a delivery date is currently uncertain.²⁷ The Canadian Coast Guard has eighteen icebreaking vessels in its fleet; most of these serve the Atlantic coast, Great Lakes, and connecting waterways. There are seven medium to heavy icebreakers, two of which are between 20,000 and 45,000 BHP. One of these two icebreakers spends the summer months in the Eastern Arctic while the other spends nine months of the year there. In 2021, Canada announced construction of two new polar icebreakers to replace these two aging vessels. The new heavy icebreakers will operate in the Arctic for nine months of the year and are scheduled to be completed in 2030. One of these new icebreakers had been initially scheduled for completion in 2017.²⁸

Finland is one of the world's leading designers and builders of icebreakers. It also has its own fleet of ten icebreakers, including seven medium vessels (20,000–45,000 BHP). Sweden has seven icebreakers, four medium.²⁹ In 2022, the Swedish Maritime Administration (SMA) announced that it had received government funding to buy two or potentially three new icebreakers to replace its current vessels. These icebreakers are used in the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia.³⁰ Norway has two icebreakers; one went into service in August 2018 and almost reached the North Pole the following summer.³¹

Internet Infrastructure

In the modern era, lack of access to cell phone coverage and the internet severely limits opportunities. Some parts of the Circumpolar World are better served than others. Digital connectivity is faster and more reliable in densely populated areas in the industrial world; people in small settlements and isolated regions are accustomed to much weaker connectivity. In the twenty-first century, however, cost-effective and reliable internet is a precondition for effective engagement across many domains. Few people would expect that connectivity in Finnmark would match that of Oslo, or that Old Crow would have the same service as Calgary. However, Canada's Connectivity Strategy, set in 2019, called for download speeds of only 50 Mbps as a minimum standard; at present, regular domestic service in major Canadian cities is already twice as fast (1 GB speeds can be purchased).

Northern and remote parts of Scandinavia have excellent connectivity; Svalbard has superb connections. That one can continue a phone conversation while driving through an 11 km tunnel under the ocean between two of the

Faroe Islands really illustrates the point! This contrasts dramatically with the international headline-grabbing story of a Siberian student who, during the pandemic, had to climb a tree to get an internet connection that would enable him to join his classes by Zoom.³² In many places in rural and northern Canada, sometimes even in places not far from urban centres, internet and cell phone coverage is poor and inconsistent. In Nunavut, internet access is slow (in June 2023 the highest speed, in Iqaluit, was 15 Mbps) and expensive, with low monthly data limits.³³ To add insult to injury, the internet often slows down or stops working.³⁴ Alaska does much better, reflecting its more competitive economy, the strength of the resource economy, and the widespread presence of the US military. According to Broadband Now, an American broadband advocacy group, 77.7% of Alaskans have access to 100 Mbps broadband, a ranking that still left Alaska in forty-ninth place among all US states.³⁵ A closer look reveals that 77.3% of the population has access to 1 G broadband. However, like the vast majority of remote North America, Broadband Now shows that most of the more isolated parts of the state do not have any broadband coverage at all, a function of the high costs of delivering services across vast distances.³⁶

The Russian Far North is similar in several key respects to the Canadian North. When asked about internet access, local people often ironically reply “internyet”! In 2018, President Putin promised fast internet to all communities with 250 people or more, including in the Arctic.³⁷ The following year, Russia launched an \$850 million plan to establish high-speed internet infrastructure, including an underwater fibre optic cable from Murmansk to Vladivostok across the Russian Arctic. Estimated completion is 2026 although the invasion of Ukraine may have altered this schedule. The high-speed internet will be of enormous benefit to oil and gas companies and ports in the region as well as to the local population.³⁸

Starlink was established in 2019 by entrepreneur Elon Musk to break the land-based dominance of internet delivery that had left rural, remote, and Indigenous communities poorly served. As of November 2022, Starlink’s satellite-based services are now available throughout most of the three territories although take-up has mostly been in the Subarctic. Two major initiatives have the potential to address the current gap. OneWeb, a broadband satellite internet system based in London, England, launched a series of satellites as part of its plan to deliver high-speed internet access across the globe including the Arctic. OneWeb now has 542 satellites on order.³⁹ In 2024, Space Norway, a Norwegian state-owned company, will launch two satellites into space. These two satellites are designed to provide continuous broadband coverage at the 68th parallel north, ensuring coverage throughout the Circumpolar North.⁴⁰ OneWeb and/or Space Norway could solve the problems of digital connectivity through the region, relieving the burden on Alaska and northern Canada. However, the fact that these regions have

been deprived of connectivity for so long, and that the Canadian and American governments have not done much to solve the problem, reveals a great deal about the low priority and the lack of urgency to extend one of the primary tools of innovation into the North.

A couple of Arctic cities are beginning to explore the implementation of smart city concepts. Smart cities collect a wide range of data to monitor and provide services more efficiently (e.g., water, energy, public transport). Raspotnik et al. explore how smart city development might work in the Arctic with its different set of challenges (e.g., relatively low populations and severe climate).⁴¹ The authors looked specifically at the smart city initiatives in Anchorage, Alaska, in Bodø, Norway, and in Oulu, Finland, observing that the three cities focused on efficiency and self-sufficiency in transportation, energy, and government services, often through large-scale investments in infrastructure.⁴² In 2015, Anchorage implemented an Intelligent Transportation System (ITS) to improve the efficiency of its transportation. Anchorage has also launched some smart governance initiatives including “a separate automated text-based alert system to plug in car engines when temperatures drop below 20 degrees Fahrenheit.”⁴³ Bodø, a city of 56,000 in northern Norway, is planning to construct a smart city district beginning in 2025. In the meantime, the Smart Transport Bodø project is testing a variety of mobility options and will use the results to inform decisions for the smart city.⁴⁴ Oulu, a Finnish city of approximately 200,000 people 170 km south of the Arctic Circle, is basing its sustainable growth plans around the sixth-generation wireless technologies needed for intelligent transportation systems, the automation of production, and decentralized energy systems. Oulu, which rose to prominence as the headquarters for Nokia phones, has been a pioneer in 5G networks and their predecessors, and in the use of renewable energy resources.⁴⁵

Energy

Energy drives the global economy and determines, in many ways, the viability of specific communities and regions. High prices and inconsistent access to energy can cripple commercial activities and have severe effects on households. Arctic energy, unless supplied by readily accessible hydroelectric power or local oil and/or natural gas, is typically much more expensive than southern and urban supplies, reflecting the high cost of delivery and the smaller regional markets. Ideally, northern energy would be realistically priced (taxed less aggressively as can be seen in Whitehorse, Yukon, where gas has been as much as 40 cents less a litre than in Victoria, BC) and offset sufficiently by the generally higher wages in northern areas.

Oil and gas, and the potential discovery of more oil and gas, has been part of the lure of the Arctic for decades. A major oil deposit was discovered in

Norman Wells in the Mackenzie River valley in 1911, and a pipeline to southern Canada was constructed in the 1980s. Additional Arctic oil and gas deposits were discovered in 1962 at Tazovskoye Field in Russia and then in 1968 in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska. Over sixty large oil and gas fields have since been found in Russia (42), the Northwest Territories (11), Alaska (6), and Norway (1). Fifteen of these fields have not gone into production, including all of those in the Northwest Territories.⁴⁶ Oil and gas production accounts for a significant portion of the economies of Alaska, Arctic Russia, and northern Norway, and contributes substantially to each nation's wealth.

Russia is deeply committed to Arctic oil and gas exploration and drilling. According to a 2022 International Energy Agency report, fully 90% of Russia's natural gas production and some 20% of its oil output already comes from the Arctic.⁴⁷ The United States has wrestled with the environmental impacts of drilling; all the companies with leases in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the calving grounds for the Porcupine Caribou herd, have now withdrawn to the delight of the Gwich'in living in northern Yukon and central Alaska. However, in March 2023, US President Biden approved ConocoPhillips's Willow Project, an enormous oil drilling project in the National Petroleum Reserve on Alaska's North Slope. ConocoPhillips is the only company that is currently drilling in this area.⁴⁸

The US Geological Survey estimated in 2008 that a substantial portion of the world's untapped oil and gas reserves are in the Arctic. Their assessment showed that "the Arctic might contain 90 billion barrels of undiscovered oil, 1,669 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 44 billion barrels of undiscovered natural gas liquids. The Arctic is thus supposed to account for about 13% of undiscovered oil, 30% of undiscovered natural gas, and 20% of undiscovered natural gas liquids in the world."⁴⁹ Over three-quarters of this oil and gas is thought to be within 200 nautical miles of a coastline, primarily in the Russian, Alaskan, and Canadian Arctic. Pressure to develop these resources varies considerably. Russia is moving aggressively while Norway proceeds more methodically. Canada has imposed strict constraints on Arctic exploration while Alaska's development plans are caught in harsh and even ideological conflicts between pro-development Republican and more environmentally-concerned Democratic Party leadership.

Many Arctic and northern regions have been investing in renewable energies. In an effort to reduce its dependence on imported oil, Greenland established its first hydropower plant in 1993 and added four more between 2004 and 2013. In 2021, a sixth plant was approved. Greenland will soon be able to obtain 90% of its power from renewable energy (this does not include fuel used for transportation or the oil or diesel needed to power generators in remote communities).⁵⁰ Sweden built many hydropower projects, especially on its big northern rivers above

the Arctic Circle, in the 1950s–1970s. This investment is paying off as energy intensive industries are attracted to northern Sweden. Skellefteå's attraction for the Northvolt battery factory (discussed later) is one example of this. Hydro is also a major source of electricity throughout Norway, including the north, and in Iceland. Iceland is also blessed with vast amounts of geothermal energy, which accounts for two-thirds of the country's energy mix.

There are also a variety of renewable projects across the Canadian North. Canada has quite a lot of geothermal resources although little of this has been converted to energy. A number of potential geothermal energy projects are now under consideration. One of those in the testing phase is Tu Deh-Kah Geothermal, owned by the Fort Nelson First Nation in northern British Columbia just south of the Yukon border. Geothermal could bring substantial benefits to Canada's northern communities and industrial sites that currently depend on diesel, which is expensive and produces carbon dioxide, for their energy. Waste heat could even potentially be used to heat greenhouses and improve northern food security.⁵¹

Sweden has also invested heavily in wind power, much of which is based in the northern part of the country. Plans have been announced for the construction of large offshore wind farms in the Bay of Bothnia (the sea between Finland and Sweden) although there are concerns about their impact on winter shipping when icebreakers must clear routes.⁵² Equinor, a Norwegian energy firm, is building the world's largest floating wind farm 140 km off the coast of Norway. The renewable energy will be used to power oil and gas operations in the North Sea.⁵³ Solar power is increasingly used across northern Scandinavia.

Northern regions have extreme energy needs for electricity, heat, and transportation, and the pursuit of renewable energy systems hold particular importance in the Arctic. Cheap, reliable, and effective energy would be a game changer for Arctic life, but to date the experiments and installations have made marginal improvements to the cost and availability of northern energy.

Economic Development

Many regions of the Circumpolar World present very divided economic realities. Non-Indigenous workers, including government employees, resource workers, and professionals, earn incomes that are well above average. The average incomes for northern jurisdictions are often quite high, masking pockets of economic despair and deep poverty. Many people in remote settlements, particularly Indigenous people, have annual incomes that are below average, often well below national standards. The national and circumpolar challenge is to build vibrant and stable northern economies that ideally are not over-reliant on government transfer payments and commercial subsidies.

The economies of the Arctic nations vary quite considerably, but they share some features and challenges in common. As Joan Nymand Larsen and Andrey N. Petrov point out, the Arctic economies are primarily based around three sectors: major resource extraction, particularly mining; subsistence and small-scale traditional industries (hunting, gathering, trapping, crafts, clothing); and the public government sector as both a source of employment and transfer payments.⁵⁴ The remoteness and inaccessibility of much of the Arctic combined with limited access to workers, especially highly-skilled labour, makes production in the North very expensive, even prohibitively so. Another significant challenge that impacts the potential for local economic development in the Arctic is the environmental and social consequences of industrial development. The fragility of the Arctic ecosystem means that the consequences of any kind of exploration or development (e.g., drilling or clearing) can be extremely long lasting.⁵⁵ Vegetation grows back very slowly because of the poor and cold soil. Scientists have also noted that toxic compounds—carried by the wind or the ocean and through marine shipping and local mining and oil exploration—are accumulating in the Arctic and threatening the health of people and animals.⁵⁶

Resource development is obviously also subject to the vagaries of supply and demand in markets thousands of kilometres from the source of the mine or fish or oil field. A small remote community can be swamped socially and economically by the opening of a new mine nearby. When that mine closes, the impact on the community can be devastating. While many parts of the world struggle with the management of commercial fisheries and fish farms, northern Scandinavia appears to be particularly successful in this regard.⁵⁷ The four areas—Norway, Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland—have robust local economies and small communities, a strong emphasis on conservation, and national involvement with economic development. The Faroe Islands and Norway have extensive fish farming operations, which contribute to the economic vitality of many coastal communities. Norway’s work on far-offshore fish cages has the potential to reinvent an industry subject to great criticism for ecological damage. Greenland’s state-owned enterprise, Royal Greenland, operates large processing plants throughout the nation.⁵⁸ Collectively, the fishing and processing activities are the largest economic sector in the country, with a continuing emphasis on Greenlandic employment and commercial development.

Commercial fishing operations have only recently expanded into Canada’s Eastern Arctic, with promising initial results but limited reach to date.⁵⁹ Alaska has a robust fishing industry in its south and western regions (non-Arctic climatic conditions), albeit one disrupted in recent years by staggering ecological collapses and associated economic disruptions and uncertainty.⁶⁰ Alaska and northern Norway have begun collaborating on “blue economy” governance issues. This

AlaskaNor project, based at Nord University in Bodø, Norway, is looking for ways to enhance Arctic fishing and the ocean economy across the Arctic. AlaskaNor focuses on their shared dependence on maritime industries and the potential for collaboration in “offshore petroleum, maritime transportation/shipping, offshore wind, fisheries and aquaculture.”⁶¹

Gradually, the Arctic is also seeing the beginnings of economic growth outside the three main sectors of resource development, subsistence living, and government jobs and transfer payments. The knowledge and creative industries, small-scale manufacturing, tourism and recreation, and professional and technical work have all been growing. In the Russian Arctic, Alaska, and northern Scandinavia, there are pockets of scientific and value-added development. In the Russian Arctic, particularly the regions of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk, new innovative economic clusters are being developed. Arkhangelsk has been home to a shipbuilding cluster since 2012 and a forestry and pulp and paper industry since 2014.⁶² A tourism and recreation cluster was formed in Murmansk in 2015 and three years later the Northern Design Cluster of the Murmansk Region was established, focused on publishing, digital technology, fashion, design, and architecture.⁶³

Russia’s Arctic territory is immense and the commercially valuable resources considerable. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) remains one of the wealthier states in Russia and has substantial mineral resources and untapped economic potential. Over half of the world’s Arctic coastline is Russian. In the past few years, Russian military expansion has proceeded alongside economic expansion. The military presence across northern Russia has contributed substantially to employment and economic development in Arctic Russia, supporting the development of airfields, roads, Arctic ports, and regional communication infrastructure.⁶⁴

Russia’s engagement in the Arctic also has substantial innovation elements, including the development of a floating nuclear power station that can be shipped to mine sites or industrial cities to power industrial or resource activities. The first such nuclear plant, the *Akademik Lomonosov*, was deployed in the Chukotka area in 2019.⁶⁵ Russia’s northern activities are relatively unconstrained due to the tiny role of environmental NGOs and the comparative absence of environmental regulation and oversight. Russia’s advantage over democratic nations, one it shares with China, is its authoritarian political system, which means that the rights of local residents, including Indigenous Peoples, as well as the needs of the environment, are routinely sublimated to national strategic priorities.

Northern Alaska’s economy is centred on oil and gas, fishing, tourism, mining, and the services (engineering, finance, healthcare) that support those sectors. In Anchorage, by far the largest city in Alaska with half of the state’s residents living within its economic region, efforts have been made to diversify. The non-profit organization Launch Alaska, based in Anchorage, describes itself as “a climate

tech accelerator” focused on decarbonizing systems of energy, transportation, and industry. Launch Alaska assists new companies in finding projects and partnerships so that these new decarbonizing technologies will be used to build a clean economy in Alaska.⁶⁶ US military spending, with over 29,000 military, civilian, and reserve employees and billions of dollars in annual spending in the area, provides a solid foundation for broader economic development, employment, and even innovation.⁶⁷

The northern Nordic region has numerous economic development success stories. Oulu, Finland, previously home to the once-dominant cell phone company Nokia,⁶⁸ survived the company’s sharp decline and has developed a sizeable ICT cluster with several major companies and several hundred technology-based small and medium sized enterprises.⁶⁹ The Swedish city of Luleå used its cold weather to attract large-scale server farms that give off a great deal of heat. In a cold climate, fans can pull in outside air and cool the warm servers inexpensively. Facebook saw the advantages of Luleå and opened a server farm there in 2013, aided by substantial tax exemptions on electricity that made this cost-competitive.⁷⁰ The small town of Arjeplog, Sweden, has become one of the most important places in the world for winter testing of car and car parts. Skellefteå, Sweden, won an international competition to become the site of Swedish battery developer and manufacturer Northvolt’s massive 3.8 billion Euro electric battery factory. Access to inexpensive hydropower was a major draw. Skellefteå also established the Arctic Game Lab, encouraging graduates in gaming and graphic design programs from the Luleå University of Technology’s Skellefteå’s campus to stay in the city and establish companies. The city created an incubator to assist start-ups in a small northern city that, only twenty years earlier, was a classic resource-dependent community with little economic diversification.⁷¹

Several communities have looked to the skies for economic development. The commercialization of space has expanded, with Alaska building on the long-term success of the University of Alaska’s Geophysical Institute, launch services in Russia (now closed to the West), observational capabilities in Inuvik, and important space initiatives in Andoya in northern Norway and Kiruna in northern Sweden. There have also been efforts made to exploit northern tourism potential, from Rovaniemi’s Santa Claus Village, Santa Claus House in North Pole, Alaska, ice hotels in Kiruna and Alta, and northern lights tourism in Tromsø, Yellowknife, and Fairbanks.⁷²

The Canadian North has small pockets of entrepreneurship and new-economy businesses. The Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the country’s primary small business association, in 2018 named Whitehorse, Yukon, one of the top three communities in Canada in terms of the financial, administration, and regulatory support for entrepreneurship.⁷³ Whitehorse has

strong assistance for start-up firms including a local venture capital investing group; the greatest difficulty is ramping up firms to the next level due to the small size of the local market. The community also created Yukonstruct, a community innovation hub with office space, a makerspace with a wood shop, metal shop, electronics lab, podcasting studio, and digital fabrication lab, and a range of start-up supports.⁷⁴

Whitehorse is home to Yukon University, Canada's first university north of 60 (it transitioned from Yukon College in 2020); it is very small in comparison to other Arctic universities (1,300 students, the majority in college programs), particularly the Luleå Institute of Technology (19,000), University of Umeå (31,000), Nord University (12,000), the University of Tromsø, Norway's Arctic University (17,000), and the large and diverse University of Alaska system (close to 30,000 college and university students).

The Northwest Territories focuses on services for the mining sector. A polytechnic to support technical economic development activities is in the planning stages.⁷⁵ Entrepreneurship programs have emerged in Whitehorse, Yellowknife, and Iqaluit, the territorial capitals. Many of the programs are specifically focused on the incorporation of Indigenous values into the training. Indigenous economic re-empowerment has changed regional models as First Nations entrepreneurs are more likely than outsiders to invest locally. Northern Canadian entrepreneurship programs include Inspire Nunavut (a twelve-week leadership and entrepreneurship program for young people from across the territory)⁷⁶ and EntrepreNorth (a nine-month program of mentorship and support for northern Indigenous entrepreneurs).⁷⁷

Indigenous Rights, Autonomy, and the Resource Economy

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007, provides minimum standards, albeit aspirational and not legally binding, for the relationship of signatory states with the Indigenous Peoples living in their territories. Circumpolar North countries have taken dramatically different approaches to Indigenous affairs, with most of them deeply influenced by their own nation's history. Arrangements vary from long-ago treaties to complex contemporary land claims agreements, from the inclusion in generous national welfare systems to active efforts to oppress Indigenous protests and assimilate Indigenous cultures. There is a growing international consensus about the need to deal fairly and honourably with Indigenous Peoples and communities, and to respect their rights, as now defined in UNDRIP, and their connections to Traditional Territories. The Circumpolar World has some of the most creative and comprehensive agreements with Indigenous Peoples, along with widespread socio-economic and cultural challenges.

One area where northern Canada and Alaska stand apart from northern Scandinavia rests in aspects of Indigenous rights and economic engagement. Indigenous Peoples in northern Canada remain among the poorest in the country in terms of annual income and general quality of life. The Sami in northern Scandinavia have much better life outcomes, in terms of personal income, education, health, and general well-being. But through a series of major court victories, modern treaties, and collaborations with the resource sector, Inuit, Métis, and First Nations Peoples in northern Canada and Indigenous Peoples in Alaska have secured substantial rights and practical authority.⁷⁸ The Red Dog zinc mine in western Alaska, leased from the Iñupiat, has the potential to become a model for collaborative resource development in many countries,⁷⁹ much as the diamond mines in the Northwest Territories⁸⁰ and Vale's Voisey's Bay Mine in Labrador have been.⁸¹ Indigenous economic development corporations in Canada and the native corporations in Alaska are major players in the northern economies, controlling hundreds of companies, employing thousands of Indigenous people, and holding equity investments in airlines, energy infrastructure, hotels, and tourism operations. Further, Indigenous Peoples, particularly those with treaties in northern Canada, have substantial authority in environmental management, project approval and oversight, and the management of their affairs through important self-government agreements. In Northern Quebec, land claims agreements and resource development agreements with the Cree and the Inuit have created substantial Indigenous wealth and community well-being, a pattern of local success that has, curiously, attracted little national attention.

Across the Arctic, save for Russia, a new narrative has emerged about resource development in the North. For most of the post-contact history of the region, southern entrepreneurs and governments have viewed the North as a treasure chest, to be exploited at will. Starting in the 1970s, particularly in Canada and Alaska, Indigenous Peoples pushed back against unchecked development. Aided by land claims agreements that empowered Indigenous communities in the decision-making processes and in economic activity generally, Indigenous Peoples slowly gained a foothold in the economy.

Collaboration agreements are now commonplace in Greenland; local opposition to a uranium mining plan stopped one major project recently. The Sami across Scandinavia have had less success, but they are increasingly concerned by plans that interfere with reindeer herding. As companies and shareholders have become increasingly concerned about public protests, and the benefits of cooperation with Indigenous communities have become clear, the basic equations of northern resource development have changed. All around the world accommodations with Indigenous Peoples have come slowly, pushed

by Indigenous legal and political actions, public activism, and culturally-based consciousness raising.

Arrangements vary dramatically across the Circumpolar World. In northern Canada, Indigenous self-government has become widespread. Inuit lead the public government in Nunavut and play a prominent role in northern Quebec. There is a Sami parliament in Norway, with just an advisory relationship with the national government but a growing program presence in the lives of Sami people.⁸² Sweden and Finland both have representative Sami bodies as well. The Sami do not have community governments formally recognized by land claims agreements, as exist across the Canadian North and in Alaska under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The Sami, however, participate actively across the Nordic region with a substantial presence in the post-secondary education system and the professions. And they have incomes and quality of life standards comparable to non-Indigenous Norwegians, Finns, and Swedes. None of the Sami groups, however, have clear and obvious roles in resource development and project approvals, although some have taken legal and political action, with limited success, to protect their interests (including a high profile 2023 victory in a battle over a wind farm built on Sami reindeer lands).⁸³

The circumpolar comparisons are interesting. Sami, Greenlandic, Faroese, and Icelandic people have better infrastructure, generally better-constructed homes, superior local education, much better health care, and more stable incomes. Indigenous governments and communities in North America, in contrast, often (but not always) have substantial own-source revenues, particularly from the resource sector, and substantial authority in the development of the northern economy. Nordic nations focus on ensuring rough equality of circumstance and opportunity; the Canada and American Norths emphasize Indigenous rights and the negotiated arrangements that follow the state recognition of those rights.

Circumpolar Leadership

In generations past, the United States and European nations including Russia, Norway, and Britain, competed for pride of place in Arctic affairs, primarily by sending explorers and agents of economic expansion into Arctic regions. The Far North took on greater importance after the Second World War, when the Cold War brought about a rapid militarization in Russia and the United States, with subsidiary strategic investments across the region. Over time, the expansion of regional autonomy in the North, national commitments to northern integration, and a major push for resource development changed the international conversation about the Arctic. This effort broadened with advancements in Indigenous rights and modern treaties and growing international interest in the Arctic environment. Over time, leadership in circumpolar affairs shifted between national governments,

reflecting the changing dynamics of northern politics and economic and strategic considerations.⁸⁴

For decades, Canada played major roles in the development of circumpolar awareness and collaboration. Much of the early work was done by the Inuit, particularly through the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, founded in 1977 with Alaskan and Canadian leadership.⁸⁵ Collaboration between the Inuit (led by Mary Simon, now Canada's Governor General, the titular head of state) and the Government of Canada led to the creation of the Arctic Council, an assembly of Arctic states that include Indigenous representatives as Permanent Participants. The Arctic Council has fallen on difficult times, largely because of Russia's increasing isolation from the Western world, a process accelerated by the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022. At the same time, Canada has stepped back from its prominent roles, ceding much of Arctic leadership to Norway. Tromsø, Norway, is now the headquarters of the Arctic Council Secretariat. Northern Norway's flagship institution, the University of Tromsø, has branded itself as Norway's Arctic University and the city has greatly expanded its polar-related activities. Norway and Iceland sponsor large international conferences on Arctic issues, and both seek to increase their influence in Arctic intellectual affairs and policy matters. Finland has stepped forward, including through major commitments to the production of icebreakers and the expanded role of the Arctic Centre of the University of Lapland.⁸⁶

Canada, in contrast, has stepped back from northern Canadian issues and has been less overtly and less constructively engaged in circumpolar affairs than in previous decades. In June 2023, Canada announced it was shutting down its Canadian International Arctic Centre in Oslo and moving it to Ottawa. In the same month, the United States stated its plans to open an American Presence Post in Tromsø. Alaska has moderated its involvement in Arctic affairs, save for strategic and military matters (through the establishment of the Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies⁸⁷), although the Biden administration has taken some measures to increase overall American engagement and has improved the presence of Alaskans in Washington. The Alaska situation has been exacerbated by the steady decline in state funding for the flagship University of Alaska system.⁸⁸

Looking Forward

Circumstances and conditions clearly vary dramatically across the Arctic and Subarctic regions. The northern regions of the Nordic nations are substantially indistinguishable in economic and social development from the southern parts of the region. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, and the autonomous territories of Denmark (Greenland and the Faroe Islands) have produced a higher quality of life and better opportunities for their northern citizens than among the

Indigenous Peoples in northern North America. Across the Nordic nations, national standards in infrastructure and services have been achieved. As has been discussed, in some areas important new economy initiatives have been launched. There have been major investments in post-secondary education across the region. In comparison with other parts of the Arctic, the Nordic countries have some significant advantages including a much smaller landmass with shorter distances between communities, a relatively large northern population, milder winters, and close proximity to European markets and consumers. In contrast, in the area of resource revenue sharing with Indigenous Peoples, the needs, rights, and aspirations of the Sami are only beginning to be taken into account.

Canada, on the other hand, is a leader in resource revenue sharing with Indigenous Peoples, the signing of modern treaties and the gradual transition to First Nations self-government and Indigenous involvement with resource development. Indigenous legal, constitutional, and self-government rights are impressive, and Canada has made significant progress in balancing resource development and environmental protection, through such initiatives as the Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas.

Canada is well behind in many crucial areas, however, particularly related to Indigenous outcomes. Most of Canada's Arctic and Subarctic communities are small and isolated; many are only accessible by plane and are vast distances from their nearest community. As a result, these are government-dependent economies and societies. The development of northern infrastructure and the provision of services is inconsistent and often falls well short of needs. Educational achievement in the North, despite considerable investment in information technologies and strong efforts to Indigenize curricula, falls far below that of southern Canada. Conversely, and this is a situation worsened by the increase in opioid use, suicide rates and violence are among the highest in the country.

When it comes to the US 49th state, "Alaska still runs on oil" as the Alaska's Resource Development Council put it.⁸⁹ Oil revenues, which are unpredictable and subject to global price fluctuations, prop up the entire state; in 2019, the industry paid \$3.1 billion in state and local taxes.⁹⁰ The military is also a key component of Alaska's involvement in the Arctic. The state is one of the most militarized in the United States, hosting over 20,000 active-duty personnel on nine bases, most of which are in the central or northern part of Alaska. Alaska's location also makes it a crucial part of the US ballistic missile defence system. As relations between the United States and Russia deteriorate, Russia militarizes its Arctic, and as climate change transforms what might be possible in the region, discussions about the need to expand the presence of the US military in Alaska are ongoing.⁹¹

Since the Soviet days, the population of the Russian Arctic has declined quite significantly in the smaller settlements and in areas where there is no oil and gas exploration or production. As noted earlier, Russia has invested heavily in the Arctic over the past decade. On the economic front, Russia hopes to access hitherto inaccessible mineral and energy resources and control the Northern Sea Route. United States officials even report that Russia is demanding that other countries ask permission before transiting the area and that if not, force may be used. Following Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the ensuing war, Russia cancelled commercial overflights of its territory.⁹² Militarily, Russia has been aggressively expanding its presence and its capabilities across the Russian Arctic. Russia's invasion of Ukraine may have slowed down its Arctic plans. As one analyst writes, "Russia's application of deep resources toward its Ukrainian war while under sanctions and with a deteriorating economy has diminished its Arctic undertakings and its northern fleet's capabilities and prospects."⁹³

The Circumpolar North finds itself in flux. Climate change presents a potential existential threat to life in the region. Russian militarism has injected further instability into the Far North. Demand for energy and critical minerals has, in recent years, accelerated development pressure on the region. In some respects global perceptions of the Far North have changed, through the Arctic Council, the activism of northern Indigenous Peoples, steadily increasing tourism, and the impressive achievements of northern Scandinavia in particular. While Canadian laws and courts have contributed to the re-empowerment of Indigenous Peoples across the North, gradually and impressively re-righting the political and economic balance in the region, Canada, which once stood in the forefront of the reinvention of the Arctic, has taken a middle, if not a back seat in terms of commercial innovation, improvements in the quality of life of northern residents, and strategies for environmental sustainability—these are all stronger in northern Scandinavia. Put simply, there are both important and salutary lessons to be learned from each part of the Circumpolar World.

Promising beginnings on circumpolar collaboration remain in view, if somewhat diminished. The Arctic Council (its operations currently paused owing to Russia's invasion of Ukraine) supported intra-regional collaboration and then pioneered the full recognition of Indigenous Peoples in diplomatic relations. But with Russia sidelined, the Arctic Council's role and effectiveness are uncertain. Major international agreements on climate change and the management of the world's oceans may push the Arctic Council further into the background while nonetheless focusing additional international attention on circumpolar issues. The University of the Arctic, a creative collaboration of northern-focused universities, has had important successes, including extensive Arctic student exchanges and

wide-ranging research cooperation. But the desired integration of circumpolar teaching and learning among Arctic scholars and students remains elusive.

Chief Perry Bellegarde, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, has spoken of the “gap” between First Nations Peoples and other Canadians, pointing out that Canada ranked in the top eight nations in terms of quality of life—First Nations, if they were a country taken all together, would come in at sixty-third.⁹⁴ A similar challenge faces the Circumpolar World and Canada’s Arctic regions. Although wages in the Far North are generally higher than national averages, costs are considerable and most socio-economic indicators lag behind southern standards. By most metrics, including economic growth, population growth, standard of living, educational outcomes, health conditions, northern infrastructure, and Indigenous quality of life, it appears that the Canadian North has slipped well behind Scandinavia and even Alaska in many respects, with the gap seeming to widen in recent years.⁹⁵

Canada’s northern regions have considerable advantages: abundant natural resources, substantial political autonomy, and empowered Indigenous Peoples. But they also cope with a wide variety of economic and infrastructure shortcomings. As northern Canadian governments, communities, and organizations look to the future, they face the now formidable challenge of bridging the gap with northern Scandinavia. Creating a new, bold, and practical vision and strategy for the Canadian North and the Circumpolar World will require a deeper awareness of what is happening across the Arctic and the grit and innovation needed to reimagine the future of one of the world’s most unique and important regions.

Canada spends a great deal of money in the Canadian Arctic, particularly through direct annual payments to the governments of Nunavut, Northwest Territories, and the Yukon. Comparable support has been provided to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities across the North. Yet in other areas of potential government engagement, including basic infrastructure, military and strategic preparedness, and commitments to the development of “new economy” initiatives, northern Canada lags well behind the rest of the country. As a consequence, the Canadian North, including large sections of the Provincial North, has fallen behind most other parts of the Circumpolar World (except for Alaska), as well as behind much of Canada.

Canada has not had a strong or coherent plan for the improvement of security or socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Canadian North although numerous analysts, experts, and parliamentary committees have recommended that Canada develop one. Most recently, in June 2023, the Senate Standing Committee on National Security, Defence, and Veterans Affairs released a report emphasizing the risks facing the Arctic and encouraging the Canadian government to make investments in infrastructure, security, and defence.⁹⁶ Periodic Arctic

and northern “strategies” have promised” renewed attention to the region but, in contrast to developments in the Scandinavian North, Greenland, Iceland and, to a lesser extent, Alaska, the reality is that Canada does not have a firm or consistent strategy for the improvement of regional life and the development of a coherent approach to the Canadian North. This essay, in the end, is an appeal for greater comparative analysis. Understanding Canadian experiences, commitments, and investments requires an appreciation of how other Arctic countries, governments, companies, and Indigenous Nations and organizations have addressed the challenges and opportunities of the Circumpolar North.

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Perspective

Inuksiutiit and the Emergence of Inuit Studies in Canada

Louis-Jacques Dorais
Université Laval

Abstract: At the start of the 1970s, many young anthropologists conducting fieldwork in Inuit communities adopted a new paradigm. Instead of describing communities from the outside, they wanted to mix with local people, as far as the Inuit agreed, living with them, learning their language, and, most importantly, trying to understand their world view in order to convey and explain it to non-Inuit. As a result, the old academic field of “Eskimology” was transformed into Inuit studies. Students from Université de Montréal and Université Laval, in Québec City, who fully shared the objectives of emerging Inuit studies, had been conducting research in the North under the tutorship of a young French anthropologist, Bernard Saladin d’Anglure. From 1970 they became a research team, based at Université Laval, called Inuksiutiit (“Things or people having to do with the Inuit”). In 1974, they founded a non-profit organization, Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit (AIK), with the objectives to promote, develop, and disseminate knowledge on Inuit culture, language, and society while collaborating with Inuit communities. Several projects initiated by Inuksiutiit Katimajit have played a major part in positioning Canada as the world leader in Inuit studies. Two accomplishments stand out in particular: the *Études Inuit Studies* journal and the Inuit Studies conferences. The initiatives of AIK have endowed the elicitation, dissemination, and promotion of knowledge originating from the Inuit—whether traditional or contemporary—with a global dimension. In this way, Inuksiutiit may have played an essential part in supporting the Indigenous citizens of the North American Arctic in the assertion of their identity and social rights.

“Eskimology” and Inuit Studies

Over the last 150 years or so, the Inuit of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), Canada, and Alaska have been extensively researched. Up to the 1960s, this research generally consisted of monographic descriptions of various regional groups and local communities of the North American Arctic, or of studies of their language, or of archaeological remains left by their ancestors. With the exception of the part-Kalaaliq (Indigenous Greenlander) ethnographer Knud Rasmussen (1879–1933), data collection and analysis was undertaken by non-Inuit scientists, who rarely spoke Iñupiatun, Inuktun, Inuktitut, or Kalaallisut (Greenlandic)¹ and almost never shared their findings with the people they visited.

Such “basic research”² expanded during the second quarter of the twentieth century, amidst the Inuit as well as among First Nations and Native American communities. As far as the studies of Inuit are concerned, this evolved into a special academic field, dubbed *Eskimologi* (“Eskimology”) in 1927 by Danish anthropologist Kaj Birket-Smith. Some years later, the linguist William Thalbitzer defined *Eskimologi* as a multidisciplinary science that combined ethnology, folklore, linguistics, psychology, and sociology to study the Inuit.

The nature of studies of Arctic Peoples started to change radically at the end of the 1960s, when a new generation of Greenlandic, Alaskan, and Canadian Inuit entered into self-government negotiations with their respective governments’ national authorities in order to assert their territorial, political, and cultural rights. The Inuit were joining a larger movement of North American Indigenous Nations who had already started to fight for their lands. These communities often relied on research to support their claims, but they soon discovered that existing studies did not generally fulfill their needs. Fields such as “Eskimology” were, thus, largely inadequate, because the researchers’ interests had not much to do with the actual perceptions, opinions, and primary concerns of contemporary Indigenous individuals. At the same time, during the 1970s and early 1980s, most scholars studying Indigenous communities realized that, in the new, emerging socio-political context, it was meaningless and ethically wrong to conduct research *on* a specific population without working *with* and *for* this population. As a result, in the North American Arctic, “Eskimology” progressively transformed itself into Inuit studies (Collings 2022, 305).

Inuit studies can be defined as a quest for knowledge seeking to reflect how the Inuit envision and express their own existence, environment, and place in the world. This is to be achieved through the collaboration of Indigenous and Qallunaat (non-Inuit) researchers aiming to bring back to its owners the knowledge elicited from them, while sharing it with the rest of the world. According to

anthropologist Nelson Graburn (2016, xiv), the transformation of “Eskimology” into Inuit studies has “enriched the anthropological mainstream” and “brought the Inuit *into* contemporary anthropological research and scholarly meetings.” More importantly, it has also contributed to opening a new field of applied social science where, in addition to the mostly academic specialists in anthropology, sociology, psychology, archaeology, linguistics, and so on, practitioners such as educators, health specialists, social workers, natural scientists, business administrators, and artists, to name a few, also congregate to share their knowledge of the Inuit world.

From 1970 on, the emergence of Inuit studies was facilitated by the proliferation of scholars trained between the 1950s and 1980s as a result of an unprecedented interest in northern research after the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War (Krupnik 2016, 11–12). All countries with national Inuit populations participated in this movement, but Canada played a special part in the development and internationalization of Inuit studies. As we shall now see, this was largely due to the activities of Inuksiutiit (“Things or people having to do with the Inuit”), a team of researchers from Québec City in existence since the 1970s.³ Relating Inuksiutiit’s history in some detail will illustrate how one small group of dedicated individuals was able to achieve remarkable results in the promotion and dissemination of knowledge about the Inuit, thanks, in part, to the creation of a scholarly journal and international conferences, both still in existence.

This single example of a successful development in Indigenous-oriented social sciences is one, among several others, that involved various groups of researchers in Canada and elsewhere during the same period. It is the combined efforts of these people that explain the emergence of the new type of Inuit studies and, more generally, Indigenous studies that is now the norm in North America. As far as Inuksiutiit is concerned, its founders were—and still are—not primarily interested in anthropological or other theories and problematics. They rather believed that their role as researchers was, as far as the Inuit agreed, to live among them and become fluent in Inuktitut, in order to understand how people related to their physical, social, and supra-natural environment⁴ and how they conceptualized this relation. The researchers’ main objective was not to abide by, prove, or contribute to any theory, but, in a context of accelerating cultural change, to convey to younger Inuit what they had learned and understood from the Elders, while educating a larger Qallunaat audience about the current situation and concerns of Arctic Indigenous communities. For most Inuksiutiit researchers, this was a work of love and dignity, more than of science.

Young Anthropologists Conduct Fieldwork in Nunavik

In February 1956, a young man from France, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, spent a few weeks in Quaqtaq, then a small Inuit winter camp and Roman Catholic mission in northeastern Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), to shoot a short documentary film. Four years later, in September 1960, on his way back from a second stay in Nunavik, Saladin d'Anglure was invited to enroll as a student in the new master's program in anthropology that had just opened at Université de Montréal. He completed his MA in 1964, on traditional Inuit culture in Kangiqsujuaq (Saladin d'Anglure 2013).

By the mid-1960s, the presence at Université de Montréal's anthropology department of two faculty members, Asen Balikci and Rémi Savard, specializing in North American Indigenous Studies, had generated a growing interest among students for learning about the Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples. This led the department to facilitate graduate fieldwork in Canadian Arctic and First Nations communities. Accordingly, in early 1965, the students were advised that three of them could take part in a so-called anthropological expedition to Hudson Strait (northern Nunavik) during the upcoming summer. Saladin d'Anglure, back in Canada for a year-long doctoral research stay in Kangiqsujuaq, agreed to lead the expedition.

Each of the three chosen candidates was sent to a northern Nunavik community over the summer. They had to collect data on family ties, including eponymy⁵ and godchild-like relations between individuals and their midwife; the birthplace of each resident; land use and occupancy (sea mammal and caribou hunting grounds, traplines, seasonal camps); and local place names. At a period when bilingualism was still unusual in smaller locations, such a program implied that students had to learn basic Inuktitut as soon as possible, being expected to become fluent in due time. They were also asked to stay with Inuit families, participate in community activities, and, more globally, try to see the world through Inuit eyes rather than their own.

Two students from the 1965 cohort returned to their chosen community in 1966 and early 1967. During the summers of 1967 and 1968, one more anthropology student from Université de Montréal went to Nunavik to conduct fieldwork in a southeastern Ungava Bay village. The three received their MA degree within a few months of completing their research. In the meantime, a number of anthropology students from Université Laval in Québec City had shown interest in the Inuit. Accordingly, Saladin d'Anglure (now a doctoral candidate and research assistant in Paris, France) was brought to Quebec for part of the year to teach Arctic anthropology to Laval students and supervise their field research. Between 1968 and 1972, ten Laval anthropologists-in-training researched

Nunavik communities, notably those not already visited by the Montreal students. As with the original group, these students lived with Inuit families and learned Inuktitut, and they collected similar basic data.

In addition to these community studies, three pan-Nunavik investigations were conducted: 1) a survey of Inuit place names (1968); 2) a collection of family genealogies (1969); and 3) the distribution of copybooks to ninety Elders, who were invited (and remunerated) to write in syllabic characters whatever they wished concerning Inuit culture. Between 1967 and 1970, these writers yielded more than 4,000 pages dealing with various aspects of traditional life. Their texts, as well as the genealogies, were later entrusted to Nunavik's Avataq Cultural Institute.⁶ These investigations, as well as the community studies, were made possible thanks to the goodwill of the *Nunavimmiut* (inhabitants of Nunavik), who welcomed the researchers into their homes (with a monetary compensation for board and lodging) and generously passed on their knowledge to them.

The Birth of Inuksiutiit

By 1970, then, Saladin d'Anglure and his students, now based at Université Laval, had collected a substantial amount of qualitative data, such as genealogies, land occupancy maps, and written texts, originating from the Nunavik Inuit. Except for a few scattered and often incomplete monographs (e.g., Stupart 1887; Turner 1979 [1894]; Payne 1899; Willmott 1961; Graburn 1969), the culture and way of life of the Nunavimmiut had never been thoroughly described by ethnographers. Moreover, most previous researchers did not speak Inuktitut and never returned to the field after their initial stay. Therefore, the image they gave of the culture studied risked being partial and unsystematic. By contrast, the Laval team practised a more inclusive form of investigation—later known as community-based participatory research—that was becoming common throughout anthropology during this period. It was characterized by a desire to share the way of life and speak the language of the Inuit; a will to understand their culture as a structured and dynamic whole, rather than as separate domains such as economy, kinship, social organization, and beliefs; a desire to convey to others a true image of Inuit expectations and world view; and a firm conviction that research efforts would remain sterile if they were not useful to the host communities.

This kind of vision marked the advent of Inuit studies, as defined in the first section of this article. The Laval anthropologists were far from being alone to hold such an attitude. It was shared by many young researchers across the Canadian, Alaskan, and Greenlandic Arctic. These included the first Inuit scholars to hold a graduate degree, the Kalaaliq ethnologist Robert Petersen and the Iñupiaq linguist and educator Edna Ahgeak Maclean, for instance, as well as other pioneers of modern Inuit studies, such as anthropologists Nelson Graburn and Jean L. Briggs,

linguist Michael E. Krauss, and archaeologist William Fitzhugh. It is noteworthy that, as already mentioned, similar attitudes towards Indigenous research were also becoming common among a majority of younger specialists in Native American studies.

During the summer of 1970, Saladin d'Anglure travelled to Iqaluit and Cape Dorset (southern Baffin Island) to study the cultural and genealogical relationships between communities on both sides of Hudson Strait. This trip began an extension of his and his team's geographical focus: in late 1971 he would visit Igloolik (northern Baffin region), a community that thence became his main research locus for the next thirty-five years.

In August 1970, Saladin d'Anglure had received a letter inviting him to a scholarly conference planned for mid-November in Civitanova Marche, Italy, the *Congresso Internazionale Polare* (International Polar Congress), where heads of Arctic research centres would discuss the activities of their organizations. Since he was unable to attend, he asked the author of this article, a former Montreal student who was now pursuing doctoral studies in Paris,⁷ to make a presentation on the objectives and findings of the Laval team. In order to identify the group, they agreed on a name for it: Inuksiutiit. Accordingly, at the November conference, the author read a paper titled (in English translation): "Inuksiutiit, a research group in social anthropology on the Northern Quebec Inuit." This presentation revealed how the team envisioned Inuit studies: a collective attempt to better observe and understand Inuit culture, in order to make it known and, if needed, support its bearers in the preservation or recovery of their identity (Dorais 1971).

Upon being awarded doctorates, Saladin d'Anglure and the author were hired by Université Laval as full-time faculty members, the former in 1971, the latter in 1972. Laval's anthropology program had been granted departmental status in 1970, with the provision that Inuit studies would become one of the three leading axes of the new department, the other two being French Canadian and First Nations studies. Departmental research activities were therefore divided into various sections of a "Laboratory of Anthropology," one of which, "Section Inuit," was supervised by the Inuksiutiit group. In 1975, a third specialist in Inuit studies was hired as a professor, François Trudel, who was a member of the late 1960s team of Laval anthropology students conducting field research in Nunavik.

Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit

As mentioned earlier, the turn of the 1970s witnessed the emergence of Inuit political activism. In Canada, a first generation of young men and women educated in the federal school system, fluent in English, and cognizant of Qallunaat ways, decided to claim their territorial rights as Indigenous residents of the Arctic at a

time when the region was threatened by impending industrial development. In 1970, the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic established the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), and 1971 saw the creation of a national Inuit organization, Inuit Tapirisat Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami). In Quebec, the provincial government launched in 1971 a massive hydroelectric development project in the James Bay area. After this development was challenged in court by local Cree and Inuit, who had not been consulted, the government began negotiating. On the Inuit side, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA), founded in 1972, conducted the negotiations that led to the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in November 1975.

In order to support their land claims, NQIA needed maps and other documents showing that the parents, grandparents, and earlier ancestors of present-day Inuit had occupied the entire Quebec territory north of the 55th parallel, rather than just the coastal areas where modern communities now stood. As shown in the preceding section, the Inuksiutiit researchers had already collected this type of data, which they were willing to share with NQIA. However, the Inuit negotiators were reticent to collaborate with Université Laval for two reasons: 1) they saw it as a huge bureaucracy with which it would be difficult to get along, and 2) they suspected Laval to be an ally of the Quebec government, the opposing party in the negotiations.⁸ These reservations were conveyed to Bernard Saladin d'Anglure by Charlie Watt, NQIA's founding president (and later a Canadian Senator, 1984–2018), during a chance encounter at a northern airport (personal communication of B. Saladin d'Anglure, 2019). Watt mentioned that NQIA highly preferred to work with smaller, independent research organizations not linked to big institutions.

Upon returning to Québec City, Saladin d'Anglure discussed the matter with his co-researchers, suggesting they should create a non-profit organization, duly incorporated and, therefore, legally independent from Université Laval. They all agreed and decided to call it Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit (“Those who meet on matters pertaining to the Inuit”). Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Jimmy Innaarulik Mark (a research associate from Nunavik), and Louis-Jacques Dorais were proposed as founding members of the organization. Accordingly, they drafted and submitted the required documents to the federal Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The new entity was incorporated as Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc.⁹ (hence AIK) on January 31, 1974 (see Figure 1). AIK immediately signed a contract with NQIA, transferring to them the data that was collected by Inuksiutiit researchers and needed for the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement negotiations.

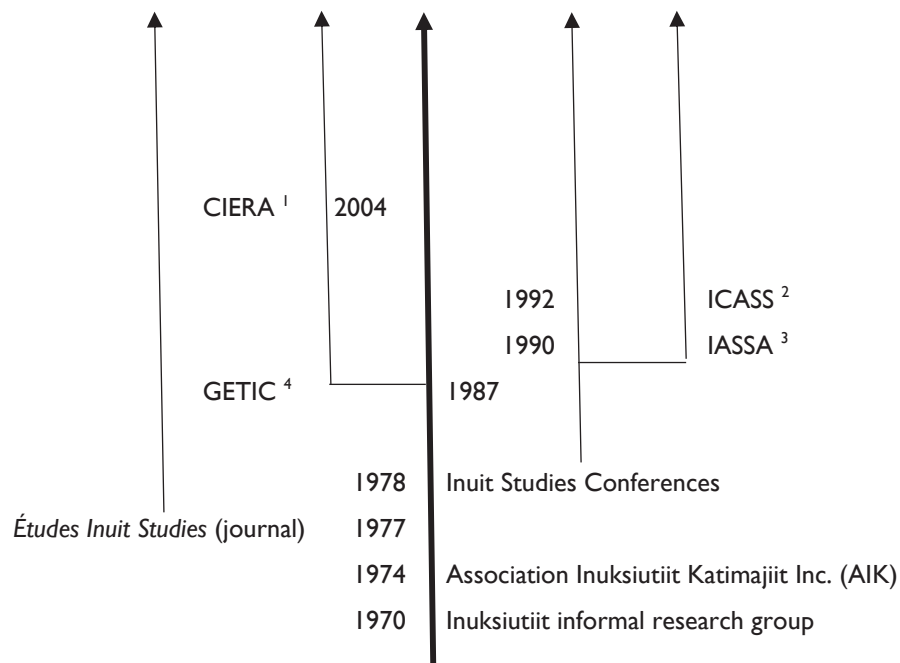


Figure 1. The Timeline of Inuksiutiit.

1. Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones (Interuniversity Centre for Indigenous Studies and Research)
2. International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences
3. International Arctic Social Sciences Association
4. Groupe d'études inuit et circumpolaires (Inuit and Circumpolar Studies Group)

Source: Adapted from Dorais and Saladin d'Anglure (2023, 147)

The new association was to be headed by a six-person board of directors, elected annually by the general assembly of members. New members had to be proposed and accepted by the general assembly (2005a). Over the years, the actual size of Inuksiutiit Katimajit has fluctuated, hovering between six and twenty members. In 1975, a formal agreement between AIK and Laval's Laboratory of Anthropology stipulated that in exchange for using departmental research space for its office, Inuksiutiit Katimajit would supervise the students connected with Section Inuit of the laboratory, allowing them to make use of AIK's typing, photocopying, and other facilities. AIK would also administer the budget of most departmental research projects concerning the Inuit.

According to its founding Charter, the objectives of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit are scientific and social, and its aims threefold: 1) to organize into an association people interested in studying and promoting Inuit language, society, and culture; 2) to hold conferences and meetings promoting, developing, and disseminating knowledge in the abovementioned domains, and to establish a documentation centre; 3) to conduct scientific research on Inuit language, culture, and society, and publish its results (Association Inuksiutiit 1974, 2). What the Charter does not mention is that AIK's members must have fieldwork experience

in Inuit Nunangat (the Inuit homelands), and are expected to speak Inuktitut, or any other Inuit language, at least minimally. Other than that, as shall now be seen, the Charter contains all that has made the strength of Inuksiutiit up to now: research, publishing, and conferences, without forgetting the valorization (“promoting”) of Inuit language, society, and culture.

Over the years, AIK has included several Inuit members and hired collaborators, often young men and women who later left their mark on northern communities. These include, amongst others, the following individuals:

Joe **Ataguttaaluk** (Igloodik): held several elected positions within the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) and played an important role in the creation and completion of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (cf. Obituary, www.qia.ca, April 1, 2022); QIA has established an Inuktitut language award in his memory.

Leah **Idlout/Illauq** (Mittimatalik/Pond Inlet): “an accomplished interpreter, translator, author, teacher, editor, seamstress, artist, and activist” (Petronne 1988, 225).

Lisa **Koperqualuk** (Puvirnituuq), MA in Anthropology (Laval): thought leader and communicator; President Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada and international Vice-Chair, Inuit Circumpolar Council; Vice-President (since 2019), Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit.

Jimmy I. **Mark** (Ivujivik): was researcher for the Quebec Government and adult education manager at the Kativik School Board; he also worked for the Nunavik health services; one of the three founding members of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit.

Sarah **Silou** (Qamanittuaq/Baker Lake), MA in Canadian Studies (Carleton): researcher for the Quebec Government, educator, member on the Nunavut Water Board and the Qamanittuaq Justice Committee.

Conducting Research

When Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit was formed, some of its first members had already been engaged in various research projects, including a large-scale applied study on housing in Nunavik mostly funded by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), and a linguistic survey of Inuit dialects in the Canadian Eastern Arctic.¹⁰ Other projects were planned, on wage work and on community radio for instance, but also on more specifically ethnographic topics such as *katajjaniq* (throat singing) and traditional Inuit cosmology. After the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975, when the Northern Quebec Inuit Association was replaced by the Makivik Corporation, AIK offered to work on collaborative research schemes with the new organization. However,

because Makivik was fully occupied with business linked to the implementation of the agreement, and since it established its own Inuit-led cultural body in 1980, the Avataq Cultural Institute, the envisioned collaboration was replaced by data sharing between AIK and Avataq. Such sharing of research data already collected by Inuksiutiit researchers or through new collaborative projects was later extended to other Inuit organizations, in the Northwest Territories as well as in Nunavut and Nunatsiavut (Labrador).

At the outset, there existed some confusion at Laval's Section Inuit between the projects negotiated and run by Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc., and those conducted through research grants awarded to Université Laval but administered by AIK. Some research personnel felt ill at ease when, as members of AIK's general assembly or board of directors, they were invited to discuss the budget and staff of projects that hired them. Inuksiutiit's research associates, students or Inuit,¹¹ were those mostly concerned with this confusion.

The situation of confusion was to last until 1986, when Laval's anthropology laboratory was abolished and its 1975 agreement with AIK became obsolete. Faced with the real possibility of losing their premises—which now included space for producing the scholarly journal *Études Inuit Studies* (see below)—the board of directors realized it was now time for Université Laval to establish its own research unit in Arctic social sciences, independently from AIK. This had become especially important because for the last few years Laval's leader in northern research, the Centre d'Études Nordiques, had decided to focus uniquely on natural sciences. The board discussed the matter with colleagues from different departments, who agreed on the idea of a new unit. They then joined together to formally propose to Laval's academic authorities the establishment of a research entity attached to the Faculty of Social Sciences, where senior scientists, junior researchers, as well as students, would meet to discuss northern topics and collaborate within transdisciplinary research programs (Dorais 2005b). The new unit was established in September 1987 as Groupe d'études inuit et circumpolaires (Inuit and Circumpolar Studies Group), or GETIC (see Figure 1).

From then on, all Inuit-focused projects funded through grants awarded to Université Laval were administered by GETIC. The group also took over the documentation gathered by AIK over the years and became co-publisher of *Études Inuit Studies*. In return, AIK retained ownership of the journal and preserved an office in the premises of GETIC. It continued to run and administer its own specialized projects, such as the production of the Inuktitut syllabic version of the telephone directory for the Eastern Northwest Territories (the future Nunavut) and Nunavik (1978–1997) or for Nunavik alone (1998–2021). At the start of the new millennium, GETIC decided to extend its field of interest to all the

Indigenous Peoples of the world. Therefore, in 2004, it was transformed into the Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones (Interuniversity Centre for Indigenous Studies and Research), or CIERA, welcoming students and researchers from outside the social sciences as well as from Canadian and international universities other than Laval. CIERA soon became Canada's leading francophone group of scholars on Indigenous matters.

Publishing

One of the original objectives of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit was to publish material resulting from research on Inuit language, culture, and society. When AIK was founded in 1974, the Inuit organizations that would soon devote themselves to social, cultural, and linguistic promotion and development had just started to operate. No outlet existed in Canada for disseminating material in Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, or Inuvialuktun apart from *Inuktitut*—a magazine originally published from 1959 by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and now published by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, in various Inuit dialects and in English—as well as a very few local publications such as *Inummarik*, issued in Igloolik by a group of cultural activists. This is why AIK deemed it essential to bring back to the Inuit at least part of the research data collected in the North, and to give a voice to those among them eager to publish in their own language.

AIK had first planned to issue every two months a magazine in Inuktitut containing excerpts from the 4,000 pages of text written by Nunavik Elders between 1967 and 1970 at the invitation of Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (see above), but this project was soon realized to be unrealistic. The Inuktitut periodical originally planned was thus replaced by a series of books in syllabic characters titled *Inuksiutiit allaniagait* (“Writings Dealing with Inuit”). Five titles appeared between 1977 and 1988, including the original version of *Sanaaq*, a novel—the first fictional work of some length in Inuktitut—written in 1954 by Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk,¹² and *Sivulitta piusituqangit* (“Old Habits of our Ancestors”), an encyclopedia of traditional Inuit life by the Nunavik Elder Taamusi Qumaq.

Besides the *Inuksiutiit allaniagait* series, Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit published a number of basic handbooks on the grammar and lexicon of various dialects of Inuktitut, edited from material provided by local Inuit language scholars.¹³ They were primarily aimed at students, either Inuit enrolled in Indigenous language classes or Qallunaat wishing to learn Inuktitut. AIK also signed an agreement with the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) to distribute its series of basic grammar books and dictionaries (six books published between 1983 and 1985) on each of the three dialects—Siglit,

Ummarmiut, and Kangiryuarmit—spoken in the Inuvialuit Region of the Northwest Territories. These books had been researched and edited by Ronald Lowe, a member of AIK, at the request of COPE and in association with local speakers.

Finally, other titles included a facsimile edition of Lucien Turner's 1894 monograph on the Inuit and Naskapi of eastern Nunavik, *Ethnology of the Ungava District*, and also Taamusi Qumaq's *Inuit uqausillaringit*, co-published with the Avataq Cultural Institute. This dictionary in Inuktitut syllabics defines some 15,000 Inuit words. Written by an elderly monolingual speaker, it opens an otherwise inaccessible door on the way Inuit understand the semantics of their language. A few years before publishing Qumaq, AIK had entered into a contract with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to undertake the orthographic standardization and English translation of Lucien Schneider's Inuktitut–French dictionary. This work (Schneider 1985) remains the most exhaustive bilingual dictionary in any Canadian Inuit dialect.

With the passage of years, outlets for disseminating written and oral Inuit texts, as well as video, audio, online digital media, and other expressions of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ, i.e., Traditional Knowledge), became relatively numerous. Indigenous organizations, educational and cultural institutions (e.g., Nunavut Arctic College and Nunavik's Avataq Cultural Institute), research centres (including Laval's GETIC), and private publishers (some of them Inuit-owned) began to issue, and are still issuing, a large and diversified number of publications authored by Inuit, or elicited from Elders and other bearers of IQ. This explains why, after 1992, except for a lone title in 2001, AIK stopped publishing books. Its initial efforts to disseminate written materials in Inuktitut—and Inuvialuktun if the distribution of COPE's linguistic publications is included—as well as on Inuit language and culture, were now being carried on by the Inuit themselves.

Études Inuit Studies

Most activities and publications of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit discussed to this point had a Canadian scope. However, right from its creation in 1974, AIK had wished Inuit studies to become part of a worldwide forum where scholars would share their concerns, methodologies, and research results with each other as well as with the communities they studied. Such an international perspective is quite natural, since the Inuit and their Yupik cousins from southwestern Alaska and Russian Chukotka are citizens of four different nations: Denmark, Canada, the United States, and Russia (Soviet Union until 1991), plus Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), now autonomous from Denmark. Moreover, due to their reputation

as one of the best known Indigenous Peoples in the world, the Inuit have long aroused scholarly interest in several other countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Japan.

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure and his colleagues deemed that one effective way to set up an international forum was to launch a peer-reviewed journal dealing exclusively with Inuit issues. This is why, two years after its creation, AIK undertook a survey of existing scholarly periodicals publishing on Arctic social sciences, in order to assess the desirability and feasibility of a new venue. AIK also contacted specialists from several countries, inquiring if they would actually publish in a journal devoted to Inuit matters.¹⁴ The survey showed that indeed, the proposed periodical on Inuit Studies would fill a void. Moreover, the response from the specialists was highly positive.

Therefore, in 1977, AIK launched *Études Inuit Studies*. It has been a bilingual peer reviewed periodical appearing twice a year. The articles, research notes, and book reviews are published in either English or French, with bilingual abstracts of the articles, but all other content—introductory pages, scientific information, abstracts of recent articles and dissertations on the Inuit—appear in both languages. Over the years, articles in English have tended to exceed those in French by a ratio of about 70 to 30.

The word of the editor opening the first issue of the journal summarizes how its publishers envisioned Inuit studies:

Open to the widely different perspectives of the social sciences, *Études Inuit Studies* hopes to encourage the development of a general anthropological approach to the study of Inuit societies and to become a centre of serious debate and theoretical reflection concerning these societies. ... We hope that the Journal will become a link in a communications network between individuals and organisms working in this field. ... Finally, we intend to accord a special priority to the specific interests of the Inuit in putting at their disposition materials which they may use according to their own particular preoccupations. It is for this reason that we attribute a great importance to the publication of original source documents ... (“Éditorial/Editorial” 1977a, 4)

The first editorial board of *Études Inuit Studies* had six members, four of them from Canadian universities. They represented various anthropological sub-disciplines: biological anthropology, social and cultural anthropology, ethnolinguistics, archaeology, and ethnohistory. The board grew rapidly, in number as well as in terms of disciplines and geographical origins. It had reached

eight members by 1979 (Volume 3), including an American anthropologist affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution and a geographer from McGill University. From 1994 on, its size hovered between eleven and thirteen people. By way of example, in 2013 (Vol. 37), the editorial board of the journal comprised twelve members originating from six countries: Canada (four), the United States (three), France (two), and Greenland, Denmark, and Switzerland (one each). Seven of them were anthropologists, two linguists (including an Inuk scholar), two geographers, and one a specialist in education. There was an equal number of men and women. In 2022 (Vol. 46), out of a combined total of twenty-four members on the editorial board and the international consultative committee, four were Inuit, three of them from Canada (Naullaq Arnaquq, Heather Igloliorte, Karla Jessen Williamson) and one from Kalaallit Nunaat (Carl Christian Olsen).

Due to the efforts of its successive editors and editorial boards, *Études Inuit Studies* has developed, over almost fifty years of existence, a competent and diversified network of contributors, either senior specialists or more junior researchers. During the first twenty-five years, collaborators were predominantly Qallunaat scholars, but since 2002 a growing number of Inuit and non-Indigenous practitioners in northern education, health services, social work, public administration, and so on, have published in the pages of the journal. Table 1 lists all sixty-five Canadian Inuit who have authored or co-authored articles between 1977 and 2022. This does not include at least two dozen Inūpiat, Kalaallit, and Yupik contributors from outside Canada.

Articles have appeared concerning all Inuit and Yupik groups, from Chukotka to Kalaallit Nunaat.¹⁵ At the same time, the topics covered evolved from classical anthropological themes such as “The Work of Knud Rasmussen” (Vol. 12) or “Shamanism/Christianization/Possession” (Vol. 21), to issues more attuned to contemporary Inuit concerns with changing conditions in the Arctic: “Industrial Development and Mining Impacts” (Vol. 37) or “Inuit School Curriculum and the Online Future of Inuit Tradition” (Vol. 40), for instance. Now in its forty-seventh year of publication at the time of this writing, *Études Inuit Studies*, with its international authorship and readership, remains a widely recognized leader in modern Inuit studies. Published at Université Laval since its creation,¹⁶ it demonstrates Canada’s world leadership in the emergence and development of a new type of knowledge about the Inuit, either basic or applied, and collaborative, but always respectful of who Inuit are.

Table I. Names of Inuit in Canada who published in *Études Inuit Studies* 1977–2022

1977	Rose Iqallijuq (transcription in Inuktitut and French of a conversation with her)	
1985	Mary Simon	
1992	Mary Simon Rosemarie Kuptana	
1995	Jaypetee Arnakak	
1997	Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk	
1998	Gary Baikie	
2001	Peter Irniq	
2002	Aaju Peter Myna Ishulutak Julia Shaimaiyuk Jeannie Shaimaiyuk	Nancy Kisa Bernice Kootoo Susan Enuaraq Vera Qulaut Arnatsiaq
2004	Tommy Akulukjuk	
2005	Catharyn Andersen	
2006	Laakkuluk Jessen Williamson	Karla Jessen Williamson
2009	Quluaq Pilakapsi Monica Shouldice Kim Crockatt	Cayla Chenier Janet Onalik
2012	Norma Dunning	
2013	Minnie Napartuk	Kitikmeot Heritage Society (no individual names provided)
2014	Betsy Annahatak	
2016	Raymond Mickpegak Dorothy Angnatok Katie Winters Carla Pamak Lena Metuq Jukeepa Hainnu Saa Pitsiulak Elisapee Flaherty Karen Inootik Jennifer Kadjuk Sarah Angiyou Passa Mangiuk Cheryl Allen Marina Andersen	Doris Boase Jenni-Rose Campbell Tracey Doherty Alanna Edmunds Felicia Edmunds Julie Flowers Jodi Lyall Cathy Mitsuk Roxanne Nochasak Vanessa Pamak Frank Russell Joanne Voisey Monica Ittusardjuat
2018	Luke Suluk	
2020	Olivia Ikey Jodie Lane	
2022	Jennifer Ullulaq Barbara Okpik Meghan Etter Jimmy Ruttan	Nellie Elanik Ruth Goose Esther Ipana

The Inuit Studies Conferences

When the first issue of *Études Inuit Studies* appeared in June 1977, it included a short message stating that “many individuals and several institutions have expressed an interest in the convening of a regular ‘Inuit Conference’ ... [that] would permit all those from across North America working on Inuit society to meet every two years” (“Projet de conférence inuit” 1977b, 171). The message added that AIK was ready to organize this conference at Université Laval in the fall of 1978, inviting “readers of the Journal and other possible conference participants” to send their suggestions for potential session themes.

The decision to organize biennial Inuit studies conferences had been taken at the general assembly of AIK in March 1977. After Bernard Saladin d’Anglure’s announcement that the first issue of *Études Inuit Studies* would appear within a few months, the author of this article suggested it might also be worthwhile to hold scholarly meetings on Inuit culture, language, and society, similar to the already existing Algonquian Conference. The underlying idea was that periodic gatherings would allow researchers to exchange directly with each other about their research experiences. More importantly, they could also discuss their findings with the representatives of Inuit organizations, in order to develop collaborative research projects focused on Inuit needs. It was expected too that some papers presented at the conferences would later develop into articles submitted to *Études Inuit Studies* for publication.

The “Inuit Conference” (i.e., the first Inuit Studies conference) took place at Université Laval from October 19 to 22, 1978. It was attended by some sixty participants, including a few delegates from Inuit organizations. The program included thirty-nine individual presentations—twenty of them in English, nineteen in French—dealing with Inuit archaeology and history, social organization, psychology, linguistics, land claims, mythology, music, literature, biological anthropology, and demography (Editors 1978). The first call for the conference (see above) had been addressed to “all those from across North America.” Indeed, thirty papers were read by Canadian researchers and five by American scholars, but four more were presented by European specialists.

As was later realized, the first conference set trends that carried over to all subsequent meetings. These included: 1) a large variety of topics, both academic and applied; 2) international attendance; 3) the presentation of audiovisual documents; 4) the participation of renowned specialists, as well as students and junior researchers; and 5) constructive interaction between people interested in Inuit issues, both scholars and practitioners. More generally, the conference was “successful in initiating communication between people from various disciplinary and geographical horizons, as well as between academics, those practically involved

in Inuit affairs and of course, the Inuit themselves, as representatives from several Inuit organizations attended the Conference” (Editors 1978, 120). What was lacking, though, was Inuit involvement in the organization of this first meeting, an involvement that would only come later.

The second Inuit Studies Conference (1980) was also organized by Université Laval, but from the third conference (1982) onwards, the Inuit studies biennial meetings took place in different locations, depending on the research institution organizing each of them. If a majority of the twenty-two meetings (up to the latest one in 2022) were held in Canada, almost a third (seven out of the total) took place abroad, including three in the United States and one each in Denmark, Kalaallit Nunaat, Scotland, and France. Four conferences were held in the North, in Fairbanks and Anchorage (Alaska), Iqaluit (the then-designate capital of Nunavut), and Nuuk (the capital of Kalaallit Nunaat). Southern and international locations did not prevent Inuit people from attending the conferences in ever-increasing numbers, as keynote speakers, presenters, or participants. At the twenty-second conference (Winnipeg, 2022), the Inuit outnumbered the Qallunaat, with a majority of the 800 attendees reported (Inuit Futures 2022).

Up to the fifth conference in 1986, Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit assisted the organizers in applying for grants and devising a scientific program. But from 1988 onwards, the role of AIK was, and still is, to make sure that every two years (every three after 2016) a professionally and financially reliable group of academics, both Inuit and Qallunaat, organize a meeting open to all presenters, especially Inuit and/or student researchers, desirous to share pertinent and seriously documented information about the Inuit, Yupik, and Unangan (Aleuts). Whenever possible, at the end of an Inuit Studies conference, those who wish to organize the next meeting present their proposal to the attendees, asking them if they agree with it and inviting them to send their suggestions for possible themes to be discussed.

Over the years, the Inuit Studies conferences have gone through different stages, reflecting the evolution of Inuit society between the 1970s and now. The first three meetings were predominantly academic events for Qallunaat scholars, but rapidly, Inuit presence was felt. Starting with the fourth conference (Montreal, 1984), Indigenous keynote speakers became the norm and a larger number of sessions dealt with issues and themes (e.g., the land, art, education, political autonomy) important to the Inuit.

Another stage was reached with the seventh (Fairbanks, 1990) and eighth (Quebec City, 1992) conferences, which played a major part in the internationalization of Inuit studies and their inclusion within the broader spectrum of Arctic social sciences. The Fairbanks meeting was the first to

be attended by Russian Yupiget (Chukotka Yupik). The Inuit and Qallunaat participants from Kalaallit Nunaat and eastern North America then realized that Inuit Nunangat extended far beyond the Canadian and Greenlandic Arctic. It was also during the Fairbanks conference that, at the request of an international group of social scientists, a special session was held to discuss the formation of an International Arctic Social Sciences Association (IASSA), the creation of which was immediately approved by those present at the session (see Figure 1). IASSA's first International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences (ICASS) took place in Québec City in 1992, concurrently with the eighth Inuit Studies Conference. The seventh and eighth conferences thus acted as catalysts of a sort, facilitating the emergence of pan-Arctic social sciences and their organization at the international level. Indeed, IASSA soon became the Arctic Council's and United Nations's chief scientific respondent on human issues in the Circumpolar World.

Despite this process of internationalization, the Inuit Studies conferences retained and, actually, increased their relevance as an opportunity to express Inuit identity. This was their next stage of development. The meetings that took place in Iqaluit (1994), St. John's (1996)—with a strong involvement of the Nunatsiavut (Labrador) Inuit—and Nuuk (1998) allowed local people to showcase their social, intellectual, and artistic achievements, and discuss them with specialists and practitioners from elsewhere on the planet. This tendency increased over the following decades. Meetings such as the Anchorage (2002), Paris (2006), and Washington, DC (2012) conferences gave the Inuit ample opportunity to expose to a large and receptive audience how they envisioned their culture, their existence, and their position in the contemporary world.

The three latest Inuit Studies conferences—St. John's (2016), Montreal (2019), and Winnipeg (2022)—while preserving their scholarly orientation, can truly be considered fully Inuit events. Their organization and programming were, to a large extent, supervised by Inuit;¹⁷ Indigenous participants were as numerous as Qallunaat attendees, or even more so; some sessions were conducted entirely or, at least, partly in Inuktitut;¹⁸ and Inuit arts, music, traditions, publications, and presentations of a scholarly nature were omnipresent. By way of example, several arts and crafts workshops, exhibitions, and a marketplace took place alongside more traditional academic sessions. The importance and significance that the conferences now have for many Inuit, the young in particular, shows up in the following quotation, from a group of Aklavik and Inuvik teen girls who had taken part in a cultural camp on Yukon North Slope's Inuvialuit lands, and had been invited to share their experience at the twenty-first Inuit Studies Conference (Montreal, 2019):

We gave a presentation about the Imniarvik camp in a lively, youth-focused session, and met many friends and colleagues from across the North, including those whom the girls knew through their sports, school, and extra-curricular activities. We attended keynote addresses by notable and highly inspirational Inuit scholars, leaders, and activists who spoke about representation, diplomacy, sovereignty, hunting, and other topics central to the health and well-being of circumpolar communities. (Lyons et al. 2022, 46)

Conclusion

At the turn of the 1970s, joining a movement that had been underway for a decade among other North American Indigenous Nations, the Inuit in Canada and Alaska, and the Kalaallit in Greenland, started to actively assert their rights and advocate for their recognition as self-determining Arctic citizens.¹⁹ At the same time, many young researchers conducting fieldwork in Inuit communities—mostly, but not exclusively, anthropologists—adopted a new paradigm in their relationships with the bearers of the culture they studied. The researchers deemed that instead of describing and analyzing Inuit communities from the outside, they should engage with local people as far as people agreed, living with them, learning their language, and, most importantly, trying to understand the Inuit world view in order to convey and explain it to non-Inuit. As a result, the old academic field of “Eskimology” was transformed into Inuit studies. Such a transformation, also underway among scholars working with First Nations Peoples, was not directly brought on by the socio-political movement mentioned above, but it partook of a similar spirit of respect for Indigenous people, and was seen as a way to support the Inuit in their self-assertion.

More pointedly, from the mid-1960s on, students from Université de Montréal and Université Laval in Québec City, who fully shared the objectives of emerging Inuit studies, conducted field research in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec) and, later on, in the future territory of Nunavut, under the tutorship of a young French anthropologist, Bernard Saladin d’Anglure. In 1970, the members of this informal research team, based at Université Laval, decided to call themselves Inuksiutiit (“Things or people having to do with the Inuit”). Four years later, they founded a non-profit chartered organization, Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. (AIK). AIK’s objectives have been to promote, develop, and disseminate knowledge on Inuit culture, language, and society. This was to be done in a spirit of collaborative research with Inuit communities.

Over the years, several projects initiated by AIK have played a major part in positioning Canada as the world leader in Inuit studies. Two accomplishments stand out in particular: the *Études Inuit Studies* journal and the Inuit studies conferences. Launched in 1977, the former has long since become the leading scholarly journal on Inuit issues. In its forty-seventh year as this is written, the journal is internationally respected for its solid contents, widely open to Inuit and Qallunaat (non-Inuit) knowledge, opinions, and contributions. As for the Inuit studies biennial conferences, they have welcomed, since 1978, any presenter interested in discussing well-documented information on Inuit matters. These conferences progressively became identity festivals of a sort, showcasing Inuit art and intellectual achievements, as well as more classical scholarship. At the latest conference in 2022, Inuit participants were more numerous than Qallunaat. Some Inuit studies conferences took place outside Canada, while the majority of them brought an international audience to Canada, eager to discuss with Canadian and other colleagues, and/or fellow Inuit, important social, cultural, language, and other issues related to the Inuit.

In short, the initiatives of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit, a Canadian organization based in Québec City, have provided a global dimension to the elicitation, dissemination, and promotion of knowledge—whether traditional or contemporary—originating from the Inuit. In this way, it may have played an essential part in supporting the Indigenous citizens of the North American Arctic in the assertion of their identity and social rights. It remains to be seen, though, to what extent the increasingly collaborative research initiatives discussed in the pages of the journal *Études Inuit Studies*, or presented at the Inuit studies conferences, have brought concrete benefits to Arctic communities.

Trying to assess such benefits here would be beyond the scope of this article, but we can rightly assume that the Inuksiutiit researchers—and also most Qallunaat who publish in the journal and speak at the conferences—are primarily concerned with their studies, career, and reputation, and this in spite of their assumed idealism and good intentions. For this reason, they belong to the predominant colonial politico-scientific apparatus that often negates the intrinsic value of Indigenous Knowledge (Stern 2022, 5–6) and, therefore, they objectively have partaken in delaying the assertion of Inuit identity. What can be said in favour of Inuksiutiit, though, is that until the end of the 1970s, in Canada at least, the Inuit had not yet fully established the cultural, intellectual, educational, and political structures that would defend and preserve their way of life and their language. So, up to the early 1980s, every time members of Inuksiutiit collected ethnographical and linguistic data from Inuit Elders and returned it back in different ways—transferring research documents to concerned

Inuit organizations, publishing in Inuktitut, and creating a dedicated journal and the biennial conferences—they contributed positively to emerging Inuit initiatives in defence of Inuit culture and language.

From the 1980s on, the number of Inuit scholars, creators, and cultural activists grew exponentially, as can be seen by the tremendous increase, since the year 2000, in the number of Indigenous men and women published in *Études Inuit Studies* and participating in the Inuit Studies conferences (Table 1). It is therefore reasonable to assert that these two forums have made an international scholarly voice available to Inuit researchers and practitioners, who can thus show that their existence is made up of things other than the social problems too often highlighted by the mass media.

At this point, then, it must be realized that Inuit scholars and intellectuals are now perfectly able to conduct their own research on the topics that appear important to their communities. Thus, it is up to them to decide if initiatives such as those put forward by Inuksiutiit over the past five decades are still useful to the Inuit. They may also ask themselves if the very concept of Inuit studies is not a colonialist artifact—like “Eskimology” clearly was—that must be discarded. If this is indeed the case, they might devise a new scientific paradigm based largely on traditional Inuit Knowledge, as well as new tools for disseminating their findings, with or without the participation of non-Inuit collaborators.

Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes first of all to the Inuit men and women, especially those from Quaqtq (Nunavik), who were patient enough to teach me their language and way of life over the years. Nakurijaalugituinnapatsi iluunnasi. Thanks also to all Inuksiutiit members and associates, past and present, as well as to the three anonymous reviewers and Managing Editor Deanna McLeod, who contributed much to improve this article with their relevant and constructive comments.

Notes

1. On the typology of Inuit languages and dialects, see Dorais (2010, Chapter 2).
2. In the Western scientific tradition, “basic research” is distinct from applied studies, whose objectives are mainly practical (e.g., analyzing a local language in order to teach it to future missionaries), and from strictly narrative productions (such as books aimed at unveiling customs and lifestyles to an educated public).
3. For more complete information on the history of Inuksiutiit, see Dorais and Saladin d’Anglure (2023). Part of the data found in this article are drawn from that study.
4. The supra-natural environment includes all non-human powers and beings, which people consider endowed with isuma (reason), and with which they interact.
5. Naming newborns entails transmitting them the kinship relations already existing between the original bearers of a name (the eponyms) and their own kin.

6. The maps and other documents concerning place names had already been transferred in 1969 to the competent authority in the matter, the Commission de toponymie du Québec. Some 700 Inuit place names were later made official by the Province of Quebec.
7. The author had taken part in the 1965 “anthropological expedition to Hudson Strait.”
8. Indeed, Université Laval’s leading research centre in Arctic matters was the Centre d’Études Nordiques (CEN), created in 1961 by a decision of the Quebec provincial government. Needless to say, CEN had nothing to do with Inuksiutiit.
9. Under Part II [i.e., without share capital] of the *Canada Business Corporations Act* (S.C., 1974-75-76, c. 29).
10. Both projects yielded useful results: the CMHC study elicited Inuit perceptions of better housing, and a model house was built in Puvirnituk on the basis of these perceptions; the language project allowed AIK to devise a series of basic handbooks on various dialects (see below).
11. Since Laval is a francophone university, it never had a significant number of Inuit students, whose second language is usually English.
12. Sanaaq was published in an English translation (Nappaaluk 2014) sixty years after it had been written.
13. Among them: Martin Martin (Nain), Taamusi Qumaq (Puvirnituk), Naqi Ekho (Iqaluit), Uqsuralik Ottokie (Kinngait/Cape Dorset), Venant Atarjuagsiq and Emile Imaroittok (Igloodik), Barnabas Peryouar (Qamanittuaq/Baker Lake).
14. The specialists consulted included two or three Kalaallit scholars, but unfortunately no Inuit from Canada or Alaska.
15. Some texts also dealt with the Unangan (Aleuts), related to the Inuit through their language and culture.
16. In 2014, AIK transferred its ownership of the journal to Laval’s CIERA (Centre interuniversitaire d’études et de recherches autochtones or Interuniversity Centre for Indigenous Studies and Research).
17. In Winnipeg the chief conference organizer was Professor Heather Igloliorte.
18. In Winnipeg (2022), a few sessions were even limited to Inuit participants.
19. This was the period when most Inuit people insisted on “Inuit” rather than “Eskimo.”

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Research Report

Addressing Domestic Violence through Circle Peacemaking in Kake, Alaska: Reflections on Building Tribal-Researcher Capacity

Eric Einspruch,^a Jon Wunrow,^a Mike (Ka.oosh) Jackson,^b
Dawn Jackson,^b and Anthony Gastelum^b

^a ELE Consulting, LLC

^b Organized Village of Kake

Abstract: We begin by acknowledging the impact of historical trauma on the community, as this formed the backdrop for the entire capacity building project. In January 2021, the Organized Village of Kake (OVK), Alaska, received funding for a planning grant from the National Institute of Justice through the Tribal-Researcher Capacity-Building Grant program. The project focused on how to incorporate domestic violence (intimate partner violence) cases into the Circle Peacemaking process, and on developing a proposal to study that process. The partnership team consisted of members of the OVK Tribal staff and independent researchers. The grant was awarded in the midst of the COVID-19 global pandemic, so all work on this project had to be conducted remotely. Of particular importance, Zoom allowed for face-to-face meetings, even though they could not be held in person. The partnership determined that a research study on use of Circle Peacemaking to handle domestic violence cases should centre an Indigenous research paradigm. The conceptual framework for the Circle Peacemaking process, rooted in Lingít culture and life, is described. Existing strengths in the community that support the potential for using Circle Peacemaking in Kake to address domestic violence, potential measures of success, potential problems in carrying out a future study, and key learnings are also described.

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Historical Context

Many of the crimes and public safety issues that plague the remote and isolated village of Kake, Alaska, are rooted in historical and intergenerational trauma, as well as in the lack of cultural protective factors in the lives of community and Tribal citizens. Historical trauma is defined as cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma (Brave Heart, 2003). This trauma results in unresolved grief. This historic unresolved grief comes from the life shock, invasion, and genocide that came with first contact with non-Indigenous Peoples, and was followed by the trauma of subjugation, boarding schools, prohibition of Lingít language and practices, loss of a subsistence way of life, ongoing racism, and forced assimilation.

As an example of historical trauma and grief, the people of Kake still live with the devastating impact of the near annihilation of their entire community at the hands of the United States Navy when, in February 1869, the crew of the USS *Saginaw* totally destroyed three Kake village sites in the dead of winter. At a recent meeting with Alaska's senior military leader to open up dialogue about these bombardments, Dawn Jackson, executive director of the federally recognized Tribe in Kake, known as the Organized Village of Kake, stated, "We are in the weeds of intergenerational trauma. It will take five generations from me, to heal what has been done" (Juneau Empire, 2020).

We begin with this acknowledgement of historical trauma, as it formed the backdrop for our entire capacity-building project. In addition, understanding that Kake has been systematically repressed for pursuing a traditional way of life in the territory where residents have lived for millennia is an important part of the context for understanding the importance of using a Circle Peacemaking restorative justice model for addressing domestic violence (intimate partner violence) in Kake. This context had direct implications for how the research team communicated and conducted its work together, and its ultimate success in meeting the original goals of the research effort. Setting aside time in meetings for team members to check-in, to listen, and to share information about current community and family trauma and events was an important part of building trust, mutuality, and safety within the group. "Success" of a research project in this context is rooted in relationships.

Introduction

In January 2021, the Organized Village of Kake (OVK) received funding from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) through the Tribal-Researcher Capacity-Building Grant program. As described on NIJ's web site, this program funds:

Planning grants to develop new and innovative criminal and juvenile justice research or evaluation projects that address the challenges of fighting crime and strengthening justice in Indian country and Alaska Native villages. To ensure proposed projects result in tangible and mutually beneficial studies, they must include a new tribal-researcher partnership component. (National Institute of Justice, 2020)

The OVK project focused on assessing how best to incorporate domestic violence (DV) cases that are brought before the OVK Tribal Court, into the Circle Peacemaking process. The ultimate goal of this effort is to strengthen Tribal families and the community of Kake by shedding new light on the issues of addressing domestic violence through the use of Circle Peacemaking. In addition, a goal of the project was to ensure that program and related research components are rooted in the cultural values and traditional “ways of knowing” of the Lingít people of Kake. The purpose of this article is to describe the learnings from the planning grant. The article begins with a description of the community context of Kake and of the planning grant. We then review Circle Peacemaking, including concepts of restorative justice and design principles, a comparison of restorative and non-restorative approaches, discussion of historic trauma, and a description of the Circle Peacemaking Program in Kake. It then describes learnings about centring an Indigenous research paradigm, and a conceptual model, that emerged from the planning grant. This is followed by discussion of existing strengths that support the potential for using Circle Peacemaking in Kake to address DV cases, measures of success, and potential problems and anticipated solutions in carrying out a study of using Circle Peacemaking to address DV cases. The article concludes with key learnings from this planning grant.

Community Context

Kake is a rural community located on Kupreanof Island in the heart of the Tongass National Forest in Southeast Alaska. The community of Kake has a population of 543 citizens (US Census Bureau, 2020). As of June 2020, the Organized Village of Kake had a Tribal enrolment of 1,020 citizens, of whom 396 live in town (OVK, personal communication, 2022), representing 73% of Kake's total population. Kake is 145 kilometres (90 miles) south of Juneau, the state

capital, and 80.5 kilometres (50 miles) east of Sitka. Kake is inaccessible by road, and transportation to and from the community is provided by small air carriers and occasional ferry service (see Figures 1, 2, and 3).

Although the United States government identified the Organized Village of Kake as a federally recognized Tribe in 1947, the Lingít people of the Kake area have lived on their traditional land for millennia. The word “Kake” is an English version of the Lingít word Kèex, which means “the place where there is an opening to daylight.” The people of Kake refer to themselves as Kèex Kwàan, the people of the place where there is an opening to daylight. This Lingít phrase both describes a physical feature of the location of the community and is an apt metaphor for the purpose of this research planning project: to strengthen Tribal families and the community by shedding new light on the issues of domestic violence through use of the Circle Peacemaking approach to restorative justice.

The project design was based on the Tribe’s identified core purpose of “strengthening Tribal community and culture” as well as OVK’s five core values of respect, collaboration, endurance, safety, and security. This purpose, and these core values, are rooted in the history and traditions of the Kèex Kwàan people.



Figure 1. Location of Kake in Southeast Alaska



Figure 2. Aerial View of the Village of Kake, Alaska. Photo credit: Jon Wunrow



Figure 3. Low Tide in the Village of Kake. Photo credit: Jon Wunrow

National Institute of Justice Grant

The National Institute of Justice Tribal-Researcher Capacity-Building grant was awarded during the midst of the COVID-19 global pandemic. At that time, and throughout the eighteen-month duration of the project, travel was restricted and discouraged. Thus, all work on this project was conducted via Zoom videoconference calls, email, online searches, and telephone calls. Of particular importance, Zoom allowed for face-to-face meetings, even though they could not be held in person. As noted above, through this grant solicitation NIJ awarded “planning grants to fund applications to develop new and innovative criminal and juvenile justice research projects involving federally recognized tribes (or tribally based organizations) and that represent a new tribal-researcher investigator partnership” (NIJ-2020-17329, p. 5).

The core research partner team consisted of three members of the OVK staff and two independent researchers. Dawn Jackson (Lingit and Haida) was the principal investigator and had overall responsibility for project and grant management. Ms. Jackson is an OVK Tribal member and the Tribe’s executive director. Mike (Ka.oosh) Jackson (Lingit and Haida) is an OVK Tribal member and was one of two co-principal investigators on the project. Mr. Jackson founded the Kake Circle Peacemaking Program in 1998 and is the current Keeper of the Circle. He previously served for twenty-seven years as the District Court Magistrate Judge in Kake and is an advisory committee member of the Indigenous Peacemaking Initiative (<https://peacemaking.narf.org/about-us/>). Anthony Gastelum served as the Tribal court liaison, carrying out local aspects of the project. Eric Einspruch, principal and founder of ELE Consulting, LLC, was one of two co-principal investigators on the project and had responsibility for the technical aspects of the project. Jon Wunrow was an associate researcher on the project, under subcontract to ELE, and provided keen insights in support of all aspects of the project.

Partnership members met on twelve occasions in March, April, and May of 2021, and in January, March, May, and June of 2022 to conduct a situational analysis and then develop the study proposal. The purpose of the situational analysis was to identify and understand local issues that need to be considered when developing a program to incorporate domestic violence issues into Circle Peacemaking, and when developing the research study proposal. The situational analysis included a brief literature review, determination of local concerns that need to be addressed in the research design for the proposed study, communication with others outside of Kake who are using Circle Peacemaking to obtain their perspectives and ideas, consultation with subject matter experts, and communication with persons in Kake who provide domestic violence services so they could share their concerns and ideas about what needs to be in

place for Circle Peacemaking to be used in domestic violence cases. The results of the situational assessment directly informed the development and design of the proposed research project. Several additional data gathering meetings were also held from May to December 2021, and in February 2022. Participants in these additional meetings included two staff members from an out-of-state Circle Peacemaking program, two Tribal court judges (one retired), one state court judge, the director of a women's shelter in Alaska, the director of a women's resource centre in Alaska, and two researchers who have worked in the Village of Kake. Community input was also obtained through one-on-one contact by phone and email through November 2021. This input was gathered through a structured interview questionnaire that included the following questions:

- What are your thoughts about using the Circle Peacemaking process to address domestic violence cases?
- How could Circle Peacemaking be used in domestic violence cases in a way that both protects the survivor and empowers them?
- How could wrongdoer and survivor participation in the Circle be handled (same circle, different circles, or some other way)?
- What are your thoughts about how to know whether or not the Circle Peacemaking process was helpful for domestic violence cases that were handled that way?

Circle Peacemaking

The studies reviewed indicate support for using Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence cases. However, little is known about using Circle Peacemaking to address DV in the setting of a small rural village such as Kake, or about how this can help the community heal from historical and intergenerational trauma.

Restorative Justice

Circle peacemaking is a form of restorative justice. As noted by Zehr and Mika (1998), fundamental concepts of restorative justice include the following: 1) crime is fundamentally a violation of people and interpersonal relationships; 2) violations create obligations and liabilities; and 3) the goal of justice should be to heal and put right the wrongs. Regarding the third point, the justice process belongs to the community and is a process to maximize opportunities for exchange of information, participation, dialogue, and mutual consent between victim and offender.

Butterwick et al. (2015) note that peacemaking is rooted in ancient traditions and the fundamental principle that people are profoundly connected to one another and their communities. They note that it “is understood that those

affected by the conflict may belong to wider communities – family, workplace, school, neighborhood, or other relationships – that may also need to be part of the solution” (p. 35). In peacemaking, conflict provides an opportunity to build community and human relationships. Peacemaking honours three values intrinsic to Tribal Courts: relationships, responsibility, and respect, offering an alternative to the limitations of the adversarial system by recognizing the importance of relationships. Similarly, Zion (as cited in Butterwick, 2015) notes that in Indian justice, disputes are resolved not by rules but by the idea of relationships. The basic concepts of Indigenous justice are relationships, reciprocity, solidarity, and process, as opposed to hierarchy. These ideas are consistent with those of Nancarrow (2006), who reported on two task force investigations considering justice responses to violence against women, which contained opposing recommendations about the suitability of the use of restorative justice in these cases. In interviews with task force members, Nancarrow (2006) found that Indigenous women and non-Indigenous women agreed that “stopping violence” was the most important priority of a justice response to domestic and family violence and that “supporting women by validating their stories” was one of the three most important priorities. However, they disagreed on the relative importance of three other priorities. Indigenous women prioritized “restoring relationships” and “sending a message to the community that violence is wrong,” over “holding men accountable,” whereas non-Indigenous women prioritized “holding men accountable” over the other two. Similarly, Mills (2009) provides two compelling examples of the benefit of Circle Peacemaking in domestic violence cases.

Design Principles

Rieger (2001) noted that, in general, in the circle sentencing model the offender applies for the circle and a waiver from the state justice system, develops a healing plan, and assembles a healing committee of people who will attend the circle. The victim also develops a safety plan and a safety committee. Community members may attend the circle, though they keep the discussion confidential. Each circle participant talks in turn, holding an indicator of the right to speak. The discussion goes around the circle until the group as a whole reaches consensus about a plan to which the offender must agree to complete within a certain period of time. Jarrett and Hyslop (2014) examined restorative justice practices in Kake and in Tok, Alaska, and provided nine design principles for restorative justice programs in the Alaskan context that are more general than the model described by Rieger (2001). These principles included: 1) involve local stakeholders in all stages of the restorative program; 2) do not accept a one-size-fits-all method; 3) seek solutions in reference to the “bigger picture”; 4) encourage agreements between the State

and Tribal courts; 5) provide the necessary motivation, skills, and resources; 6) seek out lower cost procedures that ensure sustainable programs; 7) reformulate and expand the definition of “success”; 8) focus on restorative “practices” instead of restorative “justice”; and 9) include local cultural norms in developing restorative practices.

Comparison of Restorative and Non-restorative Justice Approaches

Latimer et al. (2005) conducted a meta-analysis using data from studies that compared restorative justice programs to traditional non-restorative justice approaches. Restorative programs were found to be significantly more effective in terms of victim and offender satisfaction, restitution compliance, and recidivism (however, the findings were tempered by self-selection bias; also, there were no appropriate empirical evaluations of circle sentencing models or healing circles to include in the meta-analysis). Mills et al. (2013) conducted a randomized controlled trial that found generally non-significant differences in recidivism between Batterer Intervention Program (BIP) and Circles of Peace (CP) restorative justice program groups, leading the authors to comment that the findings dispel the belief that restorative justice cannot be used to treat domestic violence criminal activity since circles of peace did no worse than the traditional intervention program. Subsequently, Mills et al. (2019) concluded that the hybrid batterer intervention program plus circles of peace should be considered a viable treatment option for DV offenders.

Historic Trauma

Circle peacemaking is consistent with Historic Trauma and Unresolved Grief (HTUG) Interventions that are considered mental health Tribal Best Practices (Brave Heart, 2001; Administration for Children & Families, n.d.). These interventions result in measurable reductions in feelings of anger, sadness, shame, and guilt, as well as increases in feelings of joy (Brave Heart, 1998). HTUG activities and interventions focus on moving individuals through four phases: Confronting historical trauma and enhancing connection to cultural history, understanding the trauma, releasing the pain, and transcending the trauma. Interventions place a heavy emphasis on engaging individuals, families, and communities in activities that enhance the traditional protective factors of generosity, compassion, respect, humility, bravery, and wisdom (these are similar to, and have some direct overlap with, the traditional values mentioned in the first paragraph in the section on Circle Peacemaking in Kake below). Brave Heart, a leader in the area of identifying and healing issues of historical trauma with Indigenous people, has noted that unacknowledged and unresolved grief expresses itself in depression,

psychic numbing, and low self-esteem that can lead to self-destructive behaviours including alcohol and drug abuse, as well as anger and aggression that can then lead to violence and property destruction.

Circle Peacemaking in Kake

Kake instituted a Circle Peacemaking model in the community in 1999. Ka.oosh, former local magistrate and current Keeper of the Circle, has been instrumental in reviving the model in Kake and disseminating it outside of Kake. In Kake, both the victim(s) and wrongdoer are present at peacemaking circles, along with family, friends, and other invited guests and Elders. Ka.oosh noted that many Circle participants attend to help both the victim and wrongdoer, as a display of concern for the community. The Circle Peacemaking process is detailed in the Kake Circle Peacemaking Handbook (2013; Jackson, 2016) and a related video (Indigenous Peacemaking Initiative, n.d.). The process includes seven stages:

- Stage I: Opening (welcoming by the Keeper, opening prayer, circle guidelines, and introductions);
- Stage II: Legal facts are set (police/state opening, defence opening, probation report, and legal summary);
- Stage III: Clarifying information (support group report);
- Stage IV: Finding common ground (passing of the talking stick or other appropriate symbol/object);
- Stage V: Exploring options (passing of the talking stick or other appropriate symbol/object, and summary by the Keeper of the Circle);
- Stage VI: Developing consensus (i.e., called a circle sentence by the State of Alaska Court System, in which everyone has a stake); and
- Stage VII: Closing of the Circle (summary, closure, and closing prayer).

These stages are rooted in traditional Lingit values, which include respect, remembrance, responsibility, truth, care of subsistence areas and property, reverence, sense of humility, care of the human body, dignity, and peace (Kake Circle Peacemaking Handbook, 2005, updated 2013, p. 4). Ka.oosh noted that, in addition, during the Closing of the Circle, participants are asked to provide any critique of the process or suggestions for how the process could be improved.

In Kake, Circle Peacemaking has mainly been used to address substance-related crimes, particularly alcohol-related offences committed by minors. The Tribe found that over a four-year period the peacemaking project had a 97.5% success rate in sentence fulfilment compared to the Alaskan state court system's

22% success rate (Butterwick et al., 2015). In another study, Nesheim (2010) found that the Kake community overwhelmingly supported the Circle model, and that recidivism was lower than the statewide rate of 66%, though not as low as the 5% recidivism rate reported by the Circle. Hyslop (2012) also noted the success of Circle Peacemaking in addressing underage drinking and suicide in Kake, in terms of youth with violations for underage drinking completing the terms of their sentences.

As described by Ka.oosh, the primary difference between DV cases and substance abuse cases is that in substance abuse cases the wrongdoer and the victim are the same person (although other victims may include family, relatives, and the community), while in DV cases the wrongdoer is the offender, and another person is the victim. Ka.oosh noted that if the wrongdoer and the victim are present in the same room, the wrongdoer may have control of the victim just by their presence. This may be the primary concern about including DV cases in the Circle Peacemaking process. Similarly, Coker (1999) noted that domestic violence and victims' advocates are concerned that the circle process will perpetuate the cycle of power and domination that results in victimization. Thus, based on findings from the current planning grant, separate circles will be conducted for the offender and the victim followed by the integration of the consensus agreements reached by each of the circles, unless both sides think that a single circle would be better. Local concerns that will be addressed in carrying out Circle Peacemaking for domestic violence cases include the following matters.

Safety of the survivor. There are issues of intimidation, power, and control that a wrongdoer may have over a survivor, and these may be very subtle and difficult to recognize. Wrongdoers and survivors will therefore participate in separate circles, though if appropriate and agreed to by the survivor then they might participate in the same circle (perhaps after initially participating in separate Circles). The circle process will be primarily for addressing wrongdoer behaviour, rather than for survivors.

Confidentiality. Kake is a small village where community members see each other regularly. Circle members will need to understand the importance of confidentiality, and to abide by their oath of confidentiality and the rules regarding what can and cannot be shared.

Decisions regarding the Circle process. The circle process will not automatically be used in DV cases, and has to be appropriate for a particular case in order to be used for that case. This will be determined through a thorough intake process. Wrongdoers will need to understand the circle process and help decide whether it is right for them, and they will need to be assessed to determine whether the circle is appropriate.

Wrongdoers may need to attend a batterers intervention class, and other classes as appropriate (e.g., anger management, relationship) prior to starting the circle process. Wrongdoers may also need to obtain help for substance abuse or mental health concerns prior to engaging in the circle process. Circles will need to be made up of selected individuals with appropriate training, who are able to protect the survivor, hold the wrongdoer accountable, and help the wrongdoer navigate learning and incorporating new (non-violent) behaviours. It will be important to begin with cases likely to succeed, as those participants will then advocate for the process.

Wrongdoer accountability. The circle process will succeed only if the wrongdoer is held accountable for the harm they have done—accountability is the way to healing. In addition, survivors need to be helped to reestablish their own power, especially with regard to the wrongdoer, family, and peers. This might involve survivor participation in the circle.

Care for children. Children are almost always involved when there are cases of domestic violence, so it will be important to ensure their safety and that they are not re-traumatized.

Historical trauma. The circle process will need to incorporate issues of historical and intergenerational grief and trauma, so that it is not perpetuated.

Given the literature cited above, and OVK's experience with Circle Peacemaking, it is reasonable to expect that Circle Peacemaking could be effective in addressing domestic violence cases in Kake.

Centring an Indigenous Research Paradigm

The partnership determined that a research study on use of Circle Peacemaking to handle DV cases should be grounded in a community-based participatory research (CBPR) approach, and be carried out with respect for Indigenous ontology (the nature of reality or existence), epistemology (the nature of thinking or knowing), methodology (how knowledge is gained), and axiology (the ethics that guide the search for knowledge). Wilson (2008) has provided a good overview of Indigenous research methods and ways of knowing, and Chilisa (2020) has provided a detailed presentation of these topics. Recent issues of *New Directions for Evaluation* (Cram, 2018) and the *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation* (Bourgeois, 2020) are devoted to Indigenous evaluation. The research should be guided by the “Three Rs” of respect, reciprocity, and relationality (see Wilson, 2008, p. 58), recognizing

that in an Indigenous world view “relationships are the essential feature of the [research] paradigm” (Wilson, 2008, p. 127). As described by Wilson (2008):

Relationality seems to sum up the whole Indigenous research paradigm to me. Just as the components of the paradigm are related, the components themselves all have to do with relationships. The ontology and epistemology are based upon a process of relationships that form a mutual reality. The axiology and methodology are based upon maintaining accountability to those relationships. There, that sums up the whole book in one paragraph! An Indigenous research paradigm is relational and maintains relational accountability. (pp. 70–71)

CBPR (Israel et al., 2003) facilitates collaborative and equitable partnerships in the research (e.g., working together from a foundation of equality); builds on strengths and resources within the community (e.g., the research that emerges from the project is rooted in the interests and experiences of the Tribal partners who live in the community and understand its strengths); promotes co-learning and capacity building among partners (e.g., the Tribal and research partners are committed to understanding each other’s perspectives and to learning from each other); and disseminates findings and knowledge gained to all partners and involves all partners in the dissemination process. This is consistent with Castellano’s (2008) description that “Indigenous research is systematic inquiry that engages Indigenous persons as investigators or partners to extend knowledge that is significant for Indigenous peoples and communities” (p. 424). Overall, the study should recognize “Tenets of Indigeneity”:

These tenets should inform the work of evaluation in Indigenous contexts. The first tenet is that Indigenous people regard themselves as descendants of those who lived on their lands well before colonization (historical continuity). Second, it is accepted that Indigenous peoples are inextricably linked to their territory through having lived there before others with a relationship to those lands. Third, Indigenous peoples, by virtue of their own perseverance, maintain certain cultural features and value these as worthy to pass to future generations ... Fourth, Indigenous peoples have experienced a collective suppression of their cultures, expressed through discrimination, subjugation, dispossession, and various forms of cultural diminishment. (Groh, 2018, p. 56 as noted in Shepherd and Graham, 2020a)

Examples from other authors provide additional insight into these ideas. Gullickson (2020) noted that “Indigenous communities, in contrast [with a Western approach], prioritise relationship with people, community, and environment and co-creation of knowledge, rather than objective investigation (Cram, 2018). World views and values underlie what counts as credible and relevant data, and what constitutes culturally appropriate approaches or procedures” (see p. 5). Shepherd and Graham (2020a, see pp. 393–394) noted that in Western ontological and epistemological paradigms, there is an underlying assumption that knowledge is understood individually and is superior, and that conveyance of that knowledge is also done on an individual basis in ways that privilege Western ways of knowing. By contrast, in most Indigenous ontologies knowledge is relational, regarding reality as a process of relationship. In English, objects are named, whereas in many Indigenous languages, verbs are more prevalent to describe the uses of the object or one’s relationship to it, rather than labels. Knowledge is relational, and knowledge creation is shared. Other authors have also discussed the importance of relationships in Indigenous research, for example, Shepherd and Graham (2020b), Richmond et al. (2008), Wilson and Restoule (2010), Kovach (2010), NCAI Policy Research Center and MSU Center for Native Health Partnerships (2012), and Delancey (2020).

In addition, the concept of two-eyed seeing may be of particular importance in studying the use of Circle Peacemaking for handling DV cases in Kake. Two-eyed seeing is defined as “to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous ways of knowing and to see from the other eye with the strengths of Western ways of knowing” (Hall et al., 2015, p. 1; see also Goodchild, 2021). Simultaneously holding both perspectives will allow for a greater depth of understanding than what would be gained from either perspective alone (similar to how a person gains depth perception by simultaneously looking through both eyes).

Thus, a study of the use of Circle Peacemaking for DV cases should attend to an Indigenous framework for validity. This involves fairness (inclusion of all voices in the research texts); authenticity (participants as co-researchers and acknowledgement of relationships); positionality judgments (knowledge is referenced to a position); involvement of participants in ensuring quality and accuracy of data analysis and interpretation); voice (including both researcher and participant voice in the study reports; and researcher self-reflexivity (Chilisa, 2020, pp. 219–220). Of particular importance, partners engaged in such a study should strive toward ontological competence, which “requires that we (a) continuously interrogate our ontological stance, (b) be open to changes in our ontological stance, (c) be knowledgeable and respectful of the ontological stance of others, and (d) commit to not privileging our ontological stance over that of others” (Billman, 2022, p. 3). Thus, the rigour of the study would be rooted in its coherence, and in

the alignment of methods with the research world view relevant to those interested in the research and to those the research intends to benefit. This is consistent with Patton's (2015) call for methodological pluralism and appropriateness as a platinum standard for research (to supplant the idea of randomized control trials as a so-called gold standard for research).

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for the Kake Circle Peacemaking process is rooted in Lingít culture and life. When asked about the origins of Circle Peacemaking Ka.oosh shared the following:

This history of the Naa.Káani comes to mind about being the Guwakaan for the opposite Moieties. Our Íxt' (Medicine Man) had a vision shortly after Lingít Creation Time. The Yéil (Raven) appeared in his vision that the Lingíts (Human Beings) had to have two Moieties—Eagle and Raven. And that the two Moieties had to have a Guwakaan (Deer People-Peacemaker) who they would pick from the opposite Moiety to speak for them in Ceremony and for Peacemaking. This selected speaker is called the Naa.Káani (Favourite Brother-in-Law). (Ka.oosh, 2022, used with permission)

This concept is that the two moieties, who together constitute all Lingít people, must have a Guwakaan or peacemaker, to serve as the Naa.Káani, the person who speaks for the opposite side. This role or person is essential for keeping peace and for balance between the moieties. A similar description of peacemaking is provided by the Sealaska Heritage Institute: A Lingít symbol of peace is the deer or Guwakaan since it is considered gentle and is a symbol of peace. The traditional Lingít value of Wooch Yáx̄ (Social and Spiritual Balance) governs interrelationships between Lingít clans, and between the Lingít and other tribes, nations, and institutions. The settlement of disputes between Lingít clans and other groups relied on concepts of balance, achieved through compensation, to approach a state of peace among the parties (Sealaska Heritage, n.d.).

The Kake Circle Peacemaking Handbook (2013) incorporates this concept, listing ten Lingít values, which include:

respect for self and others, including elders; **remember** our Native traditions, our families, sharing, loyalty, pride, and loving children; **responsibility**; **truth** and wise use of words; **care** of subsistence areas, care of property; **reverence** Haa shageinyaa is a great word in Lingít culture. This was the Great Spirit above us, and today

we have translated that reverence to God; **sense of humility; care of human body; dignity** for which the Lingit word is yan aa duuneeq; and **peace** with the family, peace with the neighbors, peace with the others, and peace with the world of Nature. (p. 4, bold in the original)

The image of a traditional Clan house can be used to illustrate the conceptual framework for the Kake Circle Peacemaking process (see Figure 4). The explication of this model was co-created by the planning grant team (the image of the Clan house and the explanation of its structure was provided by, and is used with permission from, Tribal partner Ka.oosh, in response to prompts from the research partners):

The floor or foundation of the house is the history and wisdom of the Keex' Kwaan people, and their connection to the land and all living and non-living things. It provides the basis for everything that occurs.

The house posts represent the cultural values of: respect for self and others; holding each other up; listening well and with respect; and living in peace and harmony (we could add more as well).

The roof of the house represents the people who come to the circle for healing, who are being lifted up and supported by the values (house posts), and the history and wisdom (floor or foundation).

The smoke hole of the house represents the releasing of the healing that occurs, out to the world, out to the community.



Figure 4. Tribal House in Village of Hydaburg, Alaska. Photo credit: Jon Wunrow

Taken as a whole, the image shows that a connection to one's surroundings forms the basis for an understanding of Lingít values and Traditional ways of knowing, which connects to an understanding of relationships and connections (e.g., to the land, people, and community), which leads to identifying the current situation that the wrongdoer and survivor find themselves in, and to the activities that can address the situation (i.e., Circle Peacemaking), which then leads to conscious peacemaking efforts (see the story above about the Deer People), resulting in balancing (or rebalancing) within family and Clan and community, then coming full circle to reclaiming a connection to one's surroundings and reaffirming Lingít values.

Existing Strengths

Based on information obtained by conducting the situational analysis, the partners identified several existing strengths that support the potential for using Circle Peacemaking in Kake to address DV cases. These strengths include the following.

Experience with Circle Peacemaking

Kake's longstanding experience with Circle Peacemaking provides a strong foundation for exploring whether and how DV might be incorporated into a Circle process. Kake's experience with Circle Peacemaking gained national recognition when it received High Honors from Harvard's JFK School of Government *Honoring Nations* (n.d.) project, which promotes Best Practices in Indian Country within the United States. Kake's Circle Peacemaking Program staff have also assisted in the publication of articles and other written materials (for example, see Hyslop (2012), Hyslop (2018), Jarrett and Hyslop (2014), and Kake Circle Peacemaking Handbook (2013)).

Available Subject Matter Experts

Persons from outside of Kake who are experienced in handling domestic violence cases were keenly interested in and enthusiastic about this project, thought that Kake provides a context well-suited for the project, and are willing to continue to help by answering questions or providing input as appropriate.

Existing DV and Court Programs

OVK has had a DV program funded by the US Department of Justice, Office of Violence Against Women Program, for the past ten years. OVK has had a Tribal Court in place since 2019. There are also existing Tribal Court policies and procedures regarding DV cases.

Clear Sense of Tribal Values

OVK members of the partnership spoke about maintaining a focus on the land, and that being Indigenous means knowing your core values (see for example Central Council Tlingit & Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, n.d.). These values are about how one lives one's life, and reflect an understanding of the *law of the land*, such as: respect for honesty, taking just what's needed, respect for each other, knowing how to treat Elders, showing care for children, looking forward rather than backward, being accountable to all one's relations, and so on. Ancient laws used to be in place to teach and ensure respect. Domestic violence is not in the native language, and instead one would probably be talking about respect; to be called a "good person" represented high regard in the community, similar to earning the title of Elder through having wisdom and experience. Domestic violence is contrary to these values, and people may find themselves by returning to the culture's values. Speaking publicly about DV and bringing it into the light will help the community address the issue.

Answers Exist Within the Community

Wisdom and answers already exist within the community and its members, based in large part on the values and traditions of Lingit families and Clans that have lived in this area for centuries. Elders, Tribal Leaders, and others can participate in sharing these "traditional ways of knowing" as the program is developed.

Measures of Success

During the course of the project the partners identified the following potential measures of success: 1) reduction in repeat offenders; 2) wrongdoer (and possibly survivor) demonstration to resolve issues within the Circle context and follow-up with other support; 3) wrongdoer and survivor talking about healing; 4) wrongdoer fulfilment of agreements made during the Circle process; 5) recommendations for the survivor and family are followed; 6) indications of success from a follow-up Circle or participant surveys; and 7) reflections of Tribal values in the form of community peacefulness, community members caring for one another, and looking forward rather than backward. Ultimately, the goal is to restore the health of the community.

Potential Problems and Anticipated Solutions

Partnership members identified several potential problems that might be encountered in carrying out a study to address DV cases with Circle Peacemaking. These problems include the following.

1. There may be difficulty in ensuring that community members are supportive of handling DV cases using Circle Peacemaking, that referral sources are in place, and that service providers are available. Similarly, busy community members and leaders may not have availability to fully invest time in the project. In addition, policies and procedures for effectively protecting survivor safety and confidentiality need to be developed. These topics need to be addressed by having meetings, between a program coordinator and relevant stakeholders, to arrange for needed support and to develop necessary protocols.
2. Ensuring a well-integrated Tribal and researcher partnership, each with a maximum understanding and appreciation of Tribal and Western perspectives, requires time for building trust, and for sharing values, vocabulary, and world views. This necessitates that outside team members spend significant time in the community with local team members, and participate in community and Tribal events, recognizing the corresponding budget implications.
3. Inclement weather may impact the ability of team members who do not live in Kake to travel there to work on-site. Thus, travel needs to be scheduled during a time of year when weather is usually conducive to travel, sufficient travel time needs to be allowed, and travel needs to be rescheduled if is not possible at a particular time (if rescheduling is not possible then meeting by videoconference would be an alternative).
4. Videoconference technology may not function as well as desired; however, based on the partnership's experience meeting by videoconference during the planning grant this is not anticipated to be a problem.
5. The COVID-19 global pandemic may continue to preclude travel to Kake. If travel to Kake is not possible, then meetings would need to be conducted by videoconference.

Conclusion

This article has provided information obtained through carrying out the Tribal-Researcher Capacity-Building Grant program, funded by the National Institute of Justice and awarded to the Organized Village of Kake, as well as the authors' reflections on their experience with this project. The key learnings from carrying out this grant include the following.

Understanding the Particularities of Place

The partnership was grounded in an understanding of the importance of developing relationships, cross-cultural learning, open communication, trust, and reciprocity. It is essential to attempt to understand the particularities of place, including local history and experience with research, as part of building a meaningful and effective research partnership. In particular, historical trauma affects Tribal citizens and life in the community, and current conditions (for example, the lack of Village Public Safety Officers, and the lack of professionals to provide other services such as anger management or substance abuse services) contribute to ongoing trauma. This current situation makes it that much more difficult to heal from the historical trauma, which one partnership member notes will take generations to heal. Circle peacemaking offers a path to healing, offering an opportunity to rebuild relationships, as an alternative to procedures that primarily focus only on punishing a wrongdoer.

Rooting Research in Cultural Values and Traditional Ways of Knowing

Any program, and research related to that program, that is carried out in the Village of Kake needs to be based on ethics and values that are rooted in the cultural values and traditional "ways of knowing" of the Lingít people of the Village of Kake. An Indigenous way of knowing is relational and grounded in experience. With regard to being grounded in experience, a possible analogy is that of playing a musical instrument. One can read extensively about an instrument, or listen to many recordings of it, but one only comes to truly understand it through the experience of learning to play it oneself. However, this analogy only hints at the knowing that emerges from a culture's experience across millennia. At the same time, there is value to Western ways of knowing, which may be complementary to Indigenous ways. Simultaneously holding both perspectives (i.e., "two-eyed seeing") allows for a greater depth of understanding than what would be gained from either perspective alone (similar to how a person gains depth perception by simultaneously looking through both eyes).

Focus on Participant Safety

Outside experts who were contacted had significant interest in the idea of using a Circle Peacemaking approach to work with some DV cases, expressing both encouragement and caution. OVK Tribal staff also expressed both support and caution for expanding the current Circle Peacemaking Program in Kake to include DV cases, with a focus on the safety of all DV survivor participants. Outside experts included State and Tribal Court representatives, domestic violence staff, and subject matter experts. Other than one program that the partnership identified, Kake appears to be unique in its interest in using Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence.

Research Team Spending Time Together in the Community

In forming a research partnership that blends research partners and Tribal citizens and staff, there is no adequate substitute for the entire research team spending as much time with each other as possible, preferably in the community, to better understand a myriad of historic and contextual factors. This time together allowed for an open dialogue to help build an understanding of the community and of how to approach the question of using Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence.

The Importance of In-Person Meetings and Planning for the Unexpected

The COVID-19 pandemic severely impacted the ability to build the new tribal–researcher partnership by precluding travel for face-to-face meetings, just as it also impacted many other aspects of life in the village of Kake. For example, one partnership member from Kake noted the increase in problems related to addiction and violence during the pandemic. In addition, there was the loss of essential DV staff during the pandemic (and people have not been applying for available positions), and there continues to be a lack of needed wraparound services. Thus, those working in social services in Kake needed to have a great deal of patience. Even though the pandemic impacted the partnership’s ability to meet in person, the group learned more about what is (and is not) feasible regarding the use of Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence, and also prepared a study proposal, both of which will be useful in the future. Although the partnership was thus successfully established using videoconferencing technology, future in-person meetings will be important for deepening the relationships.

Based on what was learned throughout this planning grant, the Village of Kake appears well suited to explore using Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence in appropriate cases. OVK staff have extensive experience with the Circle Peacemaking process, and there is support for expanding the program to include

DV cases so long as the primary focus is kept on survivor safety, with necessary supports for both the wrongdoer and survivor in place. Finally, an understanding was developed about the need to root both program and research components in the cultural values of the Lingit People of the Village of Kake, and how that may be accomplished.

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The Lingit People of the Kake, Alaska, area have lived on their traditional land for millennia. We honour the relationships that exist between the Lingit People and their sovereign land, their language, their ancestors, and future generations. We aspire toward healing. We express our deep appreciation to those who provided us with insights regarding the use of Circle Peacemaking to address domestic violence, and to those who created the foundation for Circle Peacemaking in Kake. In addition, we thank Polly Hyslop (Upper Tanana Dineh and Scottish ancestry), Indigenous educator and researcher, who provided valuable consultation during the project.

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Commentary

Dawson City in 1898—Searching for the “Paris of the North”

M.J. Kirchhoff

Independent Researcher

Abstract: Government agencies in Canada such as Parks Canada and Travel Yukon often describe Dawson City during the Klondike Gold Rush as “the Paris of the North” and “the largest city west of Winnipeg and north of Seattle.” This essay looks for proof of those statements, and shows that the phrases were actually invented in the 1950s and 1960s, following their use in books by Laura and Pierre Berton, to bolster a nascent tourism industry in the North. This sets up a conflict: use official 1898 Canadian government reports that show Dawson City was much smaller and rougher than it is often described, or continue with the unsubstantiated exaggerations of the mid twentieth century? The answer is obvious; history is nothing if it is not backed by reliable sources, and in this article the author argues for more balance and use of citations in Klondike reporting.

Each year more than 100,000 tourists visit the old Klondike gold rush town of Dawson City, Yukon, Canada.¹ There they learn through the publications of Parks Canada, the Yukon Government, and the City of Dawson that Dawson at its peak in the summer of 1898 housed 30,000 inhabitants and was known as “the Paris of the North”—the largest city west of Winnipeg and north of Seattle.²

The ubiquity of the “Paris of the North” nickname in present-day government reports is curious as no use of the phrase during the 1897–1898 gold rush has been documented. This article reveals when the term originated, shows how the phrase and its attendant population-claim promote a gold rush story that sacrifices historical accuracy for sensationalism, and calls for more balance and use of citations in future Klondike reporting.

Historians today have plentiful online databases to search, and if “Paris of the North” was Dawson’s nickname during the gold rush, one would expect to find numerous citations. Not so. A comprehensive search of domestic and foreign newspapers revealed zero hits for “Paris of the North.”³ Probing provincial and state archives also turned up zero leads. Finally, over 300 Klondike stampeders’ diaries and letters were looked at, as well as scores of contemporary books, articles, and brochures.

Only two instances approximating the term “Paris of the North” were found. The first came from Raymond Auzias-Turenne’s 1899 book *Voyage Au Pays des Mines d’Or Le Klondike*, where on page 160 he refers to the new northern city as having “the nightlife of Paris,” alluding to the many saloons and dance halls on Dawson’s main street: places like the Aurora, Northern, Pioneer, Pavilion, Oatley Sisters, and the Monte Carlo.⁴ Nothing was particularly opulent about these places in the summer of 1898—most were log or raw clapboard with perhaps a mural or mirror inside, but a hot stove kept customers warm if the weather turned sour, and the attraction of alcohol, dance hall maids, and gambling games were sufficient to keep customers engaged. After the last call many of the saloons doubled as rooming houses for Dawson’s homeless, and a feature of each saloon was a good barrel of drinking water so that a man could satisfy his thirst even if he were penniless.⁵ Saloons also acted as informal mining exchanges and information centres, where the latest gossip could be heard and connections made. Auzias-Turenne’s description of Dawson’s nightlife as “Paris-like” was not the only foreign city he used to describe Dawson. He also said Dawson “had more dogs than Constantinople,” an observation not meant to be complimentary.⁶

The second reference similar to “Paris of the North” is found in Angelo Heilprin’s 1899 book *Alaska and the Klondike*, where on page 46 he refers to 1898 Dawson as “the San Francisco of the North,” but this is clearly ironic.⁷ Heilprin

was only referring to the cosmopolitan crowds he encountered—Italians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Aussies, Kiwis, Canadians, and so on (but in the main mostly Americans). Heilprin did not think much of the city itself—an agglomerate of unassuming architecture—but what did attract his reportorial eye were the army of prostitutes who entertained in log cabins bearing names such as “Saratoga,” “Bon-ton,” and “The Lucky Cigar Store.”⁸ Heilprin’s other overwhelming impression of Dawson was mud. “The mud lay in great pools along the main street,” Heilprin wrote, “dogs and goats could alone drown in it. It is true that an occasional wading burro or even a mule would find a dangerously low level, but I am not aware that any in this condition had added to a list of serious casualties.”⁹

The legendary mud of Dawson in the summer of 1898 was a byproduct of the late May breakup of the Yukon River that spring when ice jams forced the river to overflow the townsite. For days residents of the town had to navigate the streets by rowboat, the floodwater reaching some people’s cabin tops, and only after the North-West Mounted Police dug ditches to drain the main streets was tenuous land navigation restarted. *New York Press* correspondent Frederick Palmer was in Dawson at the time, and he commented on what then passed for entertainment: “The mounted police had dug three or four ditches to drain the town. One of these was hidden by only two inches of surface water, and you never found out its existence until you fell into it up to your armpits. As you crawled out you noticed a broad grin on the faces of a small crowd of men sitting on a board pile, and one of them said: ‘We’ve all been there, pardner. Don’t tell your friends or you’ll spoil the fun. But you can swear again if you want to. We like to hear that.’”¹⁰

Despite Auzias-Turenne’s and Heilprin’s passing references to Paris and San Francisco, Dawson in 1898 shared few likenesses to either city. Paris is often referred to as “the City of Light,” but that was not Dawson in 1898. Electricity did not come to Dawson until late in the year, and then only in a limited way.¹¹ Paris has also been described as “the City of Love,” but that was not the case in 1898 Dawson either. Most of the 500 women in town at the time—referred to as “creatures of shame” by Angelo Heilprin—were driven to the dance halls or prostitute cribs by the poor economy.¹² In 1898 Dawson City also did not have running water, sewer, or telegraph. What it did have, however, in abundance, was typhoid fever, scurvy, and filth. North-West Mounted Police Commander Sam Steele said that “Dawson was far from attractive in any way.”¹³ Stampeder Volney Rowland called Dawson “a nasty stinking mudhole.”¹⁴ And another stampeder named Jim called Dawson a scurvy ridden swamp—“a pest hole of the most pronounced type.”¹⁵

Dawson City in the summer of 1898 was foul—not exactly tourist brochure material. But even with the dirt, the mud, and the excrement, the most discouraging aspect for Dawson City newcomers was the mail situation. No mail

came to Dawson for weeks at a time, and when it did the post office was so crowded that it could take hours to get your letters. Women sometimes gained special admittance for mail through a back door, but for a man a dollar or more was often the required bribe to cut the line.¹⁶ Miner C.O. Heninger commented: “The mail service here is rotten and so are the laws and the people that make them, and rotten in the lowest degree of rottenness is the whole condemnable government.”¹⁷ Heninger compared living in Dawson to living in a penitentiary.¹⁸

The miserable conditions in 1898 Dawson might have been tolerable if there were riches to be found, but that was not the case for most. Stampeders were stunned to find that there was almost no work to be had in Dawson City during the summer of 1898. A ten percent royalty slapped on mine production by the Canadian government, and a dry summer with not enough water to work the creeks, were the primary reasons.¹⁹ On July 8, 1898, miner Lew Clark wrote a letter from Dawson saying, “everything looks like a funeral ... Dawson is crowded like Market Street in San Francisco and everyone is broke.”²⁰

The result: a reverse stampede to the Outside and back home again. As early as June 23 the town newspaper *Klondike Nugget* noted: “the rush from the head of navigation has only about one-half arrived, yet the rush for the lower river is in full swing, and more people are leaving daily than are arriving.”²¹ Three weeks later, on July 11, 1898, stamper Clarence Still wrote: “men are rushing out of the country like wildfire. Most of them tie up at the outlet of streams and await the news, which is nearly always discouraging, catch the disease known as ‘cold feet,’ sell their outfits for little or nothing, and leave the country. Fully one-third of the people are getting out.”²²

On July 19, 1898, under the direction of Yukon Commissioner James Walsh, the North-West Mounted Police conducted a tent by tent, cabin by cabin, and boat by boat census of Dawson City and counted 16,560 people.²³ Walsh estimated that if prospectors were counted on creeks and communities up to 50 km away, then the total population in the Klondike region would be about 30,000.²⁴

Five months later, after the Yukon River froze, the mounted police conducted another census at Dawson, this time counting only 4,236 residents, with about another 10,000 men and women out on the creeks.²⁵ The Klondike’s population had imploded, and the rush was over.

Left behind at Dawson at the end of 1898 were a few wealthy miners, a small society of doctors, bankers, and government officials, a large working class making wages and barely getting by, and hundreds of destitute stampeders that were either too poor or too sick to escape before winter set in. These indigents, camped out of sight in caves and rude hovels on Dawson’s hillside, lived in what was called Dawson’s “Unfortunates’ Row.” Most of them were Americans. They

had gone into the Klondike in the spring with good grub stakes and high hopes, but most had never mined in their life. They could find no work and even if they did, they could not stand the strain for more than a couple of days. Subsisting on a diet of bacon and beans and charity, they simply waited for something to turn up as scurvy turned their gums black.²⁶

Miner S.S. Longabaugh was one of these struggling Americans. He wrote a letter to his family: “there are many people dying in this country, even though the winter hospitals are all full. Many feet and hands frozen so as to be amputated. There is any amount of scurvy ... The Salvation Army gave a free dinner to the poor men on Christmas; there were over 300 ... I felt like taking it in myself, only I had not cheek enough.”²⁷

There was little glamour in Dawson City in 1898; it was not like Paris, and the population, which in town never exceeded 17,000, dropped precipitously before the winter of 1898-1899 set in. However, this is not the narrative one generally reads in stories about the Klondike. It is dancing girls and good times with high rollers. One of the problems in current Klondike reporting is that writers tend to concentrate on the tiny minority of rich stampeders at the top, those who drank champagne at \$40 a pint, rather than the ordinary workers who dug for gold twelve hours a day at minus 45 degrees.²⁸ A good example of this biased reporting is how the Fairview Hotel is often depicted. The Fairview was Dawson’s fanciest hostelry when it was opened by Belinda Mulrooney in late-July 1898, and it boasted Belgian carpets, a stove that would make a gourmet cook proud, and damask linen tablecloths.²⁹ Those are the details writers usually focus on. What they do not say is that the chairs at the Fairview had no legs because they were left behind at the mouth of the Yukon River, that the hotel’s windows had no glass, and that the rooms upstairs were so tiny that there was no space for closets or even a dressing table.³⁰ It is this kind of balance that is so often missing in Klondike writing today.

Ideally, current accounts of the Klondike gold rush would disclose that Dawson did not become a modern city until the summer of 1899, and then only after two great fires had swept away most of the original town. The completion of the White Pass & Yukon Railway from Skagway to Bennett Lake in 1899 was also a factor in modernizing Dawson. Cheap, reliable transportation enabled the import of all sorts of goods and services to Dawson, and from mid-1899 through the next decade, until the high-grade gold ran out, Dawson was a stylish city with a population of up to 9,000 residents.³¹ But Dawson was not like that in 1898 when the big crowd of 17,000 was there, and all too often writers conflate these two very different periods in Dawson’s evolution.

According to Canadian government census figures and numerous contemporary reports, Dawson was never the largest city west of Winnipeg

and north of Seattle.³² So where did that false claim come from? The answer is Canadian writer Pierre Berton. Berton is famous for his 1958 book *Klondike* (published as *The Klondike Fever* in the United States), the bestselling book of all time about the gold rush.³³ The book is gorgeously written and Berton was bestowed a Governor General's Award for it, but the passage of time has shown its flaws, Berton's unabashed exaggeration. While many people are familiar with Berton's *Klondike*, fewer are familiar with another book he wrote about the gold rush, this one in 1954 titled *The Golden Trail*. In *The Golden Trail* Berton cited some basic facts about the rush: that at the peak in the summer of 1898 about "eighteen or twenty thousand" men and women inhabited Dawson, and that Dawson was "a fetid-reeking swamp," which is why thousands of men and women fled the gold fields almost immediately after they arrived.³⁴ Facing high prices, limited work opportunities, no available claims to stake, and a rampaging typhoid epidemic, more than half the stampeders who arrived in Dawson in early 1898 were gone by the end of 1898, prompting Berton to write that as the year 1898 faded into 1899 "the great rush had spent itself."³⁵ These were all certifiable facts that were used in official Canadian government documents, North-West Mounted Police reports, the Dawson City newspapers, and the writings of period journalists like Tappan Adney, which is why Berton used them.³⁶

Fast forward four years later when Berton published *Klondike*, and his story changed dramatically. Notwithstanding that the North-West Mounted Police conducted two systematic censuses in Dawson in 1898, Berton now claimed that "it was really impossible to estimate the true population at any given moment," thus allowing him to boost his population numbers.³⁷ Now Berton's story was that Dawson was only slightly smaller than the city of Seattle, and that it dwarfed both Victoria and Vancouver.³⁸ This is obvious hyperbole. To say that Dawson was larger than British Columbia's capital city, Victoria, and biggest port, Vancouver, defies common sense. According to the *Canadian Guide-Book* of 1899, the populations of Victoria and Vancouver were both 25,000, while Dawson's was 16,000.³⁹ So no, Dawson did not dwarf Victoria and Vancouver.

Berton also changed his story about the "fetid, reeking swamp" that was Dawson in 1898. In *The Golden Trail*, the sanitary conditions of the town that summer were dreadful, but four years later when *Klondike* came out Dawson in 1898 had magically transformed itself into "the San Francisco of the North," with "running water, steam heat, and electricity."⁴⁰ Berton should have known better. Most of these amenities, along with sewer and effective fire protection, did not arrive in Dawson until well into 1899.

Berton also changed the end date of the rush. Where before, in *The Golden Trail*, the rush "was spent" by the end of 1898, in *Klondike* the rush continued until August 1899, when news of gold in the beach sands at Nome, Alaska, hit town.

In the space of a single week in August, Berton wrote, “eight thousand people left Dawson forever.”⁴¹ Unfortunately, there is no primary evidence that supports that claim. Nothing from the Dawson newspapers, nothing in any stamper’s letter or diary, and nothing from Nome.

Pierre Berton died in 2004 so it is impossible to ask him about these discrepancies, but a couple of reasons may have been at their root. First, by exaggerating, Berton may have hoped to sell more books. At the time he was writing he was only in his mid-30s, he had four young children to care for, and his wife Janet was doing much of his research work. Money to raise a growing family was a priority, and Berton, who was still more of a journalist than a historian at this point, may have felt that a tall tale from the past was good enough to print even if it could not be corroborated. Notably, Berton did not use citations in *Klondike*, and he was not above making things up. According to his biographer, A.B. McKillop, Berton invented the entire opening passage in *Klondike*, a “conceit and a deception” which “would have been unthinkable for a university-based historian.”⁴²

Another source of Berton’s aggrandized spin on the gold rush may have come from his upbringing in the Yukon Territory. He spent the first twelve years of life in Dawson, and Berton always had a soft spot for his old hometown. When the capital of the Yukon moved from Dawson to Whitehorse in 1953, the decaying gold rush town lost a good portion of its economy and the population teetered at less than 900.⁴³ Boosting Dawson’s morale with a few embellishments about its glorious past may have felt like a worthy cause to Berton.

Given Pierre Berton’s monumental influence on Klondike history, it should come as no surprise that Berton was also involved in the first known use of “Paris of the North” to describe early-day Dawson. The term appeared in the 1954 book *I Married the Klondike*, a memoir written by his mother Laura Berton describing the Berton family’s life in Dawson City from 1907 to 1932. In her foreword Laura Berton thanks her son for his “professional assistance,” and on page 42 a sentence reads: “In Dawson’s golden days, when the town was full of newly minted millionaires, the city had been the Paris of the North in every sense.” Laura Berton gives no sources for this nickname and no dates for when it might have been used. Instead, she quickly pivots back to the 1907 to 1932 time frame she was familiar with, and the phrase is never mentioned again.

It wasn’t until 1962 that the term “Paris of the North” to describe Dawson seems to have been used in a sustained way. That year an inaugural gold rush festival was held in Dawson. The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada led by John Diefenbaker had first been elected four years earlier, and one of the party planks had been an enhanced vision of Canada’s possibilities in the North. In partnership with Dawson’s Klondike Visitors Association, which had been

established in the early 1950s, the federal government restored the town's 1899 Palace Grand Theatre and made plans to celebrate Dawson's history with events that they hoped would attract thousands.⁴⁴

As part of the publicity for the Gold Rush Festival the Department of Northern Affairs produced a "Special Klondike Issue" of the department magazine *North*. In their May-June 1962 issue, "Paris of the North" is the title for an article written by a Dawson woman named Athol Retallack.⁴⁵ Retallack was a long-time Yukoner, a nationally known radio broadcaster, and sat on the Gold Rush Festival Board. In her article Retallack described early-1900s Dawson and argued that because of its grandeur Dawson "was entitled" to be named the Paris of the North, but she made no claim that the term was actually used during the 1897-1898 gold rush.⁴⁶ Nor did Retallack say where the term originated, although by this time Laura Berton's *I Married the Klondike* was well known locally and a likely source. The exact details of how "Paris of the North" came to be an article heading in *North* magazine remains a mystery. Nevertheless, the term was so admired by the Klondike Visitors Association that it was inserted into their tourist brochures starting in 1962, going one step further than Retallack and declaring that Dawson was historically known as the "Paris of the North."⁴⁷ This type of boosterism was common during the 1950s and 1960s—many northern cities invented nicknames for themselves: Anchorage was "The Chicago of the North," Fairbanks "The Golden Heart of Alaska," Valdez became "The Switzerland of Alaska," and Whitehorse adopted "Capital of the Yukon."⁴⁸

The slogan "Paris of the North" for Dawson appears to have been invented in the 1950s and then popularized in the 1960s to promote tourism, with no evidence existing that the term was ever used during the gold rush years. Similarly, Pierre Berton's population figures for Dawson at its peak in 1898 have been shown to be grossly inflated. Which begs the question, why do Canadian government agencies continue to use them? In 1978 Parks Canada historian Hal Guest wrote an excellent monograph about Dawson titled: "Dawson City, San Francisco of the North, or Boomtown in a Bog: A Literature Review." Guest knew that any historical view of Dawson had to be nuanced; the city changed too fast and had too many luxuries and privations at the same time, to peg in any one square. But one thing Guest was sure of is that "Dawson hardly rivaled San Francisco," and that "the gaiety and excitement of its early years has been exaggerated out of all proportion."⁴⁹

In 1981 Parks Canada published another monograph about Dawson and the Klondike, this one written by the historian Margaret Archibald. This illuminating paper about the evolution of Dawson's supply chain from 1897 to 1907 is another

wonderful resource that does not get cited enough. Archibald was one of the first to publicize Commissioner James Walsh's 1898 Dawson census of 17,000 people, a tally Archibald agreed with.⁵⁰

In 1985 historian Ken Coates, now senior editor of the *Northern Review* at Yukon University, also weighed in on early Dawson City, calling it a ramshackle town of 16,000 that “hardly rated the comparisons sometimes made to San Francisco.”⁵¹

More recently, in 2022, Story Laureate of Yukon Michael Gates wrote in his book *Hollywood in the Klondike* that Dawson's population in 1898 was 16,000, and though carnival-like in many aspects, the city also smelled of “shit and sawdust” and struggled with sanitation and disease. Gates, who worked as curator of collections at the Klondike National Historic Sites in Dawson for many years, is another historian who understands that balance is important in Klondike reporting.⁵²

Over the years much of what we thought we knew about the Klondike has been contradicted by official period sources such as Commissioner of Yukon records, 1898 Dawson City censuses, and North-West Mounted Police reports. At some point government agencies have a decision to make. Do they continue to promote slogans from the 1950s and 1960s based on obvious exaggerations—Dawson City in 1898 enshrined as “the Paris of the North” and the “largest city west of Winnipeg and north of Seattle”—or do they make historically accurate corrections? There is reason for optimism. Lately both Parks Canada and the Yukon Government have done a remarkable job incorporating First Nations viewpoints into Canada's history, something that has been long overdue. There is no reason to think Klondike history cannot be upgraded as well.

Notes

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2. Parks Canada, “Dawson City ‘Paris of the North,’” accessed March 20, 2023 <https://parks.canada.ca/lhn-nhs/yt/klondike/activ/dawson>; Travel Yukon, “Klondike,” accessed March 20, 2023, <https://www.travelyukon.com/en/discover-yukon/regions-communities/klondike>. Dawson City, “Klondike Gold Rush,” accessed March 20, 2023, <https://dawsoncity.ca/discover-dawson/klondike-gold-rush>.
3. Databases investigated included the United States Library of Congress website “Chronicling America,” Newspapers.com, NewspaperArchives, PapersPast (New Zealand), Trove (Australia), British Newspaper Archive, The British Colonist Archives (Victoria), and Alaska Digital Newspapers.
4. Raymond Auzias-Turenne, *Voyage Au Pays des Mines d'Or Le Klondike* (Paris: Calman Levy, 1899), 160.

5. Wallis R. Sanborn and Wallis R. Sanborn III, ed., *The Klondike Stampede: As It Appeared to One of the Thousands of Cheechacos Who Participated in the Mad Rush of 1898-1899*, by Wallis R. Sanborn (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017), 165.
6. Auzias-Turenne, *Voyage Au Pays*, 160.
7. Angelo Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1899), 46.
8. Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, 56.
9. Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, 47, 48.
10. Frederick Palmer, "When Dawson Was Flooded," *The New York Press Sunday Magazine*, August 21, 1898, 14.
11. Michael Gates, *Hollywood in the Klondike* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2022), 79, 80.
12. Angelo Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, 55; Jeremiah Lynch, *Three Years in the Klondike* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 29. The 500 number for women in Dawson comes from several sources. In the *Kansas City Journal* of August 2, 1898, a stamper named Townsend gave this number. R.H. Kirk, in his book *Twelve Months in Klondike* (London: William Heinemann, 1899), 106, said in 1898 there were "several hundred" women in Dawson. The town newspaper *Klondike Nugget*, in its August 6, 1898 issue, agreed with Townsend and Kirk, citing "the comparative scarcity of ladies in Dawson." Finally, on page 52 of an undated North American Trading and Transportation Company brochure "Alaska and the Yukon Gold Fields," at the close of navigation in 1898 "about 500 women" were said to be in Dawson.
13. Samuel B. Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West with Some Account of his Service in South Africa* (London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd, 1915), 321.
14. Helen Rowland Kelly, *Volney Rowland's Letters from the Klondike* (Stockton, CA, 2002), 41.
15. Letter from the Klondike, August 1898, accessed March 18, 2023, https://explorenorth.com/klondike/klondike_letter-189808.html.
16. Angelo Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, 51; Samuel Hall Young and John A. Marquis, *Hall Young of Alaska: "The Mushing Parson"* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1927), 362-368; Frank Wadelton letter, July 12, 1898, published in the United States National Park Service Yukon-Charley Rivers brochure, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/yuch/learn/historyculture/frank-wadelton.htm>.
17. Letter from C.O. Heninger to "mother, sister, and all," January 6, 1899, published in the *Clarinda Herald*, Clarinda, Iowa, February 28, 1899.
18. Heninger letter, January 6, 1899.
19. G.B. Drummond and Anna T. Siig, eds., *The Klondike News: The Adventures of Livermore Area Residents from 1897 to 1906 during the Alaska Gold Rush* (Livermore, CA: The Livermore Heritage Guild, 1998), 74, 75.
20. Drummond and Siig, eds., *The Klondike News*.
21. *Klondike Nugget*, June 23, 1898.
22. Drummond and Siig, eds., *The Klondike News*, 79.

23. Department of Indian Affairs: Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Central Registry files T13243, Library and Archives Canada, accessed March 19, 2023, http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t13243/1285?r=0ds=1.
24. “Report of Major J.M. Walsh,” in *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1898* (Ottawa, 1899), 329, 330.
25. “Report of S.B. Steele, Commanding North-West Mounted Police in the Yukon Territory,” in *Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1898* (Ottawa, 1899), 21, 22.
26. M.A. Mahoney letter, *Thames Star* (New Zealand), March 15, 1899.
27. Joyce L. Alig, *Old Gold Rush to Alaska Diaries of 1898-1900* (Cathagen, OH: Messenger Press, 2001), 105.
28. William Haskell, *Two Years in the Klondike* (Hartford, CT, 1898), 376.
29. Mary E. Hitchcock, *Two Women in the Klondike: The Story of a Journey to the Gold-Fields of Alaska* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1899), 100, 102.
30. Hitchcock, *Two Women*, 102.
31. Yukon Bureau of Statistics, “Yukon Census Historical Population 1901–2016,” accessed March 19, 2023, <http://yukon.ca/sites/yukon.ca/files/ybs/fin-yukon-census-historical-population-1901-2016.pdf>.
32. Besides the NWMP July 1898 census already quoted in Note 23, the following contemporary sources also indicated the peak 1898 population of Dawson was around 17,000 people: Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede of 1897-98* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1900), 386; Angelo Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, 49; Samuel B. Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 321; M.D.K. Weimer, *True Story of the Alaska Gold Fields* (n.p., 1903), 100; A.A. Hill, “The Klondike,” *Munsey’s Magazine*, February 1899, 731; *Klondike Nugget* (Dawson), August 13, 1898. See Note 39 for sources showing that both Victoria and Vancouver 1898 populations were much higher than Dawson’s 17,000.
33. Pierre Berton, *The Joy of Writing: A Guide for Writers, Disguised as a Literary Memoir* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2003), 155, 159.
34. Pierre Berton, *The Golden Trail: The Story of the Klondike Rush*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1954, 1974), 97, 101.
35. Berton, *The Golden Trail*, 109. Another source showing the Klondike rush dissipating in spring 1898 was the 1898 British Columbia Board of Trade Report, which on page 27 stated that Klondike traffic after April was “almost nil.”
36. The argument in this paragraph and the three paragraphs following about Berton’s *Golden Trail* was used previously almost verbatim in a book review of Berton’s *Klondike* on Amazon’s website. Then, as now, the words are solely the work of this writer.
37. Pierre Berton, *The Klondike Fever: The Life and Death of the Last Great Rush* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 300.
38. Berton, *The Klondike Fever*, 300.

39. *The Canadian Guide Book, 1899* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899), 306–309. The *Victoria Daily Colonist* of September 25, 1898, estimated Victoria’s population at 30,000, and the *Vancouver Daily Province* in their 1898 souvenir edition “Vancouver, the Queen City of the Wonderful West,” declared their city’s population to be “over 30,000.”
40. Berton, *The Klondike Fever*, 369.
41. Berton, *The Klondike Fever*, 412.
42. A.B. McKillop, *Pierre Berton, A Biography* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2008), 302–307, 324.
43. Yukon Bureau of Statistics, “Yukon Census Historical Population 1901–2016,” accessed March 19, 2023, <https://yukon.ca/sites/yukon.ca/files/ybs/fin-yukon-census-historical-population-1901-2016.pdf>.
44. Michael Gates, “History Hunter: The Dawson City Festival,” *Yukon News*, July 10, 2022, <https://www.yukon-news.com/opinion/history-hunter-the-dawson-city-festival-7003423>.
45. “Special Klondike Issue,” *North*, Vol 9, No. 3, May-June 1962, a bi-monthly publication of the Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 22.
46. “Special Klondike Issue,” *North*, 22.
47. Klondike Visitors Association brochure, c. 1962, author’s collection.
48. Northern promotional brochure, c. 1960s, author’s collection.
49. Hal Guest, “Dawson City, San Francisco of the North, or Boomtown in a Bog: A Literature Review,” National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Manuscript Report #241, 1978, 73.
50. Margaret Archibald, “Grubstake to Grocery Store, Supplying the Klondike, 1897–1907,” *Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 26, Ottawa, 1981, 38, 63.
51. Kenneth Coates, *Canada’s Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 7.
52. Michael Gates, *Hollywood in the Klondike*, 56, 58.

Commentary

George Black and the Wuksonovich Trial: Finding the Truth in History

Michael Gates¹ and Kathy Jones-Gates²

Abstract: Inaccurate historical details often become embedded in the narrative because of frequent repetition. Such was the case with a murder trial that involved prominent Yukon lawyer George Black in 1922. This is a cautionary note for those gathering historical accounts to dig deep and evaluate the content carefully, or risk perpetuating historical myths.

It is often difficult to get to the truth of history, and Yukon history provides many such challenges. For example, some tall tales from the gold rush era have been repeated so often that they are accepted as fact. The shooting of Dan McGinniss by Jack Dalton has been repeatedly glamorized into a Hollywood-like gun fight in a saloon, when the actual incident was much less romantic.³ Countless people recall meeting Jack London in Dawson City, though most of these accounts can be dismissed.⁴ And how many people remember packing over the Chilkoot Pass in the company of the Yukon's bard, Robert Service, or witnessing the shooting of Dan McGrew?⁵ Even noted jurist and early chronicler of northern history, James Wickersham, reports seeing Service in a bank in Dawson during a visit in 1900, years before Service was posted to the gold rush town.⁶

Such has been the challenge in unravelling the actual events in the life of Yukon lawyer and parliamentarian, George Black. Black came to the Yukon during the Klondike gold rush and became central to the political development of the Yukon for the next half century. He was also a prominent lawyer in Dawson, Whitehorse, and Vancouver for fifty years. He participated in the gold rush and, to the best of our knowledge, is the only individual who traversed three different routes into the Yukon in 1898—the Chilkoot and White passes, and the overland trail from Telegraph Creek to Teslin Lake.

We have been compiling the life history of George Black for some time, and during our research we came across an intriguing article in the *Dawson News*, dated February 19, 1931. George Black had been selected as Speaker of the House of Commons only a few months before, and there had been numerous articles in the press detailing his colourful history. One article was titled “Two Thousand Mile Errand of Mercy by Black,” which had first appeared in the *The Province*, a Vancouver newspaper, five weeks earlier.⁷ In it, Grant Dexter, a parliamentary journalist for the *Winnipeg Free Press*, recounted how Black had been called upon to represent a man in a murder case in Edmonton. The accused's name was Mike Zarkovitch, and he had stabbed a man in a dispute, the article said, over remarks derogatory to the British Empire, made by a German.

The man had no money, nor could he speak English fluently, but he insisted that George Black would defend him. The prosecutor seemed skeptical that a sitting Member of Parliament would leave his post in Ottawa to defend a man 3,500 kilometres distant in Edmonton. But the man had served with Black during the First World War and Black counted those who served with him as his closest friends. To the astonishment of prison officials, Black responded with a telegram stating that he was on his way to Edmonton. According to Dexter, “The case

seemed rather hopeless, but Mr. Black put up so moving a plea in his address to the jury that Zarkovitch was acquitted and restored to liberty.”⁸

This story was a tantalizing glimpse into Black’s legal career, his sense of honour and loyalty to those who served with him in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and his character as an individual. We wanted to learn more about this case, but where to begin? This started us on an eighteen-month quest for answers. We queried the law library in Whitehorse, to determine if they had any record of this case, but they do not hold records pertaining to a trial in a distant jurisdiction. We turned to then Yukon Supreme Court Chief Justice Ron Veale for advice on where to look for more information. He suggested that we make an inquiry of the Alberta Court of Queen’s Bench, in Edmonton. That did not produce any results, nor did a query sent to a sitting judge residing in Edmonton, who had been referred by a work colleague (the judge was his brother).

We continued to pursue leads to this case wherever an opportunity presented itself, but a year and a half later the trail remained cold, although we kept the files for this mystery on the back burner for future exploration. Could the story be true or was it merely a piece of journalistic sleight-of-hand?

The answer to this question took us on a long and winding trail. We turned to the military records online at the national archives in Ottawa. Yes, they held the First World War personnel file of a Marko “Mike” Zarkovich. The military records were systematically being digitized, but since the Zarkovich name fell at the end of the alphabet, it could be months before the file might be accessible online. It should be noted that Dexter spelled the surname incorrectly, which compounded the difficulties of doing online searches.

We had planned an extended trip to conduct research on George Black at various institutions from Calgary, in the west, to Fredericton, in the east, with a stop in the middle at Ottawa. At the Glenbow Library and Archives in Calgary, there was a file on George Black that included a bio produced by the Canadian Press in the early 1950s, which mentioned the Dexter version of the stabbing. We scanned various records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, reasoning that such an event would have appeared somewhere in the files. We worked back for several years starting in 1931, but found nothing that would set us on the right course. Another inquiry led us to the Provincial Archives of Alberta and the Legal Archives Society of Alberta. We moved on with our research on other topics while waiting for responses from these two institutions.

In Ottawa, we were able to examine the military records of Mike Zarkovich (not Zarkovitch, as misspelled by Dexter), confirming that he existed and was from Edmonton. This was an encouraging step forward. Zarkovich had enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Edmonton, February 3, 1916.⁹ But the national archives held no records of a murder trial for him in its vast holdings.

Returning to Calgary, we contacted the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton and confirmed that there was a file for the Zarkovich trial, so arrangements were made to visit and examine the trial records. Unfortunately, the circumstances of his trial did not match the information we already had for the murder case we were interested in. It seemed like we had reached a dead end. Why was this case mentioned in the article written by Grant Dexter?

Meanwhile, we had received a reply from the Legal Archives Society of Alberta, confirming that they did not have any records pertaining to the murder trial for Mike Zarkovich; however, they did have George Black's application for admission to the bar in Alberta. This included the date of May 19, 1922. In our previous research, we had not worked that far back in time from the 1931 article in the *Dawson News*. Within minutes, we were on the computer, checking an online database for Edmonton newspapers. Since May 19th was a Friday, we started with the newspapers for the following Monday, and searched articles in both the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin* for the dates May 22nd and May 23rd. There, we finally found what we were looking for.

The name of the accused in this trial was George Wuksonovich. The difficulty that we had encountered up to this point in our research was due, in large part, to the wrong person being named in the Dexter article. This was further compounded because the 1931 article in the *Dawson News* did not provide the date of the trial, which had taken place nine years earlier.

On the morning of April 1, 1922, Mike Mattich, a coal miner, accused Wuksonovich of being a scab in a labour dispute at Mountain Park, Alberta, now a ghost town. In the struggle that followed between the two, witnesses saw Wuksonovich produce a knife, with which he stabbed and killed Mattich.

Dexter, in his 1931 article, had identified the incorrect accused. Wuksonovich was not acquitted, as stated by Dexter, but was found guilty of the lesser charge of manslaughter. George Black, who assisted in the defence of Wuksonovich, gave a brilliant closing statement according to the *Edmonton Journal*, which covered the trial. However, the judge agreed with the prosecution that an example should be made of the accused as a lesson to other foreigners in Canada, and he was sentenced to ten years hard labour at the penitentiary in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.¹⁰

Now that we had the facts of the case, it was possible to contact the Provincial Archives of Alberta, this time with the correct name; in short order, they were able to supply us with the transcripts of the trial.¹¹

There are lessons to be learned from this account. Had the newspaper version been accepted at face value, then the outcome of the trial would continue to be misrepresented in later historical accounts. Fortunately, this would not have dramatically altered the narrative of Black's career (the true facts of the matter were every bit as interesting as the Dexter version), but what if it had?

So why did Dexter get his story so wrong? George Black had been selected for one of the most important and prestigious positions in the Canadian parliamentary system. The newspapers were flooded with articles about Black and his unique northern experiences. It made good copy. Perhaps the Dexter article was an attempt to enhance Black's profile in the public eye. The account certainly captured our interest when we found it in the Dawson newspaper.

Was the 1931 article the result of poor research by the reporter? There are clear similarities of place, time and circumstances between the cases of Zarkovich and Wuksonovich. In either instance, the point is the same. Sometimes you must dig deep to get to the facts of the story, even if they challenge the accepted narrative. Otherwise, inaccurate accounts become embedded in the story, and they are very hard to get rid of.

Notes

1. Michael Gates is the former curator of collections for Klondike National Historic Sites in Dawson City. He is the author or co-author of seven books on Yukon history. He is also the author of the long-running popular History Hunter column in the *Yukon News* newspaper.
2. Kathy Jones-Gates is the former director of the Dawson City Museum. She was the publisher and editor of the *Dawson City Nugget* newspaper, and co-founder and editor of the *Klondike Sun* newspaper. Since 2003, she has been an historical researcher on several book and film projects about Yukon history.
3. Michael Gates, "Jack Dalton and the Shooting of Dan McGinniss," *Yukon News*, June 16, 2007, updated July 21, 2017, <https://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/jack-dalton-and-the-shooting-of-dan-mcginniss-6968729>.
4. For example: Franklin Walker, *Jack London and the Klondike: The Genesis of an American Writer* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1978), 111–112.
5. See Pierre Berton, *Klondike: The Last Great Gold Rush, 1896–1899* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), 429.
6. As noted in James Wickersham, *Old Yukon: Tales, Trails and Trials* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2009, edited & abridged by Terrence Cole), 13.
7. Grant Dexter, "Two Thousand Mile Errand of Mercy," *The Dawson News*, February 19, 1931, 1. See also: *The Province*, January 11, 1931, 35.
8. Dexter, "Two Thousand Mile Errand."

9. Library and Archives Canada, Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10676 – 8.
10. “Guilty of Manslaughter,” *The Edmonton Journal*, May 23, 1922, 1.
11. Provincial Archives of Alberta, GR 1983.0001 file 2602, 118.

Book Review

An Ethnohistory of the Chisana River Basin. By Norman Alexander Easton. National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 2021.

Reviewed by Polly Hyslop

I found this book interesting because I was born in Northway, Alaska, and I am related to Bessie John and her brother Tommy John, the Upper Tanana scholars in this book. I have known Norm since he started research in the Upper Tanana nearly thirty years ago. I heard that Norm was adopted by our late auntie Bessie John, and I believe that. Because of this, Norm is my clan cousin, so he is family. Norm spent most, if not all, of his career in the Upper Tanana and has researched and lived among the people. While this book carries the work of former researchers, Norm's addition of the Native scholars and their stories strengthens the research. Norm allows the people of the Upper Tanana to tell their stories. We read their stories throughout the book. As a Native person, I am drawn to the stories, and not so much to the academic language. The Elders are the scholars in this book. I like that he did not change the words for Tommy John and Bessie John—when reading the words, I can hear them speaking. It brings a joy and sadness at the same time, as they have since passed to the other side.

Norm did an exemplary job of creating an historical account of the Dineh in the Chisana River Basin. While Norm uses scholarly references, his writing style is appropriate for both scholars and lay people to read. As a Native researcher, I believe it is important that Native people have access to the book and that it be readable. This book should be used in the classroom, both high school and university. It is a compact and accurate history.

The book has many good qualities for visual learners and readers—photos, maps, illustrations. If there were any changes, I would suggest that the reference to our clan be changed as it relates to our clan merging into another clan. The

Neesüü clan is very much a separate, but intertwined clan to Nalcine. We have not merged into the Nalcine clan. In addition, the last part of the book has census records from the 1929–1940s that are very inaccurate. As one Elder in Northway says, “they should be burned” because of the confusion regarding kinship. Native kinship includes brothers and sisters who are really first cousins.

Overall, this is an excellent ethnohistory of the Chisana River Basin. Norm has given us a gift and for that I say, *Tsin’ji choh*.

Polly Hyslop is research professor of Indigenous Studies at Alaska Pacific University.

Book Review

Uumajursiutik unaatuinnamut / Hunter with Harpoon / Chasseur au harpon. By Markoosie Patsauq, edited and translated by Valerie Henitiuk and Marc-Antoine Mahieu. McGill-Queens University Press, 2021. 408 pp.

Reviewed by Deanna Reder

Markoosie Patsauq's *Harpoon of the Hunter*, published more than fifty years ago, is about Inuit hunters who follow a sick bear that threatens their community, told mostly from the perspective of young Kamik who conveys how they struggle on the land during a time of hunger, chased by danger and fear. When it was released in 1970 it was "likened to masterpieces of Western literature" (161) and hailed as "Canada's first Indigenous novel" (212). Few readers were familiar with Markoosie's original version, *Uumajursiutik unaatuinnamut*, inspired by a commonly known story, written in syllabics and published in serial form over the previous two years in a northern newsletter. No one seemed to know that the English version, adapted by the author himself, was designed to appeal to southern audiences, and so therefore had several differences from the original Inuktitut version.

Attracting attention internationally, *Harpoon of the Hunter* was often republished, becoming the master copy for translation into eighteen different languages, including Japanese, Danish, and Estonian. All became what scholars of translation studies would call examples of "relay, indirect, or pivot translation" (165), because there was no consultation with the earliest version. And furthering the distance from the original, recent translations in languages from India (Hindi and Marathi) rely on the French translation, itself translated from the English.

This remarkable scholarly edition, edited and translated by Valerie Henitiuk and Marc-Antoine Mahieu, is renamed as *Hunter with Harpoon*, and reinstates the Inuktitut version by drawing heavily on the original handwritten story. The editors were also able to work in consultation with the elderly author, allowing them to discuss the production of this book in the context of his long career.

The result is that they were able to confirm all corrections with Markoosie, even including the addition of standardized diacritics (e.g., accents on letters) that are absent in the original.

From the resulting authoritative text, the editors-translators were able to produce a volume that includes the Inuktitut version in syllabics as well as in Latin script, alongside rigorous new translations in English and French. The volume is a tremendous resource that has an extended discussion on facets of translation that will be of particular interest to specialists in literature, translation studies, and linguistics, as well as to experts in Inuit culture. Still, there is ample information of interest to many.

These examples of excellent translation are accompanied by nine chapters of thoroughly researched scholarship including a report on the text's reception and a consideration of Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ) otherwise translated as Traditional Knowledge. One particularly helpful essay interweaves the author's biography with the historical context, including Arctic relocation, the tuberculosis epidemic, and the implementation of residential schooling. The editors also provide a close reading of the work alongside evaluations of various translations.

Instead of discussing Markoosie's text only in relation to such Western genres as the novel or novella, the editors think through the story as a contribution to Inuit storytelling, both orature and literature, and in light of Inuit genres such as *unikkaatuaq*. Also, dedicated to highlighting the author's voice as a correction to the colonizing history of academic study, especially of Inuit Peoples, the editors give careful attention to Markoosie as author, with his own innovative creativity.

Following the chapters are several appendices that provide additional content for the interested researcher. While this book begins with a new preface in English by Markoosie, drawn from a 2017 interview, the editors provide the transcription in Inuktitut in Appendix A. The next appendix includes a chart of his family's genealogy, a timeline of Markoosie's life and publications, and an extensive, comprehensive bibliography of and about his corpus of work, including those in translation. The final appendix is fifteen pages long, listing exactly what was changed in the original version, which is mostly the inclusion of punctuation, done in consultation with the author. All of this is followed by a sixteen-page bibliography and index.

But to list the various sections of the manuscript does not adequately convey the editors' commitment to accuracy. For example, in the footnotes we read that the *Hunter with Harpoon* author sometimes published under the name of Markoosie and sometimes with a surname as Markoosie Patsauq (162, note 1), that some anthologists have erroneously attributed a poem to Markoosie that was composed by a different author with the same name (279, note 1), that a photo of someone else was wrongly identified as him in the authoritative 1988 volume

by Penny Petrone titled *Northern Voices* (282, note 4), and that in several oft-cited sources Markoosie's family name is misspelled as Patsang (290–294, notes 12–14, 16, 20). It is clear that the editors have checked for accuracy every major source of secondary work on Markoosie in existence.

While this is an essential resource for all relevant experts, there might be hesitancy to assign this hefty hardcover to undergraduates because of its hefty price. However, Markoosie's *Hunter with Harpoon*, translated by Henitiuk and Mahieu, has also been released in a slim paperback, focusing mostly on the gripping story, for a fraction of the price—ideal for students. Should professors be uncertain on how to teach this book, they can assign the slim version and go to the scholarly edition to find a great deal of teachable material.

Deanna Reder is a professor in the departments of Indigenous Studies and English at Simon Fraser University.

Book Review

The Hungers of the World: New & Collected Later Poems. By John Morgan. Salmon Poetry, 2023. 174 pp.

Reviewed by Dawn Macdonald

It's always a delight to see a poet reach the milestone of a *Collected Works*. John Morgan's *The Hungers of the World: New & Collected Later Poems* follows his *The Moving Out: Collected Early Poems* (Salmon Poetry, 2019), and includes a generous chapbook's worth of new material, along with selections from *Spear-Fishing on the Chatanika: New & Selected Poems* (Salmon Poetry, 2010), *River of Light: A Conversation with Kabir* (The University of Alaska Press, 2014), and *Archives of the Air* (Salmon Poetry, 2015).

Morgan is a deft handler of the sounds and sense of language, a plain-spoken singer in the style of the Roberts—Lowell, with whom he studied, and Frost, whose themes and rhythms echo in poems like “To a Solstice Party in Fairbanks,” where snowy woods on a winter evening provide the site for two diverging roads. Compare Morgan's lines, “as the day-long winter evening fades, / Orion riding shotgun on the night. // But driving isn't easy on the ice, / and up a snow-packed hill the engine falters ...” with Frost's little horse who “... must think it queer / To stop without a farmhouse near / Between the woods and frozen lake / The darkest evening of the year.” Later in Morgan's poem he finds himself in “an unfamiliar driveway,” but “backing slowly down the drive / I try the other fork ...” where he finds, not only his promised solstice party, but confirmation of the rightness of his choice of adoptive home—not unlike Frost who, confronted with two roads, so famously “took the one less traveled by.”

Often Morgan picks up rhymes from several lines above, from a previous stanza or from mid-line, and brings them out at the end in a way that feels fitting and satisfying without the *ba-dum ba-dum* of a more formal rhyme scheme. In “Mourning Cloak,” for example, we feel the closure in “dead” and “away” wrapping up rhymes opened two or three stanzas above: “... a shred // of night by day. I hear the buzz of bugs / awakening to spring and watch a busy / moth, ants trailing up a branch. Like gravediggers // who forge their drastic living from the dead, / we schmoozed and argued half the night away.”

All this fine control can feel oppressive at times, but there's a wildness pulsing under the surface of Morgan's neatly ordered lines, and a sly sort of humour. In the insouciant and whimsical piece "Palladium Seeds for Prostate Cancer," the author's medical procedure leads him into a gentle ceding of bodily control to the power of word and fable. In "Jetsam" the author's surrender of self is foreshadowed by his having his sweater on backwards. An outlaw in retirement takes time out to sip cocoa and think about cows and starscapes in "Time Off from Bad Behavior."

Among the new poems included in this collection we find two *zuihitsu*, a rambling, digressive style of prose poem described in the notes as "a kind of anti-haiku." Morgan's *zuihitsu* address some heavy topics—abortion, and a neurological event, respectively—but, thanks to the loose associations conjured by the form, are able to circle around these subjects with lightness and ease. In "On the Body: A Zuihitsu," the details of an episode of transient global amnesia share space with card tricks, an injured bird, family secrets, and the World Naked Bike Ride. In "The Abortion: A Zuihitsu," the author's father obsessively types letters to the editor at the *Times* while a teenaged friend seeks an illegal abortion and poets converse with one another in dreams.

Morgan is a connoisseur of the dream state and finds much practical material in his nightly excursions. A frog squats upside-down on the ceiling in a dream reported in "With My Son at Tennant Lake," disappearing when dislodged and causing a momentary panic. "The Battle of Austerlitz" takes the confusing state of dreaming that one has awoken, then waking again in actuality, and moves this into a meditation on dying. Other poems in which the author falls asleep or reports on dreams include: "The Abortion: A Zuihitsu," "Analects of the Red Canoe," "The Assignment: Harvard, 1962," "The Denali Wolf," "Jetsam," "Palladium Seeds for Prostate Cancer," and the long poem "River of Light: A Conversation with Kabir."

Aging and death permeate the poems in this book, presented as quietly observed natural phenomena alongside rivers and bluffs, butterflies and wolves. Diseases proliferate—people suffer seizures, tumours, amnesias, and bone fractures; a stranger passed on the road is missing lower limbs; lives are lost to suicide or to an unnamed final illness.

Several poems take the point of view of historical characters, including one long poem about (spoiler alert) cannibalism ("... who could wolf the man-flesh down? / ... such times you get / so famished thoughts have juice ..."). An ekphrastic poem "Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun: Self-Portrait" conjures the voice of the eighteenth-century French painter to reflect on the aftermath of the French revolution and her friendship with the doomed Marie Antoinette. Another ekphrastic piece covers Rembrandt's "Self-Portrait with Beret and Angst" (more

commonly known to art aficionados as “Self-Portrait with Beret and Turned-up Collar”). “Lady Digby on Her Deathbed, 1633” imagines the circumstances surrounding the painting of Sir Anthony Van Dyck’s seventeenth-century necro-portrait of his friend’s wife’s two-days-dead corpse.

History, dreams, aging, death, and nature’s power merge in this collection toward an expression of a lifetime’s wisdom in the controlled voice of a poetic master. Gentle humour, amusing anecdote, and slant rhyme keep things light enough not to overwhelm. This is a book to return to again and again, for insight, for pleasure, and to relax in the company of an intelligent friend.

Dawn Macdonald works at Yukon University and is the author of *Northernny* (University of Alberta Press, 2024).

Book Review

Decolonizing Data: Unsettling Conversations about Social Research Methods.
By Jacqueline M. Quinless. University of Toronto Press, 2022. 151 pp.

Reviewed by Sara McPhee-Knowles and Lisa Canary

Jacqueline M. Quinless's recent book, *Decolonizing Data: Unsettling Conversations about Social Research Methods*, is a short, succinct volume that begins with the premise of examining the ways in which research practices contribute to colonization, and illustrates how social research can be part of "two-eyed seeing" (80) that incorporates Western and Indigenous values and world views.

Quinless is a non-Indigenous scholar with extensive experience working with Indigenous communities. The first chapter begins with an anecdote describing her research experiences in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, first as a junior researcher with the federal government where timelines and objectives for her project were strict and clear, but she felt she was not "connected with people in the community in a meaningful way" (3). She contrasts this with a much more recent experience, also in Inuvik, that prioritized building relationships as part of the research process. From here, Quinless introduces the concepts of power, place, and relational responsibility in research design. In the most interesting part of the first chapter, Quinless extensively cites Indigenous scholars in a discussion of Indigenous perspectives of well-being: in contrast to Western perspectives, the Indigenous concept of "the good life" is holistic and focuses on the balance between mental, physical, social, and emotional realms, as well as relation with the land and the water. As the author succinctly notes, "Mino-Bimaadiziwin goes well beyond income and education levels, housing and labour force activity (Newhouse & Fitzmaurice, 2012), which are how the Canadian state defines and measures well-being for Indigenous communities" (11). This contrast between Indigenous perspectives of well-being and deficits-based health indicators emerging from Western research practices is a core theme of the book.

The first chapter introduces the Community Well-Being Index (CWB) and provides a critical examination: the CWB primarily focuses on income, education, housing, and labour force activity, neglecting crucial elements of physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional well-being. In fact, the well-being scores from the CWB

and similar indices that focus on economic factors “reproduce a conceptualization of well-being that represents colonial hegemonic discourse” (14). As an example of self-determination, the First Nations Health Authority (FNHA) in British Columbia invested in developing the First Nations Perspective on Health and Wellness, a more culturally attuned approach to tracking and measuring well-being changes over time in Indigenous communities.

Chapter Two, “Impacts of Colonization on Indigenous Health and Well-Being,” provides an overview of settler-state policies of assimilation in Canada. This chapter succinctly summarizes the establishment of the reserve system and residential schools, intergenerational trauma, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). A key point from this chapter is that researchers should take a strengths-based approach that builds community capacity in Indigenous communities rather than focus only on deficits and problems that get highlighted in Western data approaches. Although later in the book Quinless highlights that we are in an era of reconciliation, in the second chapter she notes that there has been inadequate progress on the TRC’s Calls to Action, which has unfortunately continued since the book was published in 2022 (Jewell and Mosby 2023).

Chapter Three, “Decolonizing Bodies and a Self-Governing Health System,” emphasizes the need for decolonization in assessing Indigenous health and wellness, and positions the First Nations Perspective on Health and Wellness as a key framework for doing so in a holistic way. The author discusses the lack of robust data sets, mistrust of Western research practices, and an insufficient number of research frameworks reflecting Indigenous perspectives of well-being as factors that limit collaboration with Indigenous communities in research. Quinless explores the challenges posed by exploitative social research that pathologizes Indigenous well-being, and the shift to strengths-based approaches to well-being that acknowledge the everyday resistance of incorporating socio-cultural activities like Indigenous crafts, ceremonies, and land-based traditions.

Chapter Four, “Social Capital Theory, Health Indicators and Indigenous Communities,” introduces the theory of social capital and highlights how this concept can be linked to social determinants of health, particularly by incorporating mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being and the well-being of communities. In this chapter, the author emphasizes the need to address systemic colonial structures in future social capital models for Indigenous health. By the end of this chapter, the reader understands that social capital—such as the the cultural and symbolic capital Indigenous people gain from participating in traditional practices—can have a profound effect on health and wellness at the individual and community level. This chapter critiques existing indices of well-being that focus on economic measures and emphasizes how important it is for researchers

to move from a deficits-based approach that focuses on problems in Indigenous communities to strengths-based approaches that are defined by Indigenous communities. Quinless stresses the need for developing frameworks that reflect Indigenous Knowledge Systems to support self-determination, warning against perpetuating colonial pathologization of Indigenous health outcomes.

Chapter Five, “Decolonizing Data and Critical Research Methods,” delves into a detailed discussion of research approaches and considerations, including data sovereignty (e.g., the First Nations principles of ownership, control, access, and possession, OCAP®), participatory action research, and ethical approvals for working in communities that go beyond university-based research ethics boards (Quinless cites Castellano (2004), Absolon & Willett (2005), Smith (2012), and Wilson (2008) in this section). There is a thoughtful discussion on the positivist orientation of many data sets and statistical approaches, which are often perceived as neutral but are rooted in colonial world views and values. The latter part of the chapter provides an example of how to use decolonized research, employing a qualitative case-study approach exploring the development of the First Nations Perspective on Health and Wellness and a multi-level quantitative analysis applying this perspective to develop social determinants of health. The results of this mixed methods approach clearly shows the importance of engaging in Indigenous practices and cultural activities as a basis of well-being for urban Indigenous people.

The final chapter emphasizes the unique contribution of this book and its main points. Quinless introduces lessons learned, such as Indigenous community involvement in knowledge generation, the TRAC method (Trans-local relationships, Responsibility to partners, Accountability mechanisms, Community time frames) (Quinless and Corntassel, 2018), and braiding two-eyed seeing knowledge systems (Bartlett et al., 2012). The importance of everyday practices of resistance and resurgence, as shown in Chapter Five’s results emphasizing ties to land, culture, and community, and the call for unsettling conversations of everyday research practices as allies and researchers, are noteworthy takeaways.

Overall, we appreciated Quinless’s efforts to give an overview of Indigenous perspectives on wellness and give practical examples, using both quantitative and qualitative data, to show how researchers can apply decolonial approaches. This book is concise and covers a lot of ground in 119 pages of text, backed by extensive sources. The core messages include:

1. The need for health research to incorporate holistic perspectives of individual and community well-being that are rooted in Indigenous world views;
2. The need for measurement tools and frameworks to shift to strengths-based approaches that can build social capital rather than deficit-based approaches that pathologize Indigenous communities; and

3. That if the two preceding needs are not met, continuing to use existing metrics of well-being that are based largely on economic factors exerts structural violence on Indigenous Peoples.

All these points are well-taken, and Quinless's book should spark conversations and change amongst researchers who wish to work with Indigenous communities generally, and on health-related research in particular.

We particularly enjoyed the concluding chapter, and we would like to see future work that includes more practical examples of the TRAC method and how to implement these approaches within hierarchical organizations. For example, how can granting agency reporting requirements be reconciled with community time frames? How can research ethics boards be more responsive to decolonial and participatory research approaches? How can junior scholars, who may lack power within their institutions, advocate for these shifts that may take more time, when they are also on a tenure clock? The final chapter also includes an excellent discussion of positionality and relational allyship, along with braiding Western and Indigenous knowledge systems in culturally responsive research design practices. Further, it would be interesting to see variations of the First Nations Perspective on Health and Wellness applied outside of the FNHA and BC context in the future. The FNHA as part of self-determination in governance has some parallels to the newly established Yukon First Nations Education Directorate, and we are curious about the potential application of decolonized research approaches to K–12 education in the Yukon and across the North. The final call to action is for researchers to engage in “unsettling conversations about *what we know* and *how we do* social research [to] open space for forging new relationships that will facilitate positive research relationships between researchers and indigenous peoples, communities, and organizations” (119). This is an important conversation that we hope to continue with our colleagues and see more written about in the near future.

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Sara McPhee-Knowles, Assistant Professor, School of Business and Leadership, Yukon University; Adjunct Professor, Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Saskatchewan.

Lisa Canary, Assistant Professor, School of Business and Leadership, Yukon University.

Book Review

Red Arctic: Russian Strategy Under Putin. By Elizabeth Buchanan. Brookings Institution Press, 2023. 248 pp.

Reviewed by Andrew Chater

In *Red Arctic: Russian Strategy Under Putin*, Elizabeth Buchanan argues that international relations in the Arctic are largely co-operative despite the tensions found in other regions because “Russia largely requires a cooperative Arctic environment to achieve its strategic objectives and deliver on Moscow’s critical economic interests” (viii). Methodologically, the book is rigorous, drawing on a thorough review of primary documents and an unspecified number of interviews with government officials. It makes a convincing case that, despite neo-imperialist rhetoric, Russia’s policy makers have long sought peace in the Arctic not out of global altruism, but rather as a tool to achieve foreign policy aims.

The first two chapters argue that co-operation best serves Russia’s Arctic interest. The first chapter concludes that a common academic and media frame is that a Great Power conflict is playing out in the Arctic region, though in reality, mechanisms such as the Law of the Sea stably govern the region. The second chapter shows that Russia seeks to re-establish its great power status, funded by oil and natural gas; Russian president Vladimir Putin has likewise centralized the Russian state and reigned in the power of oligarchs. The Arctic is where future oil and natural gas resources lie. Co-operation is necessary to develop these resources (not to mention the tantalizing economic benefits of increasing shipping through the Northern Sea Route).

The next two chapters turn to strategy. The third chapter argues that, for domestic Russian audiences, a bold Arctic policy is a nostalgic throwback to Soviet superpower days. A look at Russia’s Arctic policies shows that economics, resource wealth, and shipping figure heavily into these visions. Russian policy makers want the rest of the world community to accept its control of Arctic resources and the Northern Sea Route. The fourth chapter puts forward that Russia is quite often the villain in Western narratives about the Arctic region, but it quite reasonably seeks shipping and hydrocarbon resources. It pursues things such as the delineation of its extended continental shelf in much the same way as other Arctic actors. That

tensions do sometimes result is a product of the complexity of politics; overall, co-operation prevails.

The following two chapters seek to contrast Russia's Arctic behaviour with popular narratives in the West. The fifth chapter shows that Russia has behaved co-operatively in the Arctic region, seen in two case studies. In 2010, Norway and Russia negotiated an end to their maritime boundary dispute in the Barents Sea due to a mutual desire to explore hydrocarbon resources in the region. Russia also has sought partnerships with Western energy companies in the Arctic region. The sixth chapter concludes that the notion that the Arctic is a region of conflict is a troublesome intellectual legacy of the World Wars and the Cold War.

The final two chapters assess the future of the region. The seventh chapter says that armed conflict is unlikely in the Arctic because states lack the will and means to go to war. If conflict results, it will be from misreading Russia's intentions, or misunderstanding governance in the region. The afterword acknowledges that conflict in the region seems more likely now in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The book arrives at a deeply conflictual time in Russian–Western relations. Clearly the bulk was written before the war in Ukraine, which Buchanan does not think affects her major conclusion: “While co-operation via [the Arctic Council] has indeed been curtailed, conflict has not replaced it nor should we expect it to” (xi). She calls the “new cold war” narrative in Arctic security “a rather prickly work of fiction” (2). Yet, there is good reason to be pessimistic about the peaceful nature of the Arctic; Buchanan seems less optimistic, too, in the book's afterword. The seven Arctic states suspended their work with the Arctic Council in 2022, before restarting without Russia. Russia has withdrawn from the Barents-Euro Arctic Council. Yet, as of September 2023, relations have moved forward as Russian officials have had discussions about the Arctic Council with current chair Norway, so perhaps Arctic co-operation will return sooner than one might assume (Edvardsen, 2023).

In places, Buchanan seems to blame the West for the breakdown of relations in the Arctic region: “Today, Washington's Cold War anxieties have indeed returned to the region” while “Russia's Arctic strategy remains geared toward cooperation, meaning foreign investment, partners, and indeed foreign clients and markets” (162). She says, “The Arctic's status quo, preserved rather effectively under the Arctic Council for decades, needs to be rediscovered. Fast” (163).

Buchanan labels Russia's Arctic strategy as pragmatic (8), which begs further questions. Pragmatism involves making decisions using reason and common sense, akin to rationality. A pragmatic foreign policy can result in conflict. There is a pragmatic explanation for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, but it is one mired in miscalculations, such as that Russia's military could overwhelm Ukraine, that

the country would fall quickly, that Ukraine's leaders were not up to the task of wartime command, and that the Western allies would splinter into disunity over their response. Buchanan's conclusions beg the question: why has Russian pragmatism succeeded in the Arctic but so far failed in Ukraine? If we accept Buchanan's conclusion that co-operation serves Russian Arctic interest, it follows that if Arctic war best suited Russia's national interest or was a pragmatic means to an end, war would occur. Russia has already made this miscalculation in Ukraine. Could this miscalculation occur in the Arctic, too?

An omission is that Russia's policy towards Indigenous Peoples is largely absent from Buchanan's analysis. In fairness, Buchanan's interest is foreign policy, while policy towards Indigenous Peoples would fall under the umbrella of domestic policy. However, Russia's Indigenous Peoples play an important role in Russia's Arctic policy as the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) is an international actor as one of the six permanent participants to the Arctic Council. Over the last ten years, the Kremlin has undertaken a campaign to bring RAIPON under its control by ensuring Putin loyalists lead the organization (iCIPR and ADC, 2023, p. 8). An organization that once stood up for Indigenous land rights in the face of hydrocarbon development became, according to the International Committee of Indigenous Peoples of Russia, a body for "rubber-stamping government decisions" (9). If Russia pursues peaceful Arctic international relations to further economic development for the benefit of the broader Russian state, it suppresses the rights of those with different interests for the same reason. Russia has behaved in a peaceful manner in its Arctic international relations, but policy on the home front is not so peaceful, with the arrest of Indigenous critics of state policy (6–7).

Overall, Buchanan makes a contribution in *Red Arctic*. She shows that co-operation is an important part of the story of Russia's Arctic policy and of Arctic governance more broadly. The book demands a second edition once the implications of the Russo–Ukrainian War are clear.

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Andrew Chater is assistant professor (contract) at the School of Humanities, Brescia University College.

Book Review

I Will Live for Both of Us: A History of Colonialism, Uranium Mining, and Inuit Resistance. By Joan Scottie, Warren Bernauer, and Jack Hicks. University of Manitoba Press, 2022. 264 pp.

By Gertrude Saxinger

Joan Scottie's writing is intense. It immerses the reader in the land, caribou hunting grounds, rivers, and dense atmospheres of meetings, protest gatherings, and court rooms. Throughout her story, I felt as if I were travelling through time with her in Nunavut. *I Will Live for Both of Us: A History of Colonialism, Uranium Mining, and Inuit Resistance* is an exceptional autobiography of a strong and brave woman who was given the name Paningaya'naaq when she was born. The book charts her anger with the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and Inuit institutional bodies over their failure to genuinely protect the environment, and Inuit interests and culture. Scottie and many other Inuit in Nunavut had expected that the land claims agreement would protect the integrity of their lands and waters, and their cultural practices, traditional livelihoods, values, and many other aspects of Inuit life. Instead, the Nunavut government turned out to be mining-friendly and accepting of corporate conduct opposed to Inuit values.

Scottie narrates her semi-nomadic childhood living on the land, her relationship with her father (who was a thorn in the side of colonial government forces), and the complex process of her family becoming sedentary and settling settling at Aglirnaqtuq on Ferguson Lake. The first two chapters give the reader valuable insights into Inuit traditional life and the outright and subtle forms of colonial and missionary pressure on Inuit communities.

Joan Scottie dedicated her life to the fight against uranium mining on inland Inuit homeland. The book's title *I Will Live for Both of Us* refers to her sister, who passed away as an infant and on whose behalf she protested. Inuit activists twice defeated mining proposals for the Kiggavik uranium deposit located eighty kilometres west of Baker Lake. Gold mining in the Kivalliq region had already shown that industrial operations involving toxic materials posed a substantial threat to caribou. It was clear that uranium mining was more dangerous and could not be harmless to the environment as argued by proponents.

The German company Urangesellschaft increased uranium exploration there from the 1970s. In 1990, ninety percent of Baker Lake residents voted “No” in a plebiscite on the Kiggavik proposal and Urangesellschaft withdrew the project. Years later, AREVA Resources (now Orano Canada) resumed prospecting after acquiring Urangesellschaft’s licence. It used intense lobbying to promote its mining proposal, which was echoed by the Canadian government based on their specific development interests. The plans even had partial Inuit support after the Government of Nunavut and the Nunavut Inuit organization issued policies supporting uranium mining in 2007. The book illustrates how Joan Scottie and many other residents challenged state and corporate pressure for residents to accept uranium mining over so many decades. The minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada finally rejected AREVA’s mining proposal in 2016 after many years of Inuit opposition and the launch of residents’ protest committees. AREVA ceased exploration, but left enormous waste on the land, including dangerous materials.

The book goes to the heart of these events. It is sometimes hard to read because of the disturbing state and corporate violence. At other times, the book is full of hope, power, and collective strength. The conclusion ends with the phrase “YOU CAN WIN.” Joan Scottie’s picture on the cover conveys the book’s overall message. She sits in Inuit regalia on a rock next to the river’s turbulent currents. Her picture conveys a kind person with dedication, significant life experience, and intense resolve.

The researchers and allies to Inuit interests, Warren Bernauer and Jack Hicks, contextualize Joan Scottie’s storytelling with careful historical data on the state authorities’ fierce measures to impose a colonial regime during the twentieth century, including resettlement and forced attendance at residential schools, which brought about intergenerational trauma. The contributions of the three co-authors interlace to produce a powerful and insightful story.

Besides being an excellent piece of academic scholarship, it is a very comprehensible, poignant good read. I recommend this book to the general public from Indigenous and non-Indigenous backgrounds, and to activists and experts in the field. In particular, it will be insightful for corporate actors from employee to CEO levels, and from junior exploration to major production companies. It should be a must-read for state and other political actors, as well as Nunavut Inuit representative agencies and politicians to reflect on the process leading to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. The book shows how long-term and everyday politics and policy-making affect the spaces and environment in which Inuit people secure their livelihoods, values, social relations, and culture.

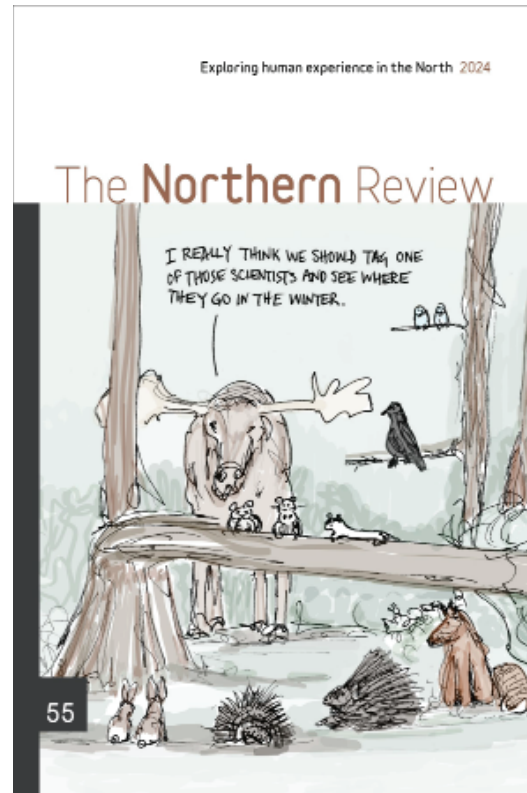
Gertrude Saxinger, Phd PD in social anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria, and the Austrian Polar Research Institute (APRI).

The Northern Review

Cover Art

Tag the Scientists!

Amanda Graham
Yukon University



Northern research. A big topic. An important one. Scholars, academics, practitioners, and community people are thinking about it a lot: how and why it's done. We're talking about how to repatriate it, about how to fund it, about how to ensure that inquiries are relevant and methods valid, that people are involved in research in good ways, and that the research benefits widely.

This is the place where “Tag the Scientists” comes from. Deep in the boreal forest, CritterLab, with its moose PI, fox and porcupine grad students, and bunny undergrads, undertakes an observational study of southern scientists who conduct research in and about the North, to uncover the complex lives of their subjects through remote sensing. It's a riff on ACCESS, an idea facetiously floated by Aron Senkpiel and Norm Easton in the *Northern Review's* first issue, recounting a time they'd been talking about “the problem of the South.” They had joked around with the idea of a northern Association of Canadian Colleges Engaged in Southern Studies. It would hold annual Southern Studies conferences in the North, and establish scholarships for students to come north to study southern Canada. The Association would set up field stations in the Near, Middle, and Far South to enable researchers to spend a month or two down south in the winter. “That reminded us,” they breathlessly conclude, “that we would have to give some thought to developing a code of ethics to which members engaged in southern research would have to subscribe.”¹ The tables would be comprehensively turned!

“Tag the Scientists,” poking a bit of fun as ACCESS before it, encapsulates the resistance to outside researchers that developed in the 1960s and 1970s in northern Canada, as well as in the United States in “Indian Country,” and in Australia and New Zealand. Resistance to, or at least suspicion of, social sciences emerged in the wake of Project Camelot, a 1964 large-scale US Army study planned to test a “general systems approach to predicting and influencing instability in several Latin American countries,”² that did much to damage relations between researchers and the communities where they operated. Camelot didn’t go forward after the word got out in Chile about what was going on, but the fall-out reverberated. In the wake of the fiasco, social scientists in many countries were prompted to think about their discipline and about “the harm that the social sciences might do to society and particular persons.”³

In the late 1960s, academics were pointing out the northern resistance they were encountering to their research activities. In one instance, a scholar noted that social scientists working in the North were “no longer able to move about as freely as they did in the past. . . . Northerners have always felt that they and their resources were being exploited.”⁴ In another, one reported that northerners felt that they “have had their fingers, toes, and toenails counted once too often.”⁵

Against the backdrop of growing federal government pressure for the North to be more productive, the question of research relations in the North began to emerge more frequently in the literature. Julie Cruikshank, anthropologist at the University of British Columbia, noted in 1971 that “many Indian and Eskimo communities are outspokenly raising objections to becoming grist for the anthropology thesis mills.”⁶ And it wasn’t just Indigenous people who objected to insensitive and intrusive research. A professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, drawing on discussions in a seminar on psychology ethics, wrote that, “the average citizen, when aroused, may place restrictions upon research far beyond any scientist’s imagination.”⁷ Research subjects everywhere were becoming less willing to be pawns in someone else’s game.

Meanwhile, growing concern about Indigenous conditions and issues in Canada led to the federal government’s 1969 White Paper,⁸ which provoked reaction from Indigenous people across the country. Many local and regional Indigenous organizations—such as the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories or the Yukon Native Brotherhood—were formed to insist on better conditions for Indigenous Peoples and advocate for their self-determination.

By 1973, in Canada, there are more statements about the need to involve Indigenous northerners in research. Famously, we see the Yukon Council of Indians, in their historic document *Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow*,

setting out five conditions for research “if it is going to be any good to us.”⁹ At about the same time, a Métis scholar, Karl E. Francis, observed that “In both Alaska and Northern Canada research and especially research in the social sciences has come under considerable fire ... from many who would question both its relevance to northern needs and the propriety and sensitivity of many projects.”¹⁰ As a result, he argued, “we are witnessing a fundamental change in the terms of reference for northern research arising from the Northerner’s rejection of [their] imposed role as object of investigation and curiosity.”¹¹ Some of this antipathy to researchers was prompted by the activities of proponents of a Mackenzie Valley pipeline, who were undertaking baseline natural and social science research after oil had been discovered on Alaska’s North Slope in 1968, and launched a new kind of northern rush there and in Canada.

In response, the “Northwest Territory Ordinance was amended [to regulate] the intrusion of social scientists who have been invading the North in increasing numbers and creating various kinds of social unrest among northerners [sic], especially the aboriginal people.”¹² Community people in the Mackenzie Valley were often vocal about the effects of research, about feeling that they “had their knowledge ripped off, brought down South and changed into academic language [so researchers could] become mice doctors or what have you.”¹³

Practitioners and academics rallied and talked and associated. The Northern Studies community, emerging at Canadian universities with the indirect support of the federal Northern Scientific Training Program,¹⁴ formed the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, which, in 1982, published its *Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North* in English, French, and Inuktitut.¹⁵ Requiring researchers to abide by the principles became more and common. In time, as more land claims were settled and Indigenous northerners had time, space, and need, nation-specific codes and protocols for research were developed to ensure local control and involvement. “Tag the Scientists” has northern researchers deciding what research, for what reason, and in what manner.

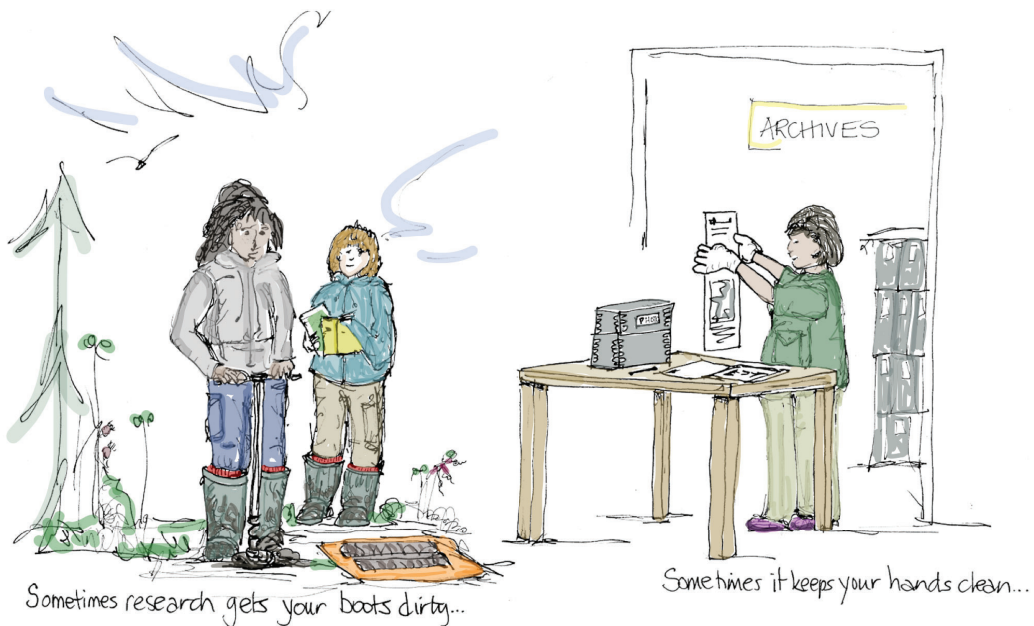
And all that history is an important piece of this new enterprise we’re embarked on at Yukon University. As Yukon College took the steps to become a university, an enhanced scholarly capacity was going to be needed. A fund was established in Fall 2014 to support research. Discussions ensued about what kinds of supports would be needed to help people consider undertaking scholarship or research when it had not been part of their duties. A big once-a-semester thing? A once-a-month activity? How about a regularly scheduled drop-in space where questions could be asked, research contemplated, and scholarship imagined? ResearChats began that fall, and, to encourage attendance, reminder emails were soon embellished with a “Chatoon.”

CritterLab and its exploits were one thread in the Chatoons:



Amanda Graham, "Lab Meeting," 2015.

Another thread was the "Sometimes research..." series:



Amanda Graham, "Boots and Gloves," 2015.

Some of the cartoons highlighted the occasional study or relevant event:



Amanda Graham, "Compendium," 2017.

While the heyday of ResearChat "Chatoons" is mostly over, ended by COVID-19, it survives in reruns. And possibilities of new situations are raised, where CritterLab is studying northern topics for northern benefit, joined by researchers from outside the region who wish to partner.

The research community in the North that the *Northern Review* founders Aron Senkpiel and Norm Easton saw budding in 1988, when they began the journal along with Ken Coates, and what they wished to nurture through this journal,¹⁶ now includes a growing Indigenous scholarly community. There's far to go, of course, but we've come quite a way in thirty-five years. Now, as then—when the northern colleges were still young and political devolution and land claims were underway—the North's "drive towards autonomy" includes an important dimension: the desire, the need, and the capacity to study itself.¹⁷

Amanda Graham is chair of the School of Liberal Arts at Yukon University, University of the Arctic site coordinator for Yukon University, and long-time instructor of Circumpolar Studies. She is a senior editor of the *Northern Review* and was the journal's managing editor from 1992 to 2004.

Notes

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