

The Community Readiness Initiative
in Kugluktuk, Nunavut:
Mining, neoliberalism, and state interventions in arctic
Indigenous community development

by

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Abstract

With a growing number of mining and extractive resource projects across the North, the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency has piloted the “Community Readiness Initiative” (CRI). The CRI aims to prepare communities to take advantage of the anticipated boom in mining through community consultations in seven northern communities. This thesis examines the Kugluktuk, Nunavut CRI through an analysis of CRI templates, reports, and through interviews with key informants. The CRI templates are examined through the questions of critical cartography to explore how the project’s construction contributes to an entrenchment of the mining economy in Nunavut. The governmental and biopolitical implications of the project are also explored through an analysis of the limitations faced in implementing the recommendations of the CRI consultations. My work argues that the CRI creates certain openings for Indigenous articulations of well-being, but falls short in its ability to create much needed structural changes to development programming.

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List of Abbreviations:

CanNor = Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency

CBPR = Community-Based Participatory Research

CRI = Community Readiness Initiative

EIA = Environmental Impact Assessment

GN = Government of Nunavut

IBA = Impact Benefit Agreement

IIBA = Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement

ILUOP= Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project

IOL = Inuit Owned Land

INAC = Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

ITC - Inuit Tapirisat of Canada

ITK = Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

KIA = Kitikmeot Inuit Association

NLCA = Nunavut Land Claim Agreement

NPMO = Northern Projects Management Office

NTI = Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated

PEST = Political, Ecological, Social, Technological

RIA = Regional Inuit Association

SPI = Strategic Partnerships Initiative

SWOT = Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats

VSEC = Valued Socio-Economic Components

Chapter 1

Development in the North - The Community Readiness Initiative

On a cold sunny day in April of 2014, I sat with a group of women gathered in the Hamlet office in Kugluktuk, Nunavut. Over a spread of crackers, cheese, and refreshed pots of coffee the women discussed the stresses that the two-week-on-two-week-off schedules at the mine have placed on their families and the relief that mine work brought to otherwise crushing levels of unemployment. They spoke of how they envisioned their community prospering, and the role that mining might play in it all. They had come together to talk about their community's future.

These conversations are not new to community members. Similar discussions happen over kitchen tables, and in lines at the grocery store. They are also regularly formalized through the many required consultations of hopeful mining and prospecting companies. These women are no strangers to industry and the federal government's interest in the resources that lie in their territory.

Indeed, the Canadian state's interest in the resource richness of the North is a long standing one. Since early contact European explorers have traveled North with the goal of removing furs, minerals, and oil for use in southern markets (Bonesteel 2008).

Kugluktukmiut¹ have lived the ebbs and flows, the booms and busts, of several generations of mines. Although much has changed since early contact, resource extraction and mining remain central to federal northern development planning today.

The Conservative Government's 2007 Northern Strategy, and the most recent Liberal Government budget, demonstrate sustained investment in northern resource extraction as

¹ 'miut' is the Inuktitut suffix meaning 'people'. In Inuinnaqtun, the regional language spoke in Kugluktuk, Kugluktukmiut are thus the people of Kugluktuk

a key component of economic prosperity (Bell 2016; Russell 2015). What has changed in federal interventions in the North are the particular ways in which resource extraction is promoted, legitimized and embedded within northern development discourses. With some recognition among federal agencies that few benefits from extractive industries have trickled down to nearby communities, the federal government has shifted its orientation towards programs that aims at ‘readying’ communities for the changes that a boom in extractive industries is expected to bring.

The women of Kugluktuk were brought together to discuss through support from one such ‘readying’ program – The Community Readiness Initiative (CRI). The CRI is a very young federal project, initiated by a newly minted federal agency, the Canadian Northern Economic Agency (CanNor) which is strongly partnered with Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). Started in 2012, the CRI is being piloted in the three northern territories. The program aims to not only allow for northern communities to mitigate the negative socio-economic impacts that have historically accompanied extractive projects, but to better position communities to benefit from them (CanNor 2015b). The initiative was created with the intent to collect baseline data on community socio-economic development indicators, as well as to document community concerns and desires in relation to extractive resource development. The program asks communities to create “CRI Maps” – reports that outline the desired parameters of community development, and that aim to bring together various federal agencies, industry partners, territorial and Indigenous governments in its implementation efforts.

The CRI project is in its beginning stages. Seven communities are currently engaged in the CRI across the North, many of whom have not finished the consultation

phase (Table 1). Although not fully implemented, the CRI provides openings to explore larger shifts in federal framing of northern development interventions and the degree of entrenchment of extractive economic practices.

Table 1: Participating Communities in the CRI

Community:	Stage of CRI:
Yellowknives Dene First Nation (YKDFN), Northwest Territories	Completed February 2015
Tulita, Northwest Territories	Completed April 2015
Kugluktuk, Nunavut	Completed August 2015
Little Salmon Carmack, Yukon	Ongoing
Cambridge Bay, Nunavut	Ongoing
Pond Inlet, Nunavut	Ongoing

1.1 Research questions

My thesis focusses on the Kugluktuk CRI in Nunavut. Beginning in the summer of 2014, I worked as a Research Assistant for this project. My work in Kugluktuk allowed me the opportunity to interview community members, participate in the implementation of a Community Skills Survey, and take part in meetings with CanNor and its partners. Through these many interactions I began to think more deeply about the processes at play in the particular construction and implementation of the CRI program. Working from these initial inquiries my thesis explores the origins and objectives of the CRI, and how they relate to those of its creators, CanNor and INAC. My thesis therefore uses the Kugluktuk CRI as a case study to explore the following questions:

- 1) What types of development issues are brought into the focus through the CRI, which are left behind, and what is at stake in the particular construction of the CRI project by CanNor?
- 2) What governmental possibilities do programs like the CRI open for CanNor and for extractive industries in the North?

1.2 Research rationale

It is my hope that in answering the above questions regarding the particularities of the CRI, greater clarity will be brought to the ways in which federal development interventions are currently operating in the North. The CRI comes at a unique moment. The federal government has acknowledged that mines bring the promise of jobs alongside many socio-economic difficulties, and that northern communities have historically seen few long-lasting benefits. However, mining projects continue to be presented as the future of economic development for the territory. The CRI is being presented as a shift in the government's approach to northern consultations and their engagement in community development work. The legitimization of this particular approach to community development contributes to a framing of how different 'futures' are presented as possible (or for that matter impossible) to Nunavummiut and thus shape what is deemed as viable for development itself.

The CRI thus presents a unique opportunity to better understand the ways in which current paradigms of development are formulated by government actors, how the program fits into a larger rise in neoliberalism, and what the governmental and biopolitical consequences of such an approach to development may be for northerners. While I am cognizant that state development planning is rarely hegemonic, and that there are certainly points of resistance and critical engagement from community members, this thesis seeks to understand how the authority that the CRI lends to certain development paradigms shapes the entrenchment of capitalist production in northern economies. While research has examined the impacts of mines on local communities (Bowes Lyon et al. 2010; Keeling and Sandlos 2009; Sandlos and Keeling 2016), this thesis focuses on

how state development programming structures what are deemed as viable development interventions in the North. My work thus contributes to a growing literature regarding the dynamics and intersections of the state, extractive industries, and Canadian arctic communities.

1.3 The Origins of CanNor

Resource extraction has long been central to the federal government's interest in the North. Thus, it comes as no surprise that when the announcement was made in the 2008 Throne Speech that the federal government would be creating a new federal agency for economic development in the North, it came under the banner of "Securing our Energy Future" (Privy Council 2008). In his speech then Prime Minister Harper promised that CanNor, as a stand-alone agency, would, "reduce regulatory and other barriers to extend the pipeline network into the North" as a central component of the federal Northern Strategy (Privy Council 2008). One year later, in 2009, it was announced that CanNor would be located in Iqaluit, Nunavut and have offices across the North (PMO 2009). The agency arose out of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC, then Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), taking over control of many of INAC's programs and employing a large number of former INAC workers (Windeyer 2012).

CanNor was created with a mission to:

... develop and diversify territorial economies to support the North and Canada by delivering regional programming and coordinating and delivering national economic policy at the regional level through its partnerships and potential development of new programs. (CanNor 2014 np).

Its main office location placement in Iqaluit was also seen as a way of centering that development decisions were being made not in southern Ottawa offices, but in the North

itself (CanNor 2014). As Harper stated at the inauguration of CanNor, “The era of benevolent yet ultimately ineffective paternalism is over... The days of development decisions being made in a city thousands of kilometers away are passed” (Windeyer 2012 np).

CanNor is a relatively small federal agency with an annual budget of \$44 million (\$61 million for the first 2 years of its existence) and a staff of 70 split between its offices in Iqaluit, NU; Yellowknife, NWT; Whitehorse, YK; and Ottawa, ON (Windeyer 2012). The organization is modeled on the southern regional economic development offices (such as: Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario and Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario) and is managed under the Minister of the North. At the CRI’s inception it was therefore managed by Conservative Inuk party member Leona Aglukkaq. However, the requirement for all projects to be approved by the Minister of the North has been criticized for slowing down decision-making and creating unnecessary bureaucratic barriers for communities working with the agency (Windeyer 2012).

CanNor has three project office areas: Strategic Investments in Northern Development; Aboriginal Economic Development; and the Northern Projects Management Office (NPMO). NPMO focuses on “problem solving for proponents moving projects through the northern regulatory systems” (CanNor 2015c np), and states as one of its goals “to foster a more stable and attractive investment climate in the territories” (CanNor 2015c np). The NPMO operates with the aim of streamlining industry through environmental regulatory processes such as the required environmental

and social impact assessments. NPMO provides a great degree of input to the management of the Community Readiness Initiative.

1.4 The Community Readiness Initiative

In April of 2012 CanNor launched the CRI in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut (CanNor 2015a). Acknowledging that previous major projects have had limited success in improving the quality of life of northern communities, the CRI has set out to work with communities to prepare for development before major projects are started. In its beginning stages, the CRI was initiated in seven pilot communities across the North (Table 1). The CRI is tasked with gathering information and feedback through interviews and consultations with community groups.

The process outlined by CanNor is meant to be led by communities. Through consultations and a Community Skills Survey the project results in what CanNor refers to as the ‘Community Readiness Maps’. These maps are not traditional cartographic documents, but rather reports that summarize the development difficulties and objectives of the community; a sort of metaphorical map that lays out community preparedness and aspirations for development. Under CanNor’s plans the CRI Community Readiness Maps are meant to delineate the social demographics of the community, showing who in the community is ready to take up employment with industry. They also include key recommendations to facilitate programming that aim to enable communities to best take advantage of opportunities presented through major resource project development.

The CRI is entangled in several projects operating at the federal level through which a new paradigm of engagement with Indigenous communities has emerged (Figure

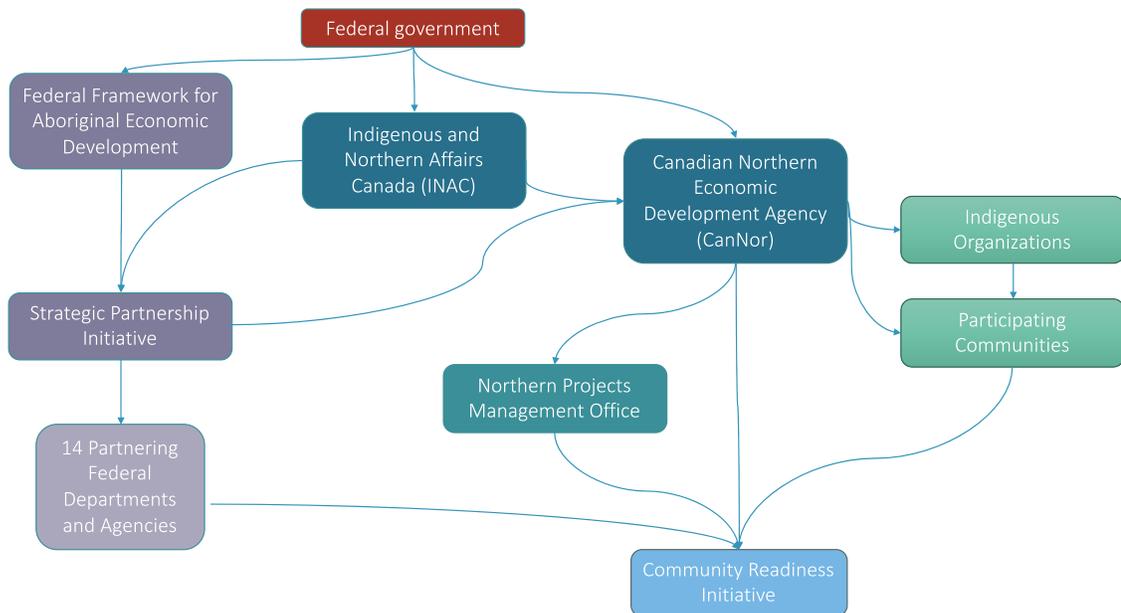
1). The goals and framing of CRI arose out of the “Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development” (INAC 2014). As outlined by INAC,

The Framework provides for a focused, government-wide (whole-of-government) approach to better align federal investments, respond to new and changing economic conditions and lever partnerships in order to address persistent barriers that impede the full participation of Aboriginal people in the Canadian economy. (INAC 2014 np)

In order to implement these goals, the Strategic Partnerships Initiative (SPI) began in 2010 with the aim of “increasing Aboriginal participation in complex economic development opportunities, particularly in the natural resource sectors where projects are emerging at an unprecedented rate across the country” (INAC 2015 np). SPI was put forward with the aim of bringing government agencies together from varying departments in order to address developmental goals.

SPI works across 14 federal departments with a special focus on supporting the preparation of communities to engage with an increase in major resource projects across Canada (INAC 2015). SPI provided \$2.32 million in funding for the CRI project as well as oversight from INAC and a framework that encourages the participation of multiple federal agencies in the implementation of the recommendations that will emerge from the CRI community maps.

Figure 1: Participating Agencies and Frameworks in the CRI



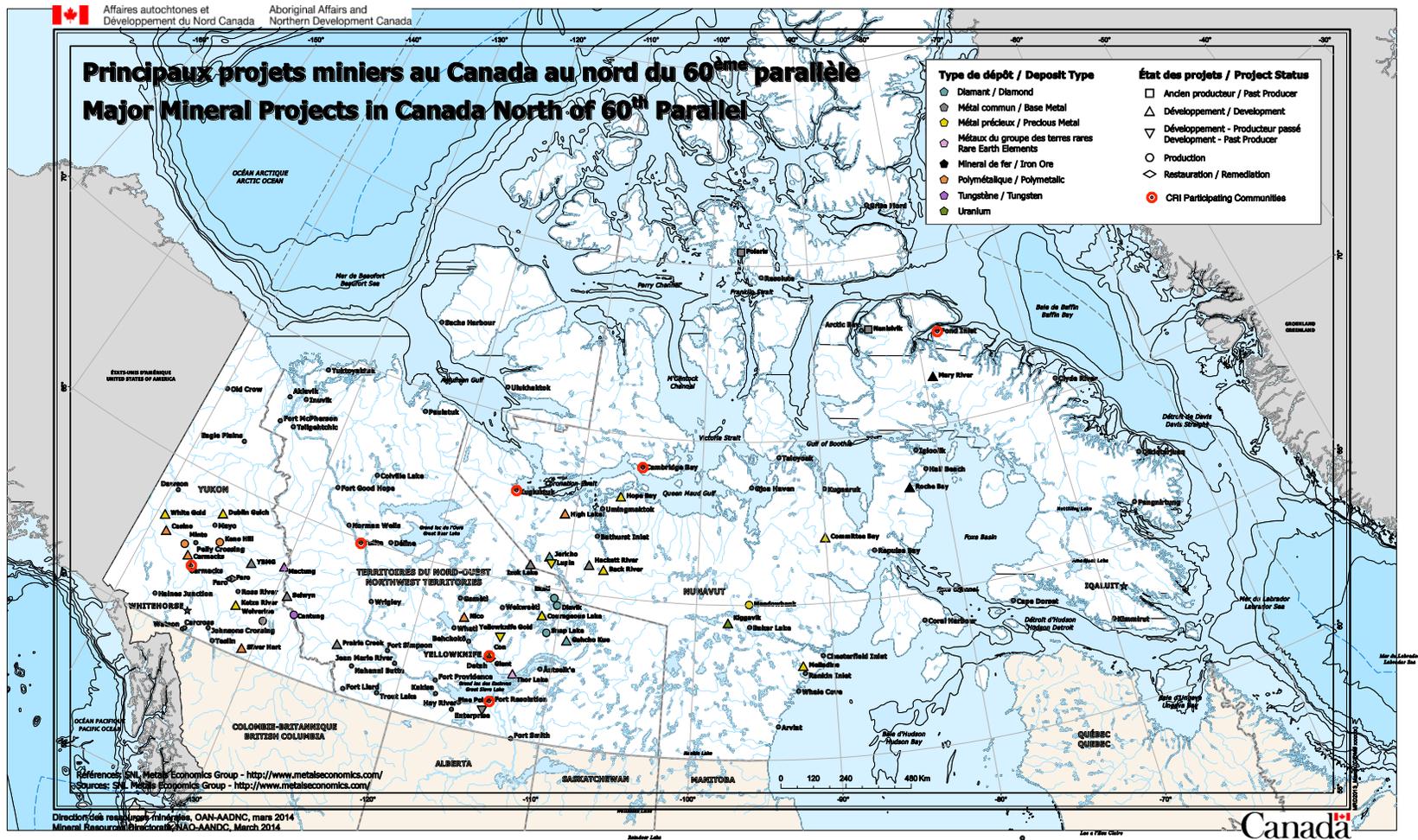
Working under the objectives of the SPI, the CRI has promoted not only a framework of collaboration beyond the traditional silos of government agencies, but has adopted a new approach in terms of how economic development initiatives are targeted. Rather than the conventional approach of directing funding on a regional basis, the CRI targets communities that are adjacent to proposed major resource projects through an ‘opportunities’ rather than a ‘regional’ approach. The CRI’s seven participating pilot communities were thus targeted for their proximity to existing or proposed major projects (Table 2, Figure 2). The primary economic driver in the North is currently resource extraction, and thus for the majority of CRI projects the nearby major projects are in fact mining, or oil and gas projects. This is particularly true for Kugluktuk, NU which is

situated near eleven potential mines (Table 2). It is for this reason my thesis will focus on mines as the primary major projects at play in the CRI.

Table 2: CRI Communities and Adjacent Mining Projects

CRI Community:	Nearby Proposed or Producing Projects:
Cambridge Bay, Nunavut	High Lake (base metals) Hope Bay (gold) Ulu (gold)
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories	Pine Point (base metals) Nechalacho (rare earths)
Kugluktuk, Nunavut	Back River (gold) Ekati (diamonds) Diavik (diamonds) Hackett River (base metals) High Lake (base metals) Hope Bay (gold) Izok (base metals) Jericho (diamonds) Lupin (gold) Snap Lake (diamonds) Ulu (gold)
Little Salmon Carmack, Yukon	Casino (gold and copper) Carmacks (copper) Coffee Creek (gold) Freegold (gold) Minto Mine (copper) Klaza (gold and silver)
Pond Inlet, Nunavut	Mary River (iron) Nanisivik (base metals)
Tulita, Northwest Territories	Normal Wells (oil and gas)
Yellowknives Dene First Nation (YKDFN), Northwest Territories	Gacho Kue (diamonds) YK Gold (gold) NICO (gold, cobalt, bismuth) Selwyn (base metals)

Figure 2: Existing and Proposed Mine Sites in Canada's Territories



(INAC 2014 np)

1.5 Research site

Kugluktuk is the most western community in Nunavut. Formerly known as Coppermine, the community is now known as Kugluktuk, Inuinnaqtun for ‘place of moving water’, and sits at the mouth of the Coppermine River. It has a population of approximately 1400 people, of which 90% are Inuit (Statistics Canada 2011). The community settlement was established through a Hudson Bay trading post in 1916 and has endured the impacts of colonial systems through residential schools and the persistent interest in extracting the copper, gold, and other minerals that lie within their lands (Cameron 2015). Like many communities in Nunavut, Kugluktuk has a young population, with a median age of 23.5 (Statistics Canada 2011). The community also faces very high levels of unemployment – in the 2011 census 30.9% of the population was unemployed, versus 17.9% in Nunavut and 7.5% nationally (Statistics Canada 2011). The community also faces one of the highest suicide rates in the country. Nunavut has a suicide rate roughly nine times the national average – in 2012 the national suicide rate was 11.3/100,000, whereas Nunavut had a rate of 103.3/100,000 (Statistics Canada 2012; Hicks 2015). Kugluktuk has the seventh highest suicide rate in the territory (Hicks 2015). The Hamlet’s economy is composed primarily of municipal and territorial government workers, and community members depend heavily on harvesting activities (GN 2013). Kugluktuk has also gained employment through nearby mines (Table 2) and is located near many proposed mine sites (Canada-Nunavut Geo-Science Office 2015) (Figure 2).

1.6 Thesis Overview

The remainder of my thesis comprises five chapters. In the following chapter I provide a historical overview of federal development interventions in the North relative to resource extraction, and a review of the impacts that mining has had both internationally and in Nunavut more specifically. I also present a brief overview of the relevant territorial and Inuit governance structures, and the consultation processes that are legislated through the Nunavut Lands Claim Agreement.

My third chapter consists of an overview of my own involvement in the CRI as a Research Assistant and the methods employed in my primary research for this thesis. I also provide a brief introduction to the primary theoretical frameworks I have drawn on throughout this work. All of this serves to support the two substantive analytical chapters.

In my fourth chapter I focus my attention on the particular construction, and underlying goals, of the CRI. Drawing on the works of critical cartographers I examine the reporting templates provided by CanNor for the CRI Maps, and explore the particular framing of the project CanNor presents to participating communities. In so doing, I explore which development issues are brought into focus, and importantly, which are left behind. I therefore argue that the CRI makes visible information that facilitates access to mineral resources by capital markets by mapping the certainty of investment that communities will provide to extractive industries. Through a comparison of the templates with the modifications that were made to the Kugluktuk CRI, I demonstrate how a reframing of template categories highlights the underlying structures and gaps in CanNor's approach. Kugluktuk's CRI, centered in Inuit epistemologies, points to an

alternative approach, which more readily speaks to the structural and colonial development issues articulated by community members.

In chapter five I focus on CanNor's current approach to implementation through a reflection on their response to the Kugluktuk CRI recommendations. Drawing on the work of Tanya Murray Li's (2007) book, *The Will to Improve*, I explore what is at stake in the process of prioritizing implementation recommendations for government, for industry, for community, and for capital. I underscore the disjuncture between the stated goals of the project and the structural limitations that inhibit CanNor from taking up the more complex and structural recommendations being proposed by community members. I argue that the CRI prioritizes recommendations that are useful to the promotion of the extractive resource wage economy, and makes surplus those relationships and actions which are not in the interest of capitalist production. I conclude with an examination of what is at stake in this process for community members, through a contemplation of how CanNor's priorities are structured by and serve to entrench a neoliberal biopolitics.

In my final chapter I reflect on the themes that tie this work together – the construction and legitimation of particular sets of knowledge that serve capital, biopolitics, and the difficulties of development programming within the existing structures of the federal government. I also point to further lines of inquiry and points of analysis I was unable to address within the scope of this thesis.

The CRI may be a new and relatively small government program, but it is demonstrative of many interesting processes currently at play in Canada's North. The CRI is a window into how the federal government conceptualizes well-being in development programs, and the ways in which this may or may not match with

community understandings of prosperity. The CRI also allows an examination of the state's goals in northern development paradigms, and the role extractive industries have played within them. Ultimately, the CRI allows for an exploration into the particular ways state interventions act to entrench neoliberal development and contribute to the capitalist-colonialist structuring of life in Nunavut.

Chapter 2

The Place of Mines – State development interventions in Nunavut

Programs like the CRI are part of a long history of state interventions in the North centered on resource extraction. From a management perspective, the North was viewed by the British and, after its jurisdictional transfer in 1880, to Canada as a resource colony (Abele 1987). The North was managed in a haphazard manner, with southern presence most visible through missionaries, military and Hudson Bay Company agents (Bonesteel 2006). Interest in the North's mineral wealth is longstanding, with mines operating as early as 1875 when the American Navy ran a graphite and mica mine on Baffin Island (Nassichuck 2003).

By the 1920s, with more affordable flight technology, planes were used to determine probable mine sites (Bonesteel 2006). However, it was not until World War Two that the North's geopolitical strategic importance saw huge increases in American military encampments across the North (Jull 2001). With increased military presence and technological advances, northern resources become much more accessible for extraction (Abele 2009). This occurred alongside market increases in mineral prices and thus increased interest and support from the Canadian government. In 1943 the federal government created the Department of Mines and Resources and later published reports that would present the North as "an economic unit of potential importance to the national economy" (Abele 1987 p312), a view of the North which has changed little over the years despite changes in governing parties.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker played a central role in this drive to exploit Northern resources with his "Northern Vision" that saw large investment in the construction of roads northward and legislation to promote industry through his "Roads to Resources"

program (Abele 2009). For Diefenbaker the North represented the next frontier in Canada's development (Abele 2009; Coates and Poelzer 2010). However, with increased attention on the economic potential of the North came greater scrutiny of the social conditions of the territory's inhabitants (Hicks and White 2000). Occurring against the backdrop of increasing support for Keynesian development, the economic difficulties and the starvation suffered by Inuit as a result of resettlement and the collapse of the fur trade, among other factors, were seen as neglect on the part of the state (Abele 1987; Tester and Kulchyski 2011). The government responded with an expansion of its colonial administration. Increased investments were made to infrastructure such as roads, schools, and health clinics, as well as into programs to increase literacy and participation in wage labour (Bonesteel 2008). Importantly, this era also saw the coercion of Inuit into sedentary communities where they might access healthcare and schooling, as well as act as 'human flagpoles' in the declaration of Canadian arctic sovereignty (Tester and Kulchyski 2011). The Inuit disc number system was also implemented in this era. The discs stripped Inuit of their names, replacing them with numbers used to track their interactions with government agencies such as in healthcare and residential schools (Alia 1994; Smith 1993). The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was established in 1953 by the federal government to provide healthcare, housing, and welfare payments. As a result of these various programs, by the 1960s most Inuit resided in permanent settlement, with few living year-round in traditional camps (DiFrancesco 2008; Tester and Kulchyski 2011).

For Inuit the 1960s was thus a period of rapid transformation and forced assimilation that has had long-term impacts to community well-being. In this period the

federal government provided a large range of programs – from schooling, and healthcare, to welfare payments, housekeeping training, and work-readiness programming, among others. However, these programs were provided in a top-down matter with little consultation, few points of engagement for community members, and with the goal of improving Inuit lives through forced assimilation to southern ways of being (Jull 2001). There were several attempts by the federal government to allow for municipality-based participation (through the Northern Service Officers, and through the housing and Arctic co-op programs) but overall the federal government retained control and little room was afforded for Inuit participation in decision-making processes (Bone 2003). As Frances Abele notes (1987 p314), the federal government’s shift in approach in this era towards a Keynesian system was fully compatible with their desire to exploit northern resources:

The difficult circumstances of northern Natives appeared to southern civil servants to be a consequence of Native people’s unpreparedness for wage employment and the absence of viable economic opportunities; the remedy was federal programs to develop a Native labour force and to create business and employment opportunities.

At the time, the federal government projected those jobs were to be found in the mining sector (Bone 2009).

Despite the federal government’s push for Inuit employment in mines, and the push northward through the “Roads to Resources” program, few projects came to fruition and even fewer benefits were accrued by Inuit (Abele 2009). Substantial barriers, in the form of low-levels of training, education that was incompatible to Inuit culture, and hiring discrimination, prevented Inuit from finding meaningful employment at mines. Furthermore, control of political decision-making remained steadfastly in the hands of southerners. Efforts were made by the federal government to engage northerners in the

structures of electoral politics. For example, Northern Service Officers were established as federal agents in communities as a means to “train northern Native people in the forms of liberal democratic self-government” and to advance municipal political engagement (Abele 1987 p313). However, substantial power differentials between the Northern Service Offices and locals meant the officers were inadequate representatives for Inuit. Inuit community members were given little to no budgetary control over federal funding (Abele 1987).

It cannot be understated that such colonial interventions have had lasting impacts on Inuit communities. The assimilationist policies of the 1960s and the impacts of residential schools have resulted in decreased access to life on the land, intergenerational trauma, and disconnection from traditional teachings. The disruption this continues to have on Inuit communities demonstrates itself through the high rates of unemployment, unequal access to education, poorer performance in most health indicators, loss of language and culture, and the higher rates of mental illness and suicide that persist in Nunavut’s communities to this day (Kulchyski and Tester 2007; Cameron 2012; Hicks 2015; Tester and McNicoll 2004).

The late 1960s and early 1970s also saw renewed interest in extractive projects. Although much federal funding and public policy had been directed towards the expansion of mining efforts in the 1950s and 1960s, few deposits had come to fruition. The impacts of those mines that did come into production – The Rankin, Polaris, and Nanisivik mines – will be discussed at greater length in section 2.3. The discovery of oil deposits in Alaska in 1968 re-centered northern resources in federal economic development plans, and prompted the construction of a transportation corridor for the

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, intended to transport Alaskan oil to southern markets (Sabin 1995). The pipeline project was met with substantial opposition and initiated the the 1974 Berger inquiry. The Inquiry provided a very different model for engaging with and resulted in a ten-year moratorium on development in the Mackenzie Valley (Berger 1977). Berger's consultations, in which lengthy Indigenous testimonials were heard, cemented the importance and capacity of local populations in such decision-making processes, and contributed to the impetus for new land claims negotiations nationally (Abele 2009).

Markets were however unstable. The 1973 oil bust led to major revisions in Canada's energy policy and a brief nationalization of the energy sector beginning in 1980 (Abele 2014). Nationalization and tough overseas markets prompted the government to look inwards, and facilitated the approval and construction of the pipeline from Norman Wells, Northwest Territories to Zama, Alberta. Done largely without consultation of the local population, the oil project proceeded in the name of national interest with little benefit to the immediate area (Difrancesco 2008; Abele 2014).

This was also an era of Indigenous political mobilization across Canada, transforming the federal relationship to Indigenous peoples and laying the groundwork for Inuit organizing around the creation of the territory of Nunavut. In 1973 the Nisga'a took the federal government to court claiming title to their traditional lands in what is now known as the Calder case. Although the Nisga'a lost the case on a technicality, the Supreme Court acknowledged that Indigenous peoples who had not previously signed treaties were entitled to their traditional lands (although under a very strict framework) (Calder vs. Attorney General of B.C. 1973). The uncertainty this created for the

ownership of vast territories of land spurred the federal government into a new era of treaty negotiations through comprehensive claims agreements (Jull 2000). This decision came at a moment of increased Indigenous organizing through groups such as the American Indian Movement and the Indian Brotherhood. The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories came forward with the Dene (a northern First Nation) Declaration in 1975, articulating a new political structure for the Dene and demanding that they be recognized by the federal government as a self-governing nation (Coulthard 2014). These demands were not seen favorably in an era of heightened fears of separation spurred by the Québec sovereignty movement. However, the demands of the Dene did open the door to more favorable negotiations with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, representing Inuit across Canada (Hicks and White 2000).

The 1980s presented a shift in terms of federal governance and their approach to northern economic development. In 1984, after the Conservative party came into power, the National Energy Project was reversed. At the same time the construction phase of the Norman Wells project was completed, terminating many jobs in the project. In consequence, the North suffered a substantial collapse in petroleum industry employment (Beauchamp and Huebert 2008). Unable to provide sustainable employment through the boom-bust cycles of extractive industry, the federal government turned away from megaprojects. Investments were made in entrepreneurial programs through initiatives such as the Eskimo Loan Fund and the Arctic Cooperatives Development Program in attempts to increase Inuit employment opportunities and to encourage assimilation into the wage economy (Bonesteel 2008; Meyers and Forest 2000).

2.1 The Nunavut Land Claim and the Creation of Nunavut

Against the backdrop of the Dene Declaration and with increased pressure on the federal government to resolve Indigenous land claims, in 1973 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada² (ITC) called for study into Inuit land use and occupancy (GN nd). The report was commissioned by ITC and INAC, and Milton Freeman Research Limited was contracted to coordinate this extensive consultation effort. The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) spanned three years and gathered information from 1600 Inuit in thirty-four communities (Freeman 2011). The three-volume report was completed in 1976 (Freeman 1976) and acted as the foundation for land claim negotiation in the Northwest Territories and eventually the new Territory of Nunavut (Kersey 1994). That same year, due to important resource developments in the Beaufort Sea, the Inuvialuit began pursuing their own land claim (GN 2007). Importantly, in 1979 a legislative election in Northwest Territories was held in which many white southerners were replaced by Indigenous politicians, and saw a new generation of white politicians who were willing to work in cooperation with the new Indigenous politicians brought into office (Jull 2001). With greater political representation, increased public recognition of the need for consultation, and growing movement among Inuit towards a comprehensive land claim agreement, Inuit began to assert greater control over their own territory and within their relationship with the federal government.

² The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada is now known as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and is an organization that represents the over 55,000 Inuit living in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the western Canadian Arctic region, Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Quebec, and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador (ITK nd).

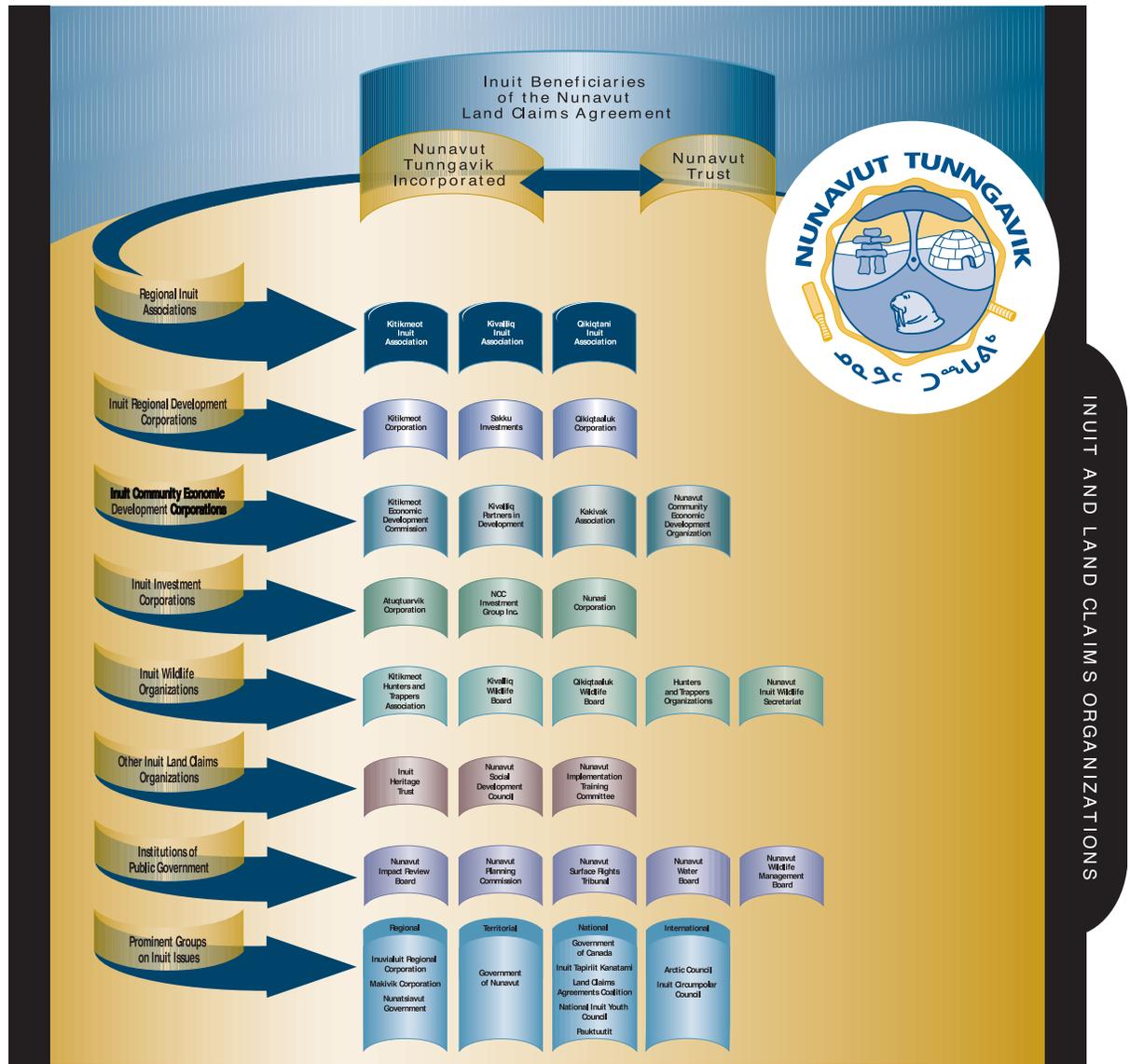
In 1980, with land claims negotiations ongoing, ITC passed a resolution declaring that the Nunavut land claim would not be reached without a matching commitment for the creation of a new Territory (Hicks and White 2000). Although Inuit did not make demands for self-government in this new territory there was a clear demand for separation from the Northwest Territories and greater political control among Inuit. Negotiation proceeded slowly through the 1980s, and it was not until 1990 that the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut³ signed a land claims agreement-in-principle (Hicks and White 2000). In 1992 the Nunavut Political Accord was signed between the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut, the Government of the Northwest Territories, and the Government of Canada, formalizing the agreement to create the territory of Nunavut (NTI 2011).

In May of 1993 the formal Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) was signed, and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) was created to manage the land claim, along with new Regional Inuit Associations, corporations, and institutions of public government such as co-management board (Figure 3). The NLCA detailed regulations around the ownership of lands and resource use, delineated resource royalty payments and commitment to the creation of the Territory of Nunavut (NLCA 1993). In July of 1999, the Nunavut Act was signed in parliament, recognizing Nunavut as the third official territory and brought the public Government of Nunavut (GN) into being (Nunavut Act 1999). NTI and the GN work closely together as access to funding and the

³ The Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut took over negotiation of the NLCA from ITC and became the organization, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, that ensures the proper implementation of the land claim (Fenge 2007).

management of territorial resources are regulated in a different but interrelated manner between the two governing bodies.

Figure 3: The Structure of NTI



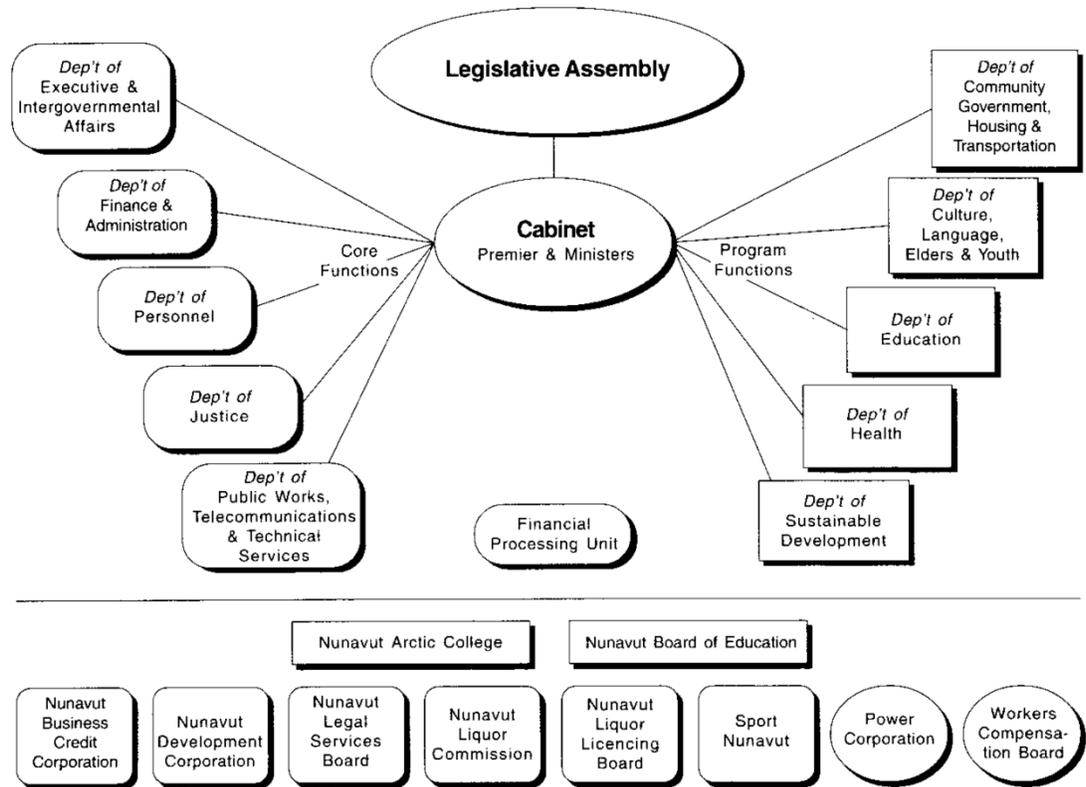
(NTI nd p1)

Under the NLCA, NTI was established to manage the Nunavut Trust, a large federal transfer fund. NTI was also tasked with the management of the implementation of the NLCA, and the establishment of the Regional Inuit Associations (RIAs) that

subsequently manage the Hunters and Trappers Associations, wildlife boards, regional economic development initiatives, and the rights of Inuit beneficiaries (Hicks and White 2000). The GN is a public institution, that is democratically elected and manages territorial education, health services, and importantly the Nunavut Impact Review Board, among others (see Figure 4 for organizational chart of the GN). The Nunavut Impact Review Board is responsible for overseeing the Social and Environmental Impact Assessments and approval for proposed development projects in the territory (NIRB nd).

Under the NLCA, land in the territory has been designated into three categories, each with differing jurisdictional controls. Public land is under management of the GN and make up roughly 2% of land in Nunavut. Crown Land is managed by the federal government and makes up over 80% of land in Nunavut. Inuit Owned Lands are managed by the three Regional Inuit Associations under the guidance of NTI (NLCA, 1993). Within Inuit Owned Lands only 17% of the lands include subsurface rights, as designated under article 10 of the NLCA (GN nd). With few other current sources of revenue beyond resource extraction, this leaves the GN highly dependent on federal transfer funds in order to provide services (Mifflin 2009). Those Inuit Owned Lands containing subsurface rights were strategically selected during the negotiation of the NLCA because of their known mineral potential (Légaré 2008). However, as many of Nunavut's currently proposed mines lie on crown land rather than Inuit Owned Lands, many proposed mines would accrue revenue to the federal government rather than to NTI (Légaré 2008).

Figure 4: The Structure of the GN



(Hicks and White 2000 p65)⁴

Seventeen years after the creation of Nunavut, the governance framework of the NLCA and the GN remains relatively new. The NLCA brought forward new and untried regulatory agencies and processes. Nunavut struggles with a complex jurisdictional framework, and at times, overlapping interests in the management of economic and resource development (Erlandson 2009).

⁴ Note that the names of several GN departments have changed since 2000, no alternative organizational chart could be found.

2.2 Mining and Community Impacts

The Canadian mining industry is the largest of any country in the world, with companies operating in Canada, across Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Gordon and Webber 2008). Mines are often presented as a source of economic prosperity for communities. However, studies on the socio-economic impact of mining point instead to a core-periphery relationship, where resources and profits are extracted by foreign companies with little return to local economies. In many cases the vast majority of mining revenue return to the company's country of origin, or company itself, instead of trickling down to local community members (Kirsch 2007). Furthermore, relative to the size of revenues, the number of jobs created by capital-intensive large-scale mines is quite small (2 to 3 million worldwide, vs. 13 million in small-scale mining) (Pegg 2006).

As mining technologies have shifted towards more capital-intensive extraction, fewer low-skilled workers are required for mine production. Employment for low-skilled workers are concentrated within the short lived initial stages of mine setup. The high paying jobs that do exist are often outsourced to workers with high levels of education that are often inaccessible, or not made available, to locals (Pegg 2006).

The boom-bust cycles of mining have important development implications for mineral rich areas. Communities dependent on mining for economic development are tied to the fluctuations of market prices and may face mine closure when mineral prices drop. This may lead to sharp increases in unemployment and a deficiency in socio-economic resources (Jenkins and Obara 2008). In their study *Mining and Poverty Reduction* Pegg (2006 p378) found that: "mineral dependent states have significantly higher levels of inequality than other states with similar incomes: the more that states rely on mineral

exports, the smaller the share of income that accrues to the poorest 20% of the population.”

Moreover, the presence of mines has substantial impacts on the social dynamics of communities. Mines often bring a rapid influx of foreign workers and with more workers come increases in housing prices, higher rates of inflation, and community divisions between mine workers and lower-income residents (Pegg 2006). Furthermore, influxes of mine workers have been attributed to an increase in rates of alcohol abuse, sex trafficking, child labor and public health concerns such as increased rates of STIs (Pegg 2006).

2.3 Mining in Nunavut

The economic dynamics described above are not limited to mines in developing nations where regulations are less environmentally and socially stringent. In Nunavut, mining has witnessed many boom and bust periods. Although few mines have reached production due to the remoteness of the territory and fluctuating market prices, there are several mines of note in Nunavut’s history (refer to Figure 2 for a map of mines and proposed mining project).

In the 1950s Canada’s first arctic industrial mining operation was established through the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine. A community was established nearby and the mine was the first mine in Canada to employ Inuit (Mason et. al 2008). Over the course of its life, Inuit totaled 70% of its workforce (Cater and Keeling 2013). Although the mine is today remembered fondly by many Inuit, mine closure in 1962 dealt a huge blow to the

community and brought economic hardship to the majority of residents (Cater and Keeling 2013; Cater 2013).

The late 70s and early 1980s saw the territory's first boom in mining. The Nanisivik lead-zinc mine, located near Arctic Bay, opened in 1976 and operated until low mineral prices resulted in its closure in 2002 (Bowes-Lyon et al. 2009). The mine has been criticized for its contribution to Inuit assimilation into the wage economy and for its failure to adequately respond to social concerns regarding mine closure (Tester et al. 2013; Lim 2013).

In 1981 the Polaris lead-zinc mine opened, located near the community of Resolute Bay. It also closed production in 2002 (Bowes-Lyon et al. 2009). Although the Rankin Inlet and Nanisivik mines were seen by the Canadian state as a means to modernize Inuit, the Polaris mine was not required to sign any agreements regarding regional employment, and few locals were employed (Green 2013).

That same year, 1981, also saw the opening of the Cullaton Lake gold mine, located near Arviat. The mine was operational until 1985 (Shrimpton and Storey 1996). In 1982 the Lupin gold mine, located near Kugluktuk, began production and ran until 1998 when production stopped due to low gold prices. The Lupin mine resumed production in 2000 and operated until 2003, when operations were again suspended (Nuna Logistics 2016).

Favorable market prices in the early 2000s brought renewed interest to mining in the territory. In 2006 Nunavut opened its first diamond mine - the Jericho mine. Located approximately 240 kilometers southeast of Kugluktuk, the mine halted production only two years later (Gregoire 2014). Despite mining declines in the wake of the 2008

economic recession, a series of new mines have since opened. The Meadowbank gold mine is located adjacent to Baker Lake, an inland hamlet in Nunavut's Kivalliq Region, and has been in production since 2010 (Agnico Eagle 2016). Most recently the Mary River iron-ore mine, located between Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, began production in 2014 (Baffinland 2016). There are currently a large number of mining prospecting sites throughout Nunavut (Figure 2), as well as several proposed mines undergoing environmental review with the Nunavut Internal Review Board, including the proposed projects in the Kitkmeot region - the Izok corridor, Hacket River, and Back River mines.

While mines may come and go, it is nearby communities that bear their long term environmental, health and social costs. A qualitative study with residents of Resolute Bay and Arctic Bay, found that while mines in Nunavut may have provided some benefits to the community through short-term employment, benefits were ultimately short-lived as locals lacked sufficient education and training necessary for employment (Bowes-Lyon et al. 2010). Those skills earned through mine work were found to be non-transferrable upon mine closure (Bowes-Lyon et al. 2010).

A report by Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada highlights troubling occurrences in their qualitative report on the Meadowbank gold mine in Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut. The report details at great length the extent to which the Meadowbank mine has impacted the lives of Inuit women and community members. For instance, alcohol consumption in the community more than doubled in the period since mine establishment and the number of domestic incidences reported to the RCMP increased by over 40% (Pauktuutit 2014). This increase in alcohol use and domestic violence was similarly

noted in Arctic Bay when the Nanisivik mine was in production (Brubacher and Associates 2002).

At the Meadowbank mine site a number of problematic issues were reported. Women were reportedly fired due to pregnancy, and a number of other labour rights were documented as being infringed upon (Pauktuutit 2014). Female mine workers, particularly those working as cleaners, reported numerous instances of sexual harassment from Qablunaat mine workers (Pauktuutit 2014). The report also raised concerns regarding the occurrence of sexual assaults on site (Pauktuutit 2014).

The large influx of money received by mine workers was documented to impact the community in a number of ways. Pauktuutit (2014) reported that the lack of financial literacy skills of community members, and the lack of resources available to learn financial literacy, resulted in a great deal of pressure both within families and between community members. Participants within the study noted tensions around increased class divisions in the community.

The Meadowbank mine has provided employment to many Inuit in Baker Lake – in 2010-2011 of the two hundred and thirty-two Inuit beneficiaries working at the mine, one hundred and thirty-two were from Qamani'tuaq (Rodon and Levesque 2015). This has allowed greater purchasing ability locally, but as has been noted, employment is often short-term and has provided limited opportunities for Inuit to advance to higher management positions. For example, the turnover rate among Inuit employees at Meadowbank was 27%, something which Rodon and Levesque (2015 p26) attribute to, “the fact that many employees do not like their jobs and find it extremely difficult to get promotions.”

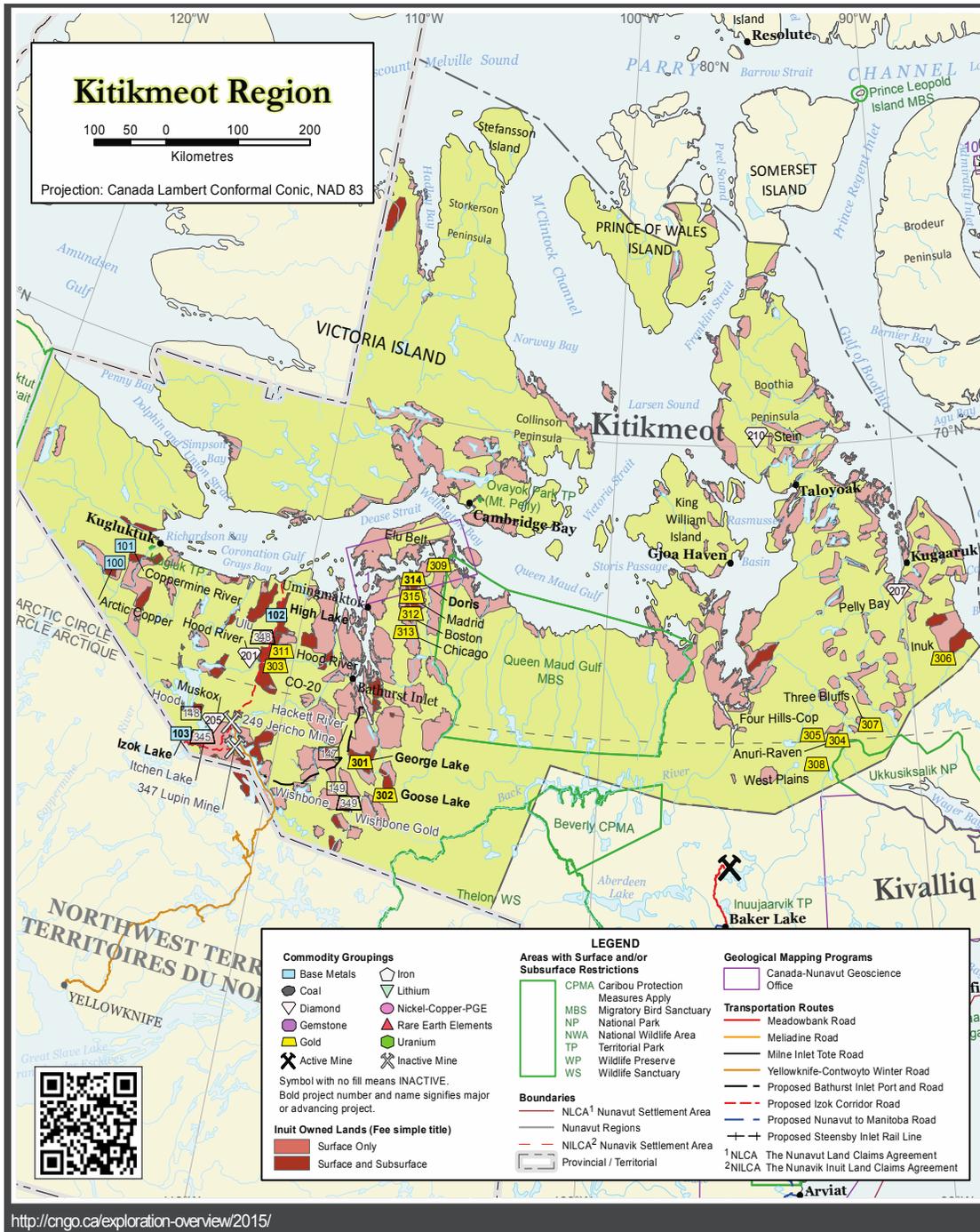
Furthermore, the mining company (Agnico-Eagle) demonstrated a lack of cultural understanding regarding different conceptions of the position and value of work for Inuit. Employee absences for the death or illness of relatives deemed ‘distant’ by Western standards were frowned upon, if not disallowed (Pauktuutit 2014). Families faced incredible difficulties when dealing with issues of jealousy, navigating parenting needs, and the stresses of a ‘two-week in, two-week out’ work schedule (Pauktuutit 2014; Gibson and Klinck 2005). The challenges of the fly-in-fly-out work schedule have been documented at numerous mine sites internationally (Storey 2001; Houghton 1993; Cheshire 2010; Ritter 2001).

The Meadowbank mine has also highlighted the importance of governmental and legislative frameworks in advancing extractive projects. The work of Peter Kulchyski and Warren Bernauer (2014) posits that the structures of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the for-profit structure of the Land Claims Beneficiary Corporation have incentivized profit-seeking extractive endeavors, enabling dispossession and capitalist extraction. As evidenced by the work of Rebecca Hall (2013) on diamond mining endeavors in the Northwest Territories, the government has not acted as an arbitrator between community and industry but as an active agent in internal colonization. Aligning itself with industry rather than community needs, the government has enabled the streamlining of industrial extractive projects. Drawing on David Harvey’s (2003) notion of accumulation by dispossession, Hall (2013) argues that diamond mining represents the continued enclosure, dispossession, and privatization of Indigenous lands and peoples, as a means of preserving capitalist production.

2.4 Mining in Kugluktuk

There are currently a large number of prospecting and development projects in the Kitikmeot region (Figure 5), but Kugluktuk has seen the comings and goings of mines for many generations. As early as the 1760s the Hudson Bay company expressed interest in the copper rumored to be located near what is today Kugluktuk (Cameron 2015). In the early 1950s mineral exploration began in the area through increases in geologic prospecting and aircraft technology (Cranstone 2002). In the 1970s oil and gas was discovered in the Beaufort Sea, as were oil and gas deposits in several regions of what is today part of Nunavut (Cranstone 2002). In 1982 MMG Incorporated opened the underground Lupin gold mine which operated, with periodic pauses in production, until 2005 (Lupin Mines Inc. 2011). In the 1990s diamond deposits were discovered in the Lac de Gras region, located on the eastern boundary of the Northwest Territories, some four hundred and fifty kilometers south of Kugluktuk. Canada's first Diamond mine, Ekati, began production in that region in 1998 (Dominion Diamond 2013). Following Ekati, the Rio Tinto Diavik diamond mine was opened in 2003, and in 2008 DeBeers opened its Snap Lake Diamond mine (Schlosser 2013). Although these diamond mines are situated in the Northwest Territories, Kugluktukmiut are connected to the Lac de Gras developments through employment and its water catchment area. The Ekati and Diavik mines are connected via Lac de Gras to the Coppermine River, which empties into the Coronation Gulf, where Kugluktuk is located (Schlosser 2013). In 2015, of the 1,134 employees at the Diavik mine, 18%, or two hundred and thirteen, were northern Indigenous employees.

Figure 5: Map of Mining Exploration and Development Projects in the Kitikmeot Region



(Canada-Nunavut GeoScience Office 2015a)

Of those employees five were from the Kitikmeot region (RioTinto 2015). Data were not found for Kitikmeot employment rates at the Ekati mine, however, in 2012 54% of the mine's workers were northern and Indigenous (Dominion Diamond 2012).

Seven mines nearby Kugluktuk (Back River, High Lake, Izok, Hope Bay Gold Project, Jericho and Lupin) are in advanced stages of exploration. Pending funding and regulatory processes many of these mines could be operational within the next five to ten years (Canada-Nunavut Geoscience Office 2015b). Kugluktuk faces challenges that in many ways are representative of those faced by numerous Nunavut communities. With high rates of unemployment and few other economic opportunities presented as viable options, the community is grappling with how to make the most of the mining boom that is said to come. Given the high volume of mining interest in the area, Kugluktuk signed on to the CRI in 2012 (CanNor, 2015 a).

The rise and fall of mines in Nunavut and the Northwest territories is occurring amidst international market cycles. The benefits of such mining megaprojects have been slow to accrue in Indigenous communities, and as has been highlighted, can bring adverse impacts. As Robert M. Bone (2009 p124) notes, "Hinterland economies have a narrow economic base, making them extremely vulnerable to sharp economic fluctuations." With few other industries to balance the impacts of market swings, northern communities are often acutely impacted by mine closures. Facing a limited local work force workers continue to be flown in from the South (Gibson and Klinck 2005). The benefits of mine employment are further limited by their short-term nature, and many northern workers are limited to lower-skilled positions (Bone 2009; Keeling and Sandlos 2009). As has been demonstrated through the Meadowbank and Nanisivik mines, when

mines are operational they have also contributed to increases in local social issues such as alcohol use, domestic violence, and income inequality (Bone 2009; Brubacher and Associates 2002; Pauktuutit 2014). Furthermore, lack of financial literacy can contribute to higher levels of socio-economic inequality in communities. When a rapid influx of funds is paired with issues such as alcohol abuse, families may see little benefit from increased wages (Gibson and Klinck 2005). Added to this are, of course, the ongoing environmental impacts of landscape change, and contamination upon mine closure (Sandlos and Keeling 2016).

2.5 The Rise of Consultation and the Role of IIBAs

To address the many negative ramifications of mining there has been increased pressure internationally to engage in more meaningful consultation processes with Indigenous communities. There have also been increasing appeals, and in some cases legislation, for implicated communities to sign Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) with industry. These binding agreements are made to address the social and environmental impacts of mines to local communities, and to ensure that they better benefit from mining company activities (Sosa and Keenan 2001).

The place of consultations in mining environmental regulatory processes arose in response to public pressure, legislative changes, and modifications to business reporting practices. Following substantial mobilization among rural and Indigenous communities fighting the negative socio-environmental impacts of mining worldwide, these concerns were brought forward on an international scale and led in many cases to stricter environmental legislation (Kapelus 2002). Blockades, Indigenous mobilization,

international protest, and increasing economic pressure from shareholders forced mining companies to address community concerns. The mining industry responded through reporting schemes such as the Global Mining Initiative and the International Council for Mining and Minerals. These initiatives comprised self-imposed agreements for disclosure, community consultations, and other measures of Corporate Social Responsibility (Bebbington et al. 2008). Such initiatives presented an opportunity for industry to assert its ‘social license’ to operate and to reduce the risk of future public backlash (Jenkins and Obara 2006; Prno and Slocombe 2012). Community consultation processes have been described by industry as a way to better ‘integrate’ into communities and thus to negotiate agreements that are more favorable to industry while drawing on the legitimacy of ‘support’ from community members (Fombrun et al. 2000). Thus, cooperative community consultations become a tool for industry to naturalize their neoliberal ideologies and enhance the stability of their proposed projects, while also bolstering support from their shareholders (Fombrun et al. 2000).

However, consultations require large monetary and time investments from industry with risk of little return. Consulting with a community can take months, if not years, depending on the level of cooperation, knowledge, and desire of the community to develop projects. The substantial initial investments into community consultation are therefore seen as a necessary commitment to mitigate potential future pushback, or social disturbances (such as community protests, blockades, etc.) that may stall mine development and threaten the long-term viability of a project (Cragg et al. 1995).

In Nunavut the provisions of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) dictate that all proposed major projects have a legal obligation to undergo consultations

within their Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), and that “no major project development may commence until an [Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement] IIBA is finalized” (Canada 1993, A. 26). Companies are thus legally obligated to negotiate IIBAs with the implicated Regional Inuit Organization, although IIBAs may also be negotiated with municipal governments (Canada 1993).

IBAs arose as an industry practice in the 1980s and 1990s and constitute a confidential agreement made between mining companies and implicated Indigenous communities (Knotsch and Warda 2009). These agreements typically include provisions for local employment, educational and/or training programs, and contributions to local organizations (Sosa and Keenan 2001). Ultimately IBAs aim to offset negative social repercussions and to ensure local economic benefit from mine production, can work to ensure a company’s social license to operate, and are seen as an important means to ensure the crown has met its duty to consult with Indigenous nations (Cameron and Levitan 2014; Fidler and Hitch 2007). However, IBAs have been criticized on a number of fronts. As Fidler and Hitch (2007 p58) argue, IBAs have created difficulties due to their confidential nature which may, “prevent aboriginal groups from sharing and learning from IBA experiences and thus advance corporate bargaining power.” Caine and Krogman (2010 p86) note that IBAs also often include “noncompliance provisions” which prohibit actions that might delay developments and therefore limit democratic processes and the ability to raise objections to industry actions. Moreover, they argue that there has been little success in securing adequate and legally binding agreements for the monitoring of IBA implementation. Keeping (1998) argues that Indigenous communities are often small and lack the capacity to negotiate and enforce such complex agreements

without government support. As Cameron and Levitan note (2014 p26), “No public policy framework guides their negotiation, terms of reference, or implementation.”

Cameron and Levitan (2014) further argue that IBAs have contributed to the neoliberal privatization of the Crown’s duty to consult with Indigenous populations, through the offloading of consultation responsibilities to industry.

2.6 The CRI: making the most of the mines to come

In light of critiques of the negative socio-economic and environmental impacts mines have historically incurred in the Canadian Arctic, the CRI has been positioned as a way for communities to best take advantage of the anticipated boom in mining and to better negotiate IIBAs. Facing pressure to address how mines can contribute to the betterment of northern Indigenous communities, CanNor has thus put forward the CRI program as a new model for consultation, and as a way to best ‘ready’ communities for mining expansions. The program, although very small and very recent, finds itself at the nexus of a shift in government rhetoric towards northern community development. My thesis explores these themes, examining how the CRI is situated within a rise in neoliberalism, as well as the governmental and biopolitical consequences this may have for Inuit.

Chapter 3

Working in and on the CRI - Research Methods

3.1 Research Context

My engagement with the CRI began through my work as a Research Assistant on the Kugluktuk CRI team. Recognizing the potential benefits and challenges of the anticipated ramp up in nearby mining production, Kugluktuk joined the CRI pilot project in 2012. After a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between CanNor and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, the project was taken to the Kugluktuk Hamlet Council where an Advisory Committee was formed, comprising Hamlet councilors and local community members. The Hamlet then hired Carleton and McMaster Universities in 2014 to conduct the CRI under the guidance of Dr. Emilie Cameron and Dr. Chelsea Gabel. Cameron has worked in Kugluktuk for over a decade, completing research on resource extraction and Inuit/non-Inuit relations. Gabel, of McMaster University, has extensive experience in community-based participatory planning around Indigenous health and well-being. The Hamlet also hired Ms. April Pigalak as the Community Readiness Coordinator to facilitate the consultation process. Pigalak is a Kugluktuk community member and a highly skilled coordinator. In May of 2014 I was added to the Kugluktuk CRI team as a Research Assistant in support of the consultation and report writing process.

As a Research Assistant I participated in three trips to Kugluktuk, beginning in the spring of 2014. In April of that year I traveled to Kugluktuk with Cameron and Gabel, to begin the community consultations guided by Pigalak. On that week-long trip, I assisted in numerous focus groups including those with students, mine workers, women, and elders in the community to gain a better understanding of their current needs and

hopes with respect to resource development. I interviewed and took detailed notes in meetings with key community members, mining industry professionals, and government workers selected by Pigalak. Following that trip I assisted in the transcription and documentation of the concerns and ideas shared through those meetings, as well as in the modification of the CanNor CRI Community Skills Survey template to initiate a further exploration of those concerns among the broader Kugluktuk population.

I returned to Kugluktuk again in August 2014 as a Research Assistant and spent roughly a month in Kugluktuk to implement the modified CRI Community Skills Survey. I completed additional individual interviews with key community members that were identified by Pigalak in her position as the Kugluktuk Community Readiness Coordinator. I also participated in a training workshop by Dr. Bernice Downey and Dr. Janet Tamalik McGrath, two independent researchers that were subcontracted to run a two-day workshop that enabled community members to learn about Indigenous and social research methods used by universities and consultants. The workshop also allowed community members to learn how to use those methods themselves. Importantly, during this trip to Kugluktuk I assisted over 100 community members complete the Kugluktuk Community Skills Survey. The 21-page Community Skills Survey included questions ranging from education level and work experience, to concerns regarding increases in mining activity, to participation in harvesting and community-based activities. Working with 5 community members, our survey team interviewed over 400 Kugluktukmiut. It was through this survey that I was welcomed into the homes of community members, and, over cups of tea, heard their hopes and concerns regarding the future of their

community. Upon return to Ottawa I assisted in the transcription of interviews and in drafting portions of the Kugluktuk CRI report and recommendations table.

My final trip to Kugluktuk occurred in May, 2015, when Cameron, Gabel, Pigalak, and I presented the CRI report and recommendations table for verification to the Kugluktuk CRI Advisory Committee, to community members, and to industry partners. During this trip the CRI recommendations table was edited based on the feedback received in those verification sessions. This concluded my formal involvement with the Kugluktuk CRI as a Research Assistant. The final Kugluktuk CRI report was completed and turned over to CanNor and the Kugluktuk Hamlet in August, 2015.

My participation in the CRI consultations, and the greater CRI process, has both informed and structured my approach to my thesis. After concluding my work as a research assistant with the Kugluktuk CRI in May of 2015, I began my own primary research into the origins, objectives, and framing of the CRI project.

3.2 Research Methods

My research is grounded in participant observations made through my personal experiences and work on the Kugluktuk CRI. Participant observation is the method by which the researcher takes part in the activities and interactions of a group or institution as a means to learn the implicit and tacit aspects of that culture (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). This approach is well suited for my research as participant observation is “especially appropriate for exploratory studies, descriptive studies, and studies aimed at generating theoretical interpretations” (Jorgensen 1989 p13). My participation in the CRI has allowed me a greater understanding of the institutional norms and practices of

northern policy development, of the inner workings of CanNor and the Northern Projects Management Office (NPMO), and linked me to many important actors engaged in the creation of Nunavut development policies. My thesis work wrestles with questions that arose out of the observations and inquiries I made while working in Kugluktuk, through my participation in CRI organizational meetings with CanNor, NPMO, and industry actors, and through the many conversations I have had with community members in Kugluktuk.

Working from the contacts I established through my time as a Research Assistant on the project, I travelled to Yellowknife, NWT for roughly 3 weeks in June 2015 to conduct semi-structured interviews with members of CanNor, the mining industry, and members of related sectors who participated in the creation and implementation of the CRI. Using snowball sampling, those interviewees also linked me to other important actors whose participation in the CRI project was not publicly advertised. As suggested by Biernacki and Waldorf (1981), participant recruitment through referral from existing research participants is particularly effective when insider knowledge is required to identify research informants. Interviews were also conducted in Ottawa with members of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC - then Indian Affairs and Northern Development), and via phone with members of the Government of Nunavut, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and the Hamlet of Kugluktuk. Semi-structured interviews were used to ensure I was able to ask research participants the appropriate questions, but maintain a degree of flexibility such that the interviewee was able to introduce new points of inquiry and discussion (Dunn 2006).

In total 16 interviews were completed. A number of the interviewees were contacted via phone or email after interviews were complete to verify information, or to respond to follow-up questions and expand on comments made in initial interviews. Interviewees were asked questions depending on their specific affiliations, but were asked to detail their knowledge of the project's development, its particular goals, challenges that were faced in implementation and the anticipated impact of the project (see Appendix A for the Interview Question Guide).

All research participants were interviewed in their professional capacity, with consent granted through signature of a Carleton Ethics consent form (see Appendix B for interview consent forms). Ethics clearance to perform this work was obtained through Carleton University, and with research approval of the Aurora Research Institute in the Northwest Territories (RL # 15869) and the Nunavut Research Institute (RL # 04 017 15N-A). Research participants were given the option to have their identity kept confidential. Given the small size of many of these organizations, and the small number of people interviewed for my thesis research, all participants will be referred to by general titles (i.e. CanNor employee, industry worker, etc.) in order to maintain the relative confidentiality of those who participated in interviews.

To further support my research, and better understand the historical development of the CRI project, government and public documents were reviewed. Namely, in order to identify how the CRI was formulated, and how the CRI relates to the objectives of INAC and CanNor, I referred to the websites of CanNor and INAC regarding the development of the CRI, as well as to publicly available publications of both INAC and CanNor. I also carefully examined the CRI templates that CanNor provided to consultants implementing

the project that detail the parameters of analysis and suggested reporting framework for the CRI. These templates include the CRI Community Skills Survey (Appendix C) and the CRI Community Readiness Map report template (Appendix D), and are used with permission from CanNor.

Finally, my analysis also draws on the reports from the three communities that had at that time completed their CRI reports: Kugluktuk, Tulita and the Yellowknives Dene First Nation. All documents reviewed were accessed through public sites or obtained with permission for use from CanNor.

3.3 On being a consultant/academic and the limitations of my research approach

The separation of my work as a Research Assistant on the Kugluktuk CRI and my critical analysis of the CRI program for my thesis work has at times been a complicated task. The lines of inquiry I have pursued were deeply informed by my experiences as a Research Assistant on the project. Indeed, my participation with the Kugluktuk CRI consultation team was my primary means of establishing relationships with members of CanNor. This was key in gaining access to those central to the CRI's creation and in securing their consent to interviews. I did however have to be mindful of my position as a contracted Research Assistant working on the project. The majority of my interviews were conducted in Yellowknife in June of 2015. This was just prior to the release of the Kugluktuk CRI final report. However, my thesis work was distinguished from my work as a CRI researcher as my questions were directed not towards those community members I had been working with on the CRI project, but instead were posed to those key in the creation and execution of the project itself. Furthermore, in all of my

interviews I began with a brief contextualization of my own involvement in the Kugluktuk CRI and an outline of the research objectives for my thesis research.

My work as a consultant on the Kugluktuk CRI has provided me with a unique position. I have been party to the discussions of CanNor, the meetings they have held with other consultants, industry and community partners, present for community and Hamlet Council response to the CRI consultation, and privy to the tensions between the community and the federal government due to their differing motivations to participate in the program. Although I have been a witness to the inner workings of CanNor, I am separate enough from the organization as contract worker, and as an academic, to maintain a critical perspective. I am therefore well positioned to study the construction of this program.

However, as a white settler and as someone who had never traveled north of 60° prior to my engagement in this project, I remain conscious of the deficiencies in my knowledge of, and ability to convey, the issues experienced by Inuit communities and the complex political structures of the North. One of the greatest absences in my project is the direct inclusion of community response to the implementation of the project. Under the research agreement between the Kugluktuk Hamlet Council and my supervisor Dr. Emilie Cameron, I have cited in my analysis comments from the Kugluktuk CRI focus groups, as well as direct quotes from community members that are included in the publicly available Kugluktuk CRI final report (Kugluktuk CRI 2015). Although I did participate in and conduct several interviews while working on the Kugluktuk CRI, my questions did not pertain to community response to participation in the CRI process, nor was I able to return to the community to ask those questions. Instead, I cite community

voices in the Kugluktuk CRI Final report, as those comments are both publicly available and have been verified by the Kugluktuk CRI Advisory Committee. My analysis also includes some general observations made from the community meetings I was party to. Due to time and resource restrictions, I was however unable to ask community members to reflect on the CRI process and the future implementation of the project more directly. Importantly, I was also unable to consult with the six other participating communities and their CRI consultant teams. My thesis relies on the Kugluktuk CRI, and my experiences there, as the primary case study in my analysis. Although I was able to glean some information about the differing methods employed in other communities via the final reports from Tulita and the Yellowknives Dene First Nation, a more thorough analysis would include the voices of all seven participating communities and their CRI consulting teams.

3.4 Governmentality

To do this work my theoretical framework draws on a Foucauldian governmentality approach and traces the development of the CRI to explore the power/knowledge complexes at play in federal northern development interventions. Governmentality is the term Foucault uses to explore how power is exerted through governance, examining who is able to govern, who is governable, and the institutions and apparatuses that are used to do so (Foucault 1978). In a lecture at the Collège de France in February of 1978 Foucault outlined important principles and historical processes in the development of governmentality. Foucault highlights the assemblages of institutions, procedures, analyses, calculations, and tactics that allow for the exertion of complex

forms of power. For Foucault, governmentality emerges at the nexus of his concern for the state and technologies of domination, and the formulation of the individual subject (Lemke 2002). Foucault (1978 p88) suggests that governmentality thus acts as the “conduct of conduct” and as a means to understand both the structuring of society and the behavior of its constituents.

This is not to say that governmentality is singularly contained or controlled by the state. Rather, he argues that governmentality is not internal to the state, but a means of introducing the economy, “the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family,” into political practice (Foucault 1978 p92). As Jessop (2007 p7) writes, “Foucault regards the state as a relational ensemble and treats governmentality as a set of practices and strategies, governmental projects and modes of calculation, that operate on the something called the state.”

Thomas Lemke (2002 p50) suggests, “governmentality mediates between power and subjectivity and makes it possible to investigate how processes of domination are linked to ‘technologies of the self’ and how forms of political government are articulated with practices of self-government.” As such, Foucault’s work on governmentality is closely tied to his earlier work regarding power-knowledge complexes.

As governmentality concerns itself with how power is created, exerted, and legitimized through particular apparatuses, it serves as a useful tool in understanding how different actors in the North legitimize certain notions of development. A governmentality approach has allowed me to examine how (and by whom) authoritative positions have been established, how the definitions and boundaries of northern development have been created, and provided a more precise understanding of the types

of governance that the CRI seeks to engender. In this light, the CRI serves as a window into the governmental apparatuses at play in the structuring of power relationships and of knowledge frameworks within a neoliberal extractive resource focused economy.

The tracing of northern state development interventions through Foucault's concept of governmentality is also pertinent to the study of the power dynamics occurring within neoliberal state approaches in the North. As Lemke (2002 p62) suggests,

[T]he theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality consists of the fact that it construes neoliberalism not just as ideological rhetoric, as a political-economic reality or as a practical anti-humanism, but above all as a political project that endeavors to create a social reality that it suggests already exists.

A governmentality approach to neoliberalism therefore allows for a questioning of how development programs govern the 'conduct of conduct' such that neoliberal ideals, that center the value of capitalist wage employment, are normalized.

3.5 Neoliberalism, Biopolitics and the Structuring of Development

The rise in neoliberalism has had important impacts to the restructuring of northern economies, political relationships, and discourses of development. Neoliberalist policies have enabled the promotion of public-private partnerships in Indigenous communities alongside programs of austerity and privatization. Neoliberalism is defined by David Harvey (2007 p2) as, "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." With a belief that the free market will best guide economic practices, industry is promoted and the role of government said to be diminished as much as possible.

As Elizabeth Povinelli (2011 p21) writes, Foucault made important contributions to our understanding of neoliberalism and its impact on the organization of populations:

Of decisive import for Foucault was the non-correspondence between laissez-faire liberalism and neoliberalism. Neoliberals did not merely wish to free the economy from the Keynesian regulatory state; they wished to free the truth games of capitalism from the market itself—the market should be the general measure of all social activities and values.

Neoliberalism thus contributes to a unique form of governmentality – an assemblage of policies, practices and political philosophies governing the actions and moral codes of populations oriented towards capitalist production as the primary measure of social value. Povinelli (2011) adds important contributions to this line of thinking, pointing out that neoliberalism has contributed to the reorganization of the transition from sovereign power to a biopolitical power, as proposed by Foucault.

Foucault (2003) introduced the concept of biopolitics in his Collège de France lecture series, arguing that there has been a transition in governance from sovereign power to biopower. He argues that a sovereign power is a much more brute force that governs through the disciplining of individual bodies, that works to “let live and make die” (2003 p239). Biopower, on the other hand, regulates “man-as-species” and seeks to “make live and let die” through the management of population via regulation at a demographic level (2003 p239). Biopower thus targets the dominant faction of the population in this process. Those who are not targeted are often positioned as a threat to the existence of those who are. For Foucault this forms the racism that is present in contemporary colonial processes.

Povinelli suggests that neoliberal governmentality relies on the reinjection of ‘making die’ into the biopolitical paradigm. Importantly, Povinelli (2011 p22) states that:

Any form of life that could not produce values according to market logic would not merely be allowed to die, but, in situations in which the security of the market (and since the market was now the *raison d'être* of the state, the state) seemed at stake, ferreted out and strangled.

Neoliberalism has pushed for a reorganization of the moral and political parameters of economic interactions such that market relations have become the central focus of state relations. The importance of capitalist market functions to the state has thus been entrenched to the extent that any programs that do not bolster the security of capital are positioned as a threat to the stability of the state.

3.6 Neoliberalism and Development in Indigenous Communities

The rise in neoliberalism has had particular impact on Indigenous populations and their engagement with the wage economy. For some, such as Gabriel Slowey (2008), Indigenous engagement with neoliberal public-private partnerships allows for economic independence and political freedom from Crown control. In Slowey's case study of the Mikisew Cree in Northern Alberta, she argues that the private partnerships pursued by the Mikisew with the oil sands industry allowed for economic self-reliance and jurisdictional autonomy from the federal government, and ultimately a market driven self-determination.

Conversely, others suggest that neoliberalism has restructured notions of citizenship for Indigenous peoples. Altamirano-Jiménez (2004) posits that neoliberalism encourages, even forces, Indigenous peoples into an engagement with the market economy where profits prevail over assertions of self-determination rooted in land-based epistemologies. As she states (2004 p354), "Indigenous peoples are encouraged to throw away the yoke of internal colonialism by becoming successful entrepreneurs in the global

economy.” Altamirano-Jiménez contends that such an engagement in neoliberalism separates notions of citizenship and Indigenous culture from territory, reducing their status to a liberal multi-cultural paradigm limited to nominal forms of recognition. Although public-private partnerships may provide financial freedom from the federal government, Taylor and Friedel (2011) suggest that under such schemes Indigenous communities are instead made dependent on industry and their fragmented, project-based, funding programs. Therefore, while the Canadian government no longer presents explicitly assimilationist policies, the underlying goals of capital accumulation through extractive industry projects remain intact: “despite a shift in discourse from assimilation to self-government for Aboriginal peoples in Canada, the state continues to play an important role in establishing the terms of their participation as citizens” (Taylor and Friedel 2011 p819). While neoliberalism may have enabled a shift in language from assimilation to one of partnership, Indigenous communities remain embedded in colonial relations.

Moreover, Kuokkanen (2011a) challenges the assumptions of neoliberal enabled self-determination, highlighting that while private partnerships may decrease Indigenous dependence on the federal government, it increases Indigenous dependence on extractive industries (who are exploiting resources on Indigenous territories). Kuokkanen (2011a) points out the irony of seeking self-determination through increased integration into the economic structures that first facilitated Indigenous dispossession from land and that undermine land-based economies. Kuokkanen (2011b p223) also argues that neoliberalism has promoted a “war against subsistence” as a means of binding Inuit to linear discourses of development predicated on the necessity of engagement with the

wage economy. Kuokkanen (2011b p230) suggests that subsistence is thus positioned as a threat to capitalism as it acts instead as a “sign of independence, self-sufficiency, and self-reliance.” Consistent with Povinelli’s (2011) argument, Kuokkanen (2011b) argues that those forms of economy that do not bolster capitalist relations are viewed in a neoliberal paradigm as a threat to the security of the economy, and therefore to the stability of the state. Here we see the important ways in which neoliberalism, and partnerships with extractive industries, contribute to a reformulation of the discourses of development in the North, and the pressures in navigating between subsistence land-based ontologies and neoliberal engagement with the wage economy.

As suggested by Peck (2004 p397), neoliberalism is not itself a uniform hegemonic force. It is instead, “a range of institutionally mediated local, national and glocal ‘neoliberalizations’.” The ways in which neoliberalism exerts itself must be examined in its localities, in this case the particular ways in which neoliberalism navigates the political frameworks of Nunavut. Neoliberalist policies neither begin nor end with the CRI, but a contextualized tracing of where the CRI has arisen from, and the goals which the government (and other actors) seek to accomplish through this project are revealing of the ways in which development paradigms are created, legitimized, and the networks of power which are created/reinforced in doing so.

3.7 On research limitations and studying the state

By turning my attention to the federal government this thesis examines the role of state intervention in community development and its role in the entrenchment of neoliberal development rhetoric and policy in Nunavut. My time in Kugluktuk has made very

clear to me the importance development projects have to the everyday lives of Nunavummiut. While I carry with me a great affection for this community, I have focused my research on government institutions rather than the specific responses of community members for a number of reasons. In part, my focus on CanNor and federal agencies is rooted in my desire to pursue what Harding (2001 p517) refers to as “studying up”: to focus the gaze of research on dominant institutions, their cultures, and practices. The negative impacts of research ‘on’ rather than ‘with’ Indigenous peoples, and the research fatigue experienced by Indigenous communities, has been well documented (Smith 1999; Castleden et al. 2012a; Castleden et al. 2012b; Castellano 2004; Schnarch 2004). As such, researchers such as Evans et al. (2009) suggest turning our attention to the institutions that play a role in the structuring and normalization of oppression of Indigenous lives.

On a more practical level, the Kugluktuk CRI is in also its initial stages. Although a wide variety of Kugluktuk community members have participated in the CRI study through their participation in the Community Skills Survey, interviews, and focus groups, it is difficult at this point in time to adequately assess the how the CRI policy decisions might directly impact community members. Implementation is in its early days for Kugluktuk, and CRI consultations have not yet finished in many of the other participating communities. It is therefore difficult to comment concretely on the impacts of this program to community members. In this light, I have centered my thesis research on the particular construction of the CRI and the tensions between the stated goals of the program and the structural limitations it faces in its future implementation.

Chapter 4

“Money is a Coward” - Mapping certainty and silences in the CRI

The CRI is at its core a consultation process – communities are asked to reflect on the challenges and opportunities that increased extractive industry production might bring. To guide these consultations communities have been given templates for a Community Skills Survey, as well as a second template to summarize their findings and recommendations through what CanNor refers to as the “Community Readiness Maps”. The CRI Maps are not geographic maps of the physical landscape, but act as a summary report of CanNor’s findings and delineate the necessary support services for communities to benefit from resource development. The CRI ‘maps’ are not a visual representation of those results and recommendations. They can be better understood as a kind of directional guide (or for lack of a comparable metaphor, a road map) of the social, economic, and political needs of the participating communities in relation to the anticipated boom in nearby resource development.

Although the CRI is not a map in a traditional sense, the determination of what is included or ‘mapped’ in the CRI templates is revealing in ways akin to the construction of cartographic maps. As such, in this chapter I draw on the insights brought forward through the works of critical cartography to highlight many important concerns regarding the construction and application of the CRI, with a particular focus on what is at stake in the presentation of this project as a participatory ‘mapping’ process.

In this chapter I summarize some of the key arguments brought forward in critical cartography, outlining the evolution of critical approaches to cartography over the years. I highlight several key lines of inquiry presented by cartographic scholars and then apply those lines of query to CanNor’s particular construction of the CRI. Like cartographic

maps, the CRI acts to bring into focus particular elements, highlighting their importance to the map's reader. In this case, at first glance the CRI seeks to emphasize the development and support service needs of communities, and the economic opportunities resource development may bring forward for those communities. However, as the critical cartography literature suggests, there is so much more to a map than first meets the eye. By bringing the critiques of critical cartography to bear on the CRI I examine the ways in which the CRI delineates not only the services and programming CanNor views as important for development, but how the CRI maps act to shape what is considered important to development itself.

I therefore argue that the construction of the CRI templates requires communities to chart their development concerns in ways that make particular sets of knowledge available to the state and to industry. More concretely, the information made available through the CRI focusses on naturalizing community development concerns that reify the power and capitalist social relations of the state. Important to this is a discussion of what is left behind in the CRI mapping process. An examination of the divergent approach of the Kugluktuk CRI project will highlight the limiting nature of the CRI categories presented by CanNor and demonstrate how a broadening of those categories, through approaches rooted in Inuit epistemologies, allow for a more complex and thorough understanding of what is needed for Inuit well-being.

4.1 The Questions of Critical Cartography

Maps, and the processes of mapping are well studied within Geography. They have long played an iconic role as an 'accurate' and 'objective' tool of geographic

representation. Importantly, the works of John Harley and David Woodward brought forth a critical examination of the positivist and authoritative claims of maps, and the political and material implications of their social construction (Crampton 2004). Drawing on post-structuralist theorist Michel Foucault, Harley and Woodward began their extensive project, *A History of Cartography*, in 1981. The project, which has continued despite Harley's passing, aims to explore the unexamined historical and cultural origins of maps, as a means to highlight the power/knowledge complexes that underlie their creation and use (Crampton 2004).

Harley's work fundamentally altered cartographic studies when he posited that maps are representations of the ideologies and political goals of their creators. Challenging the positivist claims that maps acted merely to represent observed landscapes, Harley argued that maps are political tools used to delineate imaginary borders, as implements in the nationalist imaginary, and as means of militaristic surveillance (Harley and Laxton 2001). Maps act to visually represent geographic boundaries, and in doing so they create not only new territories but serve to reinforce existing power structures (Harley 1988). The 1980s thus saw a new era of cartographic study which focused on delineating and deconstructing the ways in which maps are imbued with the powers and political goals of their creators, which often aimed to enable conquest and the reification of colonial power (Huggan 1987; Stone 1988). Furthermore, maps were examined for their ability to emphasize certain forms of knowledge through imagery and iconography, and for the consequence of the silences they create (Wood and Fels 1999; Harley 1988; Crampton 2009).

The ideas of Harley have been taken up by many other critical cartographers, examining various aspects associated with the power of maps. Importantly, in his book *A History of Spaces* John Pickles argues that maps are themselves active. Pickles' work relies heavily on Foucault's ideas around governmentality and power/knowledge complexes, suggesting that the cartographic gaze has not only categorized subjects but has served to produce new identities (Pickles 2004). As Crampton and Krygier (2005 p15, emphasis in original) articulate this idea, maps "make reality as much as they represent it." Pickles (2004) thus suggests that maps must be studied in their historical context, and that the assumptions and unattended intentions of the map's creator need to be carefully examined. Exploring these principles through the visual power of maps, Denis Cosgrove (2008) argues that the icons and images of cartography were used not only as visual representations of territorial imperialism, but as tools in the making of nationalist imaginaries of the dominant culture. Jeremy Crampton (2009) furthers an analysis of the performative capabilities of mapping arguing that while acting as planes of representation, maps also enable the creation of the various subject identities they seek to delineate. As Pickles suggests, maps are active as a discourse and as a governmental tool that produce subjects, actors, and places. Maps act to delineate, to emphasize, but also to create new subjectivities, identities, and practices.

Central to Harley's critique is that maps play a role in reifying existing power structures and as tools of conquest. Harley (1988) argued that maps have been used as a means to justify and legitimize the control of territories from afar, with little regard to Indigenous inhabitants. Indeed, the role of maps in laying claim to territories has been documented by geographers like Turnbull (1996) and Biggs (1999) in their study of

maps' role in the establishment of territorial sovereignty, Ó'Tuathail and Toal (1996) in their study of England's claim over Ireland in the 16th century, and in Stone's (1988) study of the role of mapping in the partitioning of British India and in the scramble for Africa.

Building on the work of critical cartography, Geography scholars have gone on to study the ways in which the productive power of maps can be used as a positive force for social change. In challenging the colonial use of maps, communities and Indigenous groups began reclaiming cartography through the creation of their own maps. Counter-mapping processes seek to act in contradistinction to the maps created by colonizers or dominant social groups. Counter-mapping has been used to re-situate control over the focus and production of maps into the hands of communities, and has been used in political campaigns amongst Indigenous populations to regain access to resources or territory (Wainwright and Bryan 2009). The role counter-mapping can play in undoing the injustices of colonial mapping practices have been noted by scholars such as Nietschmann (1995), Brody (1981), Harris and Hazen (2005), and Chapin et al. (2005). Similarly, community and Indigenous mapping techniques have been developed to place the power of representation into the hands of the map's subjects, allowing them to become map creators and have played an important role in legal battles over land rights. For example, in the ILUOP traditional Inuit lands, land-uses, and long term occupancy were mapped through an extensive participatory community consultation process (Freeman 1976). The project was used as the foundation for the negotiation of the Nunavut land claim, and ultimately played an important role in defining the boundaries of the Territory of Nunavut (Freeman 1976; Rundstrom 2009).

The transformative power of community maps has, however, been challenged by scholars such as Bryan (2011) and Parker (2006). Among their critiques are the problematic nature of translating Indigenous knowledge into technical formats recognized by the Western academy, the cooptation of such mapping techniques for neoliberal projects of privatization of Indigenous lands, and the internal divisions such processes can create within communities. These critiques have continued in parallel to the development of new technologies such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

Critical GIS studies have brought forward new cartographic critiques, paying particular attention to the ways in which GIS can be used in new forms of surveillance and to produce new forms of geographic identities (Bryan 2011). Others have detailed the ways in which the promotion of GIS as a community empowerment tool relies on normative assumptions regarding the utility of, and available access to, technology (Sieber 2006; Aitken 2002). Important contributions have also been made by scholars (Kwan 2002; Brown and Knopp 2006; Gilbert and Masucci 2006; Elwood 2008) exploring how the technology of GIS may be reconfigured to better aid queer and feminist geographic projects; “highlighting the gendered geometries of power that shape particular GIS applications and establish the bounds of GIS” (McLafferty 2002 p268). However, Schuurman (2000) argues that a common vocabulary is needed to bring GIS practitioners on board who operate within a more positivist framework. As Sarah Elwood (2006) writes, despite GIS’s attempts to respond to the post-modern critiques of Harley and his colleagues in the 1980s and 90s, many of the difficulties regarding the utility of GIS to enable greater equity in participation and in geographic representation persist today.

While important work has been done contemporarily in critical cartography, I will draw predominantly from the questions presented in seminal works produced in the 1980s in my examination of the CRI. Although the CRI is by no means equivalent to a traditional cartographic mapping process, the underlying questions proposed by critical cartographers like Harley and Pickles bring forward important lines of inquiry in the examination of the political desires and powers imbued within a contemporary social mapping project. Much has changed in map making and map interpretation since Harley's early work. Contemporary critical cartography has introduced many interesting case studies regarding newer forms of cartographic representation. However, these case studies rely on the questions regarding power/knowledge, knowledge production, and the powers of representation, that are most strongly articulated in the seminal works of Harley and company. While there are openings to push the boundaries of cartographic thought through the contributions of queer, feminist, and decolonial scholars, "Harley's work has been a strong guidepost in establishing [the effects that maps have for users, societies, or socio-natures] as key concerns for ongoing work" (Harris 2015 p50).

In this vein, I return to Harley's initial inquiries (as articulated by Jeremy Crampton 2001 p201): "In what ways [does] mapping shape our knowledge of the landscape and of those who live on it? With what effect?" If we bring these questions to bear on the CRI maps we may then examine the formulation of CanNor's priorities in community development, the assumptions that are made in those formulations, and, perhaps of greater importance, contemplate the implications of what is left out of the CRI's social mapping process.

4.2 CRI Maps at First Glance

If we are to consider the CRI as a mapping process, we must first examine what parameters are being expressly recorded by CanNor. Each participating community, and/or the consultants hired by the community to conduct the CRI, received two templates suggesting the categories of inquiry and methodological approach for the consultation process. The first template is the ‘Community Skills Survey’ template (Appendix C). The second provides further categories of study and outlines the organization of results in the ‘Community Readiness Maps’ (Appendix D). Both templates have been taken up in different ways by the participating CRI communities and consultants, as the CRI is meant to be “community-led” (CanNor 2015a). Nevertheless, the construction of the CRI templates helps to shed light on the areas CanNor has established to be of greatest importance in community development, and in doing so are revealing of the political and cultural frameworks that underlie this project.

The ‘Community Skills Survey’ template (Appendix C) provided by CanNor asks numerous questions on the demographic composition of households, education levels, and traditional harvesting, among others, and is meant to inform the analysis of the Community Readiness Maps.

The template provided by CanNor was designed by an outside consulting firm with input from researchers at McGill University. Many communities have chosen to instead develop their own surveys, but were asked by CanNor to use the survey template as a guiding reference, and to keep their adjusted surveys within the guidelines of the CRI to ensure comparability across communities. While several of the participating CRI communities have chosen to revise the Community Skills Survey template, the categories

initially presented in that template are revealing of the intended parameters of investigation desired by CanNor.

The survey template (Appendix C) is divided into six major sections: basic demographic information; education; training; employment history; community business and mining; Inuit traditional lifestyle. With the exception of the first and final categories, the survey's questions are targeted at assessing the work-readiness of community members, and their willingness to participate in industry activities. The survey template focuses heavily on determining the training and skills community members currently possess that would enable participation in resource industry employment, as well as the willingness of community members to participate in future training opportunities. The survey template also includes a section on "Traditional Lifestyle," with questions pertaining to hunting, fishing, trapping, and arts and crafts. Within the Traditional Lifestyle section participants are asked questions relating to the frequency and reasons for hunting, trapping activities, and/or craft making; the reasons someone might not have been able to participate in these activities to the degree desired; the total harvest or production; and the degree of sharing of country foods. However, of the twenty-five questions in the template survey, ten ask questions relating to training, work, or willingness to work in mining related industries. Within these ten questions there are sub-questions relating to length of past employment, specific training received, and reasons for disengagement with employment, including familial responsibilities. Many questions provide an 'other' category allowing participants to indicate their own responses.

These labour questions are designed to facilitate the uptake of community members into the mining industry or secondary industries by creating a sort of informational database of how many community members are currently 'ready' for mine work. This is highlighted, for example, in template question 15.5: "From time to time, we may be asked to share information about locally-owned business which could provide contracted services to various contracting agencies. Do you give permission to the Government to share information about this business with contracting agencies?" (CanNor Community Skills Survey Template 2014 p9). This question points to CanNor's desire to create a database of companies and community members that can most readily benefit from increases in resource industry production. Question 16 is also illustrative of this goal: "Are you willing to train and work in the Mining Industry? Are you willing to work underground in Mining? And would you like to know more about a career in Mining?" (CanNor Community Skills Survey Template 2014 p10).

CanNor was not stringent in its use of the survey template among all participating communities. The Kugluktuk CRI team was able to modify the survey template to better reflect those categories of inquiry seen as most important by community members. Other participating CRI communities also developed their own surveys with the help of their consultant teams, and did so within the greater framework of the CRI (CanNor interview 2015d). The advantages, challenges and process of selecting template modifications are a topic to which I will return in greater detail.

The 'Community Community Skills Survey' template is meant to provide data to inform the the 'Community Readiness Map', which is the larger end product of the CRI. The 'CRI Map' template (Appendix D) is designed to show what services and programs a

community currently possesses, those areas that are in need of development, and to chart necessary points of intervention (CanNor CRI template 2014). The CRI maps are not visual in nature, but act as a report ‘mapping’ out a development assessment and plan for the participating community.

The templates and methodological approaches suggested to participating communities were designed by CanNor, and were based on other empirical studies and industry best practices around consultation. As one CanNor member stated;

The pilot initiative was designed to make it as easy as possible for partners to work together such that we wouldn’t spend our time filling out applications, or trying to get clarity around what the reports would or could look like. At the end of the day the need was basically to get everybody on the same page - here’s an opportunity from a resource development project. How will this potentially impact the community? Positively, negatively, or neutrally? Given that, who could have a role in managing those impacts thereafter, and how can we move and capitalize off this sector’s development for growth and development across other socio-economic spheres. That being said that type of approach is broad, and we basically drafted out an approach based on other evidence, and empirical studies across the world to try and find something that would fit our North. And keep in mind, throughout the whole process we’ve been very clear that it’s a pilot, and that we’re learning from it (CanNor interview 2015d).

The CRI Map template is therefore based on existing socio-economic assessments and designed to allow for consistency in reporting across participating communities.

The pilot nature of the CRI was reiterated by all of the CanNor members I spoke to. It was also emphasized that the templates were not meant to be prescriptive, but rather to facilitate reporting and engagement within the programming abilities of CanNor and its federal partners.

Within the templates participating community members were therefore asked to “validate” the specific categories presented to allow for regional variation (CRI template 2014 p9). As another CanNor employee explained, “I felt like if we could have a

structured approach, that then gave [the communities] some comfort in knowing what their role was in moving forward. They would then be more forthcoming in terms of the type of information that they provide” (CanNor interview 2015e). By providing communities with suggested categories of engagement, it was therefore assumed that templates would facilitate community participation, that results would be more comparable across regions, and that the resulting recommendations would be more easily taken up by industry and government partners in the implementation phase.

The CRI Community Readiness Map template developed by CanNor contains several components (Appendix D). First, the template examines the community’s valued socio-economic component (VSEC) baselines for factors such as quality of living, economic activity, and traditional skills. Second, the socio-economic context of the community is detailed, with sections requiring the examination of different economic drivers. Third, the CRI template requires the “Community Readiness Assessment” (CanNor CRI Template 2014 p14). This assessment is an analysis of the Political, Economic, Social, and Technologic (PEST) factors, as well as a consideration of the VSEC categories relative to the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) those factors may present. Fourth, is the CRI Implementation Plan, which is intended to summarize the previous findings and establish targets for the community’s desired development outcomes. In other words, the CRI charts ‘what is’ and also outlines a plan for moving forward.

The VSEC baselines highlight the status of various development factors at the onset of the CRI. The template selects 13 VSECs in areas such as demographics, health & well-being, food security, education & training, and traditional activities & skills (see

Appendix D for template and full list of Valued Socio-Economic Components). The thirteen categories developed by CanNor were selected,

... based on a scan of northern regulatory regimes and their socio-economic assessment parameters. As such, the map template then adopted these to ensure consistency between socio-economic assessment of major projects, related predictions, and of course, the CRI work and actions. (CanNor interview 2015d)

The VSEC model is frequently used in community consultations, and indeed is used in the Nunavut Impact Review Board's Environment Impact Assessments (NIRB 2006; NIRB 2005). The CanNor template suggests that each of the thirteen components be outlined in detail with information specific to the community. The thirteen selected categories are therefore meant to be "validated across all regions and communities to capture unique components" allowing for variation in the considered components (CanNor CRI Template 2014 p9). The degree to which these categories were validated by communities prior to the release of the template was unclear in interviews, as several communities have yet to complete the consultation.

The community's context and socio-economic drivers are examined in two discrete categories: first, development is considered "relative to major resource development," and second, relative to what is termed "general socio-economic development" (CanNor CRI Template 2014 p12). In considering the nature of major resource development communities are asked to detail the following:

- The perceptions of past, present, or future developments
- The projects that are currently underway
- The anticipated impacts
- Community concerns around those impacts
- The priorities and expected outcomes from those anticipated projects
- Community knowledge gaps (CanNor CRI Template 2014).

In my interviews CanNor and mining industry representatives repeatedly highlighted the limited understanding that community members possess of mining processes and the parameters of industry involvement in community development. Similarly, for both government and industry, knowledge of community perceptions of ongoing and proposed projects was considered to be of great interest and utility. The implications of mapping mining perceptions to the greater utility of the CRI is a topic to which I will return in greater detail.

The template outlines the same key areas for ‘general socio-economic development’. Neither the ‘major resource development’ or ‘general socio-economic development’ sections include other economic drivers such as harvesting activities or tourism, or a discussion of the role of the mixed economy.

The ‘Community Readiness Assessment’ builds on the preceding sections of the report to evaluate “the state of community readiness in relation to major resource development” (CanNor CRI Template 2014 p14). To do this consultants, and thus community members, are asked to consider the VSEC through PEST (Political, Economic, Social, and Technological) and SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analyses. The SWOT tool is a common strategic analysis approach used by consultants, government, and business to guide future decision making (Van Wijngaarden et al. 2010). The PEST analysis is meant to evaluate the impact of external PEST factors on the community “considering trends in the resource development sector and process” (CanNor CRI Template 2014 p14). As such, particular issues are meant to be identified for each of the four PEST factors and then for each factor the implications for past, present, and future are to be detailed (Table 3).

Table 3: PEST Evaluation Chart

FACTOR	ISSUE	COMMUNITY READINESS IMPLICATION FOR OUR COMMUNITY		
		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
POLITICAL				
ECONOMIC				
SOCIAL				
TECHNOLOGICAL				

(Recreation from CanNor CRI Template 2014 p14).

The SWOT analysis draws more concretely on the VSEC categories, asking consultants and community members to consider each of the VSEC components relative to strengths and weaknesses internal to the community, and external opportunities or threats that may be encountered. For many of the VSEC categories in the SWOT chart, CanNor presents a list of possible sub-points to help shape the parameters of what is considered within the community consultations. For example, within the broad category of economic activity, three sub-categories (i.e. business climate, financial capital, and access to markets) are proposed, with additional sub-components of analyses included for each (Table 4). All of the VSEC categories (Appendix D) are provided with potential subareas of analysis with the exception of Traditional Activities and Skills, Fate Control, Religion and Spirituality, and Land Use and Occupancy. These three categories are very community-specific, and could be developed to reflect specific concerns through the community validation process suggested by CanNor.

Table 4: VSEC Economic Activity Table – SWOT Analysis

FACTOR/VSEC	INTERNAL		EXTERNAL	
	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Economic activity i.e. Business Climate: Government responsiveness Taxes Regulations and controls Cooperation/assistance with private sector Financial capital: Private capital Public capital Seed venture capital Start-up capital Access to markets: Proximity to customers Proximity to suppliers				

(Recreation from CanNor CRI Template 2014 p16)

Culminating the CRI report template is the CRI Implementation plan. The implementation plan asks communities to identify specific development goals, targets for improvement, desired outcomes, and to establish implementation priority areas. The template includes a “Community Readiness Action Table” that identifies specific needs or gaps in the community, the services and personnel required to accomplish the desired outcomes, as well as a timescale for achieving those activities (Table 5). The implementation plan, and CRI template, concludes with a monitoring and evaluation template (Appendix D).

Table 5: Community Readiness Action Table

Need/Gap	Ultimate Outcome/ Impact	Inputs			Activities			Outputs	Outcomes
		Resources required	Potential Resources/Support	Lead/Responsibility	Description	Timescale	Lead/Responsibility		

(Recreation from CRI Map Template 2014 p24).

As stated by CanNor representatives, the CRI is meant to determine which community components (such as health, education, or economic areas) may face pressures as extractive resource production increases. The aim of the CRI is to determine where gaps in programming and policy exist that can be addressed by the various federal government partner agencies participating in the CRI through SPI. In this sense the CRI report is seen as an opportunity to delineate possible areas of intervention for federal government agencies, community partners, and industry actors via IIBAs (see section 2.5 for more on IBAs).

The CRI, however, maps much more than opportunities for state intervention. As John Pickles (1999 p43) suggests,

[M]apping is an interpretative act, not a purely technical one, in which the product – the map – conveys not merely the facts but also and always the author’s intention, and all the acknowledged and unacknowledged conditions and values any author (and his/her profession, time and culture) bring to a work.

A central principle put forth by critical cartographers is that maps are necessarily selective. It is a technically difficult task to encompass the complexity and detail of the mapped site, and it is thus argued that maps cannot act as mirror reflections, but are instead tools in the representation of points of particular importance to the map’s creators (Delano-Smith and Kain 2009). If we take the arguments of Pickles, and Delano-Smith and Kain seriously, the CRI must be examined for its role in establishing certain categories of meaning. This would entail scrutiny regarding what is brought into focus through the particular formulation of the templates, and furthermore, what those selected categories reveal of the underlying political ambitions and epistemological approach of CanNor. The silences that are created in discussions regarding the possibilities of development must also be examined.

4.3 Mapping Certainty

It is clear that both the Community Skills Survey and the CRI Map templates centralize a focus on wage labour and engagement with industry as the primary measure of community well-being. The majority of questions asked in the Community Skills Survey template focus on employment and willingness to engage in mine work. Similarly, the CRI Map template has a heavy focus on economic activity, and provides little space for the consideration of subsistence activity to be considered within that category. What then does this say about the CRI program and its political ambitions as a whole?

At first glance the underlying goals of the CRI seem a bit confused, even among CanNor's executive members. One CanNor employee stated that an additional objective of the CRI was to 'educate' communities about the benefits, as well as threats, that mining projects bring to communities. As shown above, question sixteen asks survey participants if they would be willing to work in the mining industry (CRI Community Skills Survey Template 2014). Under the Socio-Economic Context and Drivers section of the CRI Map template it asks that community perceptions be recorded regarding predicted impacts, issues and concerns, expectations and knowledge gaps surrounding major resource development (CanNor CRI Template 2014). This gives the opportunity for communities to delineate their stance relative to industry, while also detailing possible points of contention. There are however, no formal educational mechanisms contained within the reporting and methodological templates provided by CanNor.

The opportunity for the CRI to act as an educational process was, however, reiterated by another CanNor employee. This employee suggested that the CRI presents an opportunity for communities to educate themselves about mining process and the ways in which they might take advantage of an increase in mining activity: "A lot of people can't really conceive what a mine might be. What it might mean to them, how they might benefit. So, this kind of helps them to start thinking in that way too. But it will help better position them, and empower them to work closer with the companies" (CanNor interview 2015d). The CRI in this sense may allow the project to go beyond mapping what services exist in the community, to altering the community's relationship with private industry.

The educational project of the CRI thus has great potential to bring communities on side with industry. As one CanNor employee stated, "I think we need to be a bit more

explicit about what we're trying to do, which is really, ultimately, the plan is to help the community to be better prepared, so that they're better informed so that they will support development" (CanNor interview 2015e). Here, this CanNor employee is suggesting that if communities are better informed of the mining life cycle and opportunities that industry may bring, communities will more readily support projects. In this view greater support for projects would allow for a smoother Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process and ultimately greater investment security for industry.

The potential value of the CRI in readying communities for resource development was reiterated by an employee working in the mining industry:

The other measure of value is when a project comes along and there is an EIA process and people engage in that process a lot more easily because they've already done some thinking ahead of time about what's in the works, what will be coming down the pipe here, and what's our role going to be. So, if we're already prepped for that as opposed to slamming into the total unknown, when the sort of elephant enters the room and you go, 'what the hell is this?', it takes the edge off it. And I think that's what the community readiness is supposed to do. It's supposed to get people way before the EIA process comes along, to already be gearing up for opportunities, even if all they decide is they didn't want to have it. (Industry interview 2015b)

For industry, there is great value in preparing communities for consultation processes that accompany mine prospecting and development. Just as with CanNor, this industry employee suggests that if communities are able to "think ahead" (Industry interview 2015b) about the benefits that mines will bring, there is a greater likelihood of garnering support for projects. Early engagement with communities is thus seen as a means to help establish the community's stance relative to extractive development. This facilitates industry consultations, if communities are brought onside to mine developments, but can also prevent unnecessary engagement in the EIA process if communities are against mine developments. Importantly, this industry worker's comments position communities in a

passive role. From this perspective there is little room for communities to slow the forces of extractive development. Communities are asked to deal with the consequences of seemingly inevitable development that is “coming down the pipe” (Industry interview 2015b), rather than playing an active role in determining how, or if, extractive developments occur.

However, the extent to which the CRI is intended to ‘educate’ communities towards supporting projects is not fully agreed upon within CanNor. For another CanNor employee, the CRI is not about changing the willingness of communities to accept projects, but about mapping the existing knowledge of communities:

It’s about sharing information. It’s not about having them rubber stamp things that come into their community. It’s a bit harsh the way that I said it, but it’s about knowledge. Because the worst thing that happens is when people act without knowledge. And that doesn’t mean they have to agree with the government or the proponent or some neighboring community, or whatever, but they should be knowledgeable ... Sometimes I think people interpret it as you’re trying to get people on side with resource development, and that’s not the objective, that’s not the goal, nor is there a mechanism to do that. (CanNor interview 2015e)

For this CanNor employee, the CRI is not a heavy-handed or coercive tool, but an opportunity for communities to collect the necessary data about their own strengths and deficiencies to make more informed decisions about how to best proceed with industry. As this quote suggests, nowhere in the CRI reporting or survey template are there explicit ‘educational’ mechanisms or means to push communities to accept projects. Indeed, there is little evidence thus far that the CRI has enabled greater support for resource extraction projects. Despite completing the CRI, the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (YKDFN) withdrew support for a Whitepoint silica sands fracking operation managed by Husky Energy, with the company ultimately withdrawing from the project altogether (Ho, 2015).

These two positions - that the CRI aids in pushing communities towards accepting projects and that the CRI is about gathering community knowledge - are not, however, mutually exclusive. Although the CRI may not be explicitly structured to push communities to support projects, CRI project proponents agree that it is productive in determining which communities are already on board with projects.

Despite holding the view that the CRI should seek to bring communities on board, that same CanNor employee acknowledges the CRI's greater utility is in mapping where communities stand relative to industry:

We [CanNor] have an interest in seeing more resource development, but our interest is to see more resource development supported by communities, and supported by the environmental processes and the framework and its supported by government. ... I mean you, at the community [level], have to ultimately decide what your priorities are, and if your priorities are different then, then that's good too, because then that resource development company knows that there's probably not a lot of likelihood of them getting this permit. (CanNor interview 2015e)

While there are no formal mechanisms in the CRI templates that are structured in a way such that a community would necessarily be compelled to support extractive projects, there are several points of inquiry in both the CRI Community Skills Survey template, and the CRI Map template that help in the delineation of the community's stance relative to industry. As previously detailed, in the CRI Community Skills Survey questions 16, 16.1, and 16.2 detail if respondents are willing to work in mining, underground mining, or have a career in mining (CRI Household template 2014). Similarly, within the Socio-Economic Drivers section, and the SWOT and PEST analyses in the CRI Map templates there are a number of areas that allow for the demarcation of a community's support or concern for potential extractive projects. Communities are asked

in the Socio-Economic Drivers assessment to detail “perceptions,” “issues and concerns,” and “priorities and expectations” for major resource development (CRI Map template 2014 p12). Furthermore, the PEST and SWOT analyses ask questions regarding issues that may arise relative to resource development, and “the constraints and needs that can inhibit the achievement of community-based readiness initiatives” (CRI Map template 2014 p15). For example, the economic category of the SWOT assessment asks communities to outline their “Cooperation/assistance with the private sector” (CRI Map template 2014 p16). Both templates therefore facilitate an assessment of support for mining projects and areas of possible difficulty that industry may encounter in consultations.

If companies are able to identify communities that are willing to cooperate and accommodate projects from their initial phases, companies can minimize expenditures and fulfill regulatory obligations more rapidly (Hilson and Murck 2000). For industry, early engagement with communities can also, as suggested by certain CanNor employees, provide the opportunity to encourage community support for projects (Cragg et al. 1995). However, meeting the demands of consultation can be a very costly process and involves a certain level of risk. Companies facing public pushback on projects experience what the investment community has termed “loss of reputational capital” (Fombrun et al. 2000 p88), wherein the poor public reputation of the company creates difficulty in attracting financial capital, and thus reduced economic returns and shareholder value. If community consent is not secure, or the community mobilizes resistance to the project, the company is ‘at risk’ of losing this ‘reputational capital’ (Fombrun et al. 2000). The centering of reputational capital is thus a tool that positions community-industry relations in terms of

managing risk, wherein the ‘risk’ lies in the community’s ability to stall, delay, or halt proposed projects.

With communities as the mobilizing force of risk, they are placed in opposition to the ‘safety’ of increased entrenchment of capitalist market operations. As Eva Mackey (2014 p119) suggests, the positioning of Indigenous communities as agents of risk relies on the assumption that “economic competitiveness is the defining feature of a healthy nation” and that as agents of risk Indigenous communities are positioned as a danger to the security of the nation state itself. In the current neoliberal paradigm, a stable investment market is centered as the primary concern of state-led development and government investment is thus focused on securing such stability. Thus, the CRI provides a key opportunity for government to map community concerns and, most importantly, identifies which communities will work cooperatively with industry towards an expedited consultation phase. The CRI Community Skills Survey and Map templates allow industry to more clearly see if a community has demonstrated support for participation in resource extraction, or if community concerns will present costly negotiations which may stall the progress of a project. This ultimately delineates the ‘safe’ investment sites for private industry. The importance of such a mapping project was reiterated by many of the industry partners working with CRI communities. As one industry worker stated:

Well, I think certainly one of the things that the market would look at ... is whether you have that social license to develop ... I would think that would be an important element for any project. That they could show that they have that support and that there aren’t going to be delays that would occur because they don’t have that community support. (Industry interview 2015d)

As has been articulated by both CanNor and industry representatives, the CRI provides that opportunity to establish which communities are supportive of projects and that won't slow-down the regulatory process.

In this sense the CRI serves to 'map' not only the industry-based opportunities for individual Indigenous communities, but also the difficulties that companies may encounter in their own consultation processes in the EIA phase. Once a company has reached the consultation phase of the EIA process they have already made substantial financial investments in the community and have made significant financial requests of shareholders. It is thus of great importance for industry to ensure that the investments are not wasted. One industry worker spoke to the struggles mining companies face while trying to ensure the security of industry investments:

The hardest thing for me to do in my fight [to bring communities on-side with industry], is that industry is there because somebody said, 'come on in'. And the people there start going, 'wait a minute, what are you doing here?' And they start messing them around. And these guys are saying, 'I just went out and raised \$5 million, and I owe people that money, I have a legal obligation to those people through the stock market. I have to be accountable to them and I came up here in good faith because someone said we're open to business, and I brought that money up here and now I'm getting screwed'. And as soon as they get screwed like that and leave, because they go, 'I'm up here and I can't afford to put up with what's happening here'. And they leave. And what's going to happen to the next guy they meet? They're going to lose an investor. They're going to say, 'don't go up there because your investment is at risk now'. So, what you're starting to do is create uncertainty around investment. And money is a coward, it runs away from uncertainty. (Industry interview 2015b)

From this perspective, industry's primary objective is to maintain the security of their stakeholders' investments. To do this community concerns must be known and made manageable to industry, preferably through investment schemes that are already available to industry. In this way safe sites of investment can be identified and pursued. Those sites of investment that are deemed 'uncertain', or where community concerns are too

complex for industry engagement, are sites in which industry engagement is deemed ‘risky’ or ‘unsafe’. In the above quote, this industry worker expresses the importance of community support to ensure the investment stability of not only current projects but for future investments as well. Without certainty of community support the market is weakened, and the risk of capital flight is heightened. For industry the CRI can play a productive role in identifying which communities will provide the least risk to investment and ensure that stakeholders’ investments are secure.

There is, however, no comparable political or financial investment in controlling the real risks posed by the volatile market of a resource dependent economy on the economic, social, and environmental stability of Indigenous communities. As Carol Blackburn (2005 p594) suggests:

Certainty is what is sold to investors but not necessarily created for all residents of the province, whether they are Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. It may be produced for capital, but there is no guarantee that capital will not perpetuate its shifting, mobile, and uncertain conditions of existence and that as a consequence people will experience diminishing senses of economic well-being.

Despite the ‘boom-bust’ cycles of mining, it is the uncertainty of community acceptance of projects that is positioned as a ‘risk’ to the prosperity of future development, rather than the uncertainty that the market will successfully provide a greater prosperity of living for Indigenous communities.

Looking at the categories that have been presented through the CRI templates, several things are brought into focus. The CRI templates focus on industry employment, and consideration of how major projects might impact development in segmented ways. This approach does not require an analysis of the ways in which the categories may intersect, or an in-depth discussion of the role of the mixed economy. As John Pickles

(2004) suggests, in bringing into focus particular points of interests, maps also convey the values (acknowledged or not) of its authors. As the above discussion demonstrates, the CRI acts to emphasize the particular points of interest for industry and government, and as such are demonstrative of the political objectives of CanNor. Both industry and the state find substantial value in the CRI's capacity to 'map' the security of market investments, and to prioritize the safety of capital. Although the CRI is meant to help communities take advantage of a boom in resource extraction, the CRI templates operate with an assumption of the secure place of extractive resources in a northern development paradigm. In doing so it seems as though CanNor has fore-fronted the security of sites of safe investment above the safe-guarding of communities from the ups and downs, and wide-ranging environmental impacts, of a resource-based economy.

4.4 The CRI's silences

While the CRI works to bring into focus particular elements of community development – the mine-ready work force, the potential support of projects – the political importance that the CRI imbues is equally made through the categories and considerations that are notably absent. Drawing on Foucault's work around power/knowledge Harley (2001 p86) suggests; "silence elucidates and is likely to be as culturally specific as any other aspect of the map's language". Harley posits that maps, limited in their ability to accurately represent the complexity of the real world, will necessarily leave some things out. These silences are not to be regarded as mere mistakes, or oversights, but instead as important points of analysis in the production of knowledge. Harley (2001) suggests that silences in mapping can be categorized in two primary ways:

through secrecy and censorship for political or commercial gain, and through epistemological or unintentional silences of maps. Epistemic or unintentional silences, although perhaps not “explicitly commanded” are, he suggests, indicative of the underlying and historical rules around what information is deemed important enough to be mapped (Harley 2001 p97). As Harley and others have documented, these silences have important material consequences, and in some cases have worked to affirm processes of cultural genocide. For example, maps made by conquering states in the seventeenth century rewrote Indigenous place names, effectively wiping minority populations and their sites of meaning from colonial maps, rendering them into the position of the unknowable ‘other’ (Harley 2001). It is the epistemic and unintentional silences which are of greatest concern here in my examination of the CRI.

The importance of these silences is in part due to the historic authority and objectivity that maps have been granted. Maps have long been seen as a technical tool able to portray geographic ‘truths’, but the cultural and political decisions made in their construction are often ignored. For Harley, the authoritative nature of maps requires careful consideration. If we are to consider Harley’s (2001 p107) question, “What are the ‘truth effects’ of the knowledge that is conveyed in maps, both of its more emphatic utterances, and also of its equally emphatic silences?” in the context of the CRI a series of questions follows. What is at risk when we consider the CRI maps as an ‘objective’ tool of community views around development? What is at stake in positioning the particular categories delineated through the VSEC chart as the default entry-points of analysis for the well-being of Inuit and northern communities? What information is lost through an analysis of development limited through those VSEC and survey template

categories? What political consequences might those losses have for Indigenous communities, and for Indigenous self-determination? It is with these questions in mind, that I turn my attention to the particular gaps in the CRI templates, and to the Kugluktuk CRI and how its differing approach may be revealing of some of those silences elicited through the CanNor templates.

4.5 Gaps in the Making: categories left unknown in the CRI templates

The CRI Community Skills Survey templates bring great attention to the particular skills, education, and labour potential of community members. The Community Skills Survey template also documents “Inuit Traditional Life Style” with questions regarding harvesting and “arts and crafts” (CRI Community Skills Survey template 2014 p11-16). Within the questions regarding harvesting, participants are asked about the volume, type, and about how harvests are shared. Within the arts and crafts section, participants are similarly asked about the volume, type, and purpose for creating goods. In each of these sections participants are given a list of factors that may have limited their participation in these activities.

There are however, no questions regarding the connections between industry and traditional land-use practices, nor about how industry participation affects social issues in the community. Traditional activities are categorized separately from economic activity, and there is no space to consider the interconnected nature of the northern mixed economy (Usher et al 2003). Activities such as hunting, fishing, carving, or making clothing are not registered for their connection between economic contributions and cultural practice, or the role such activities might have in sustaining Inuit ontologies.

Similar silences have been created in the CRI Map template. When one examines the subcategories of the economic factors in the SWOT analysis, it is notable that all of the suggested sub-categories focus on capitalist economic factors, with no consideration of the importance or impact of engagement with subsistence or mixed economies. Similarly, neither the ‘major resource development’ or ‘general socio-economic development’ sections include other economic drivers such as harvesting activities or tourism, or a discussion of the role of the mixed economy. Furthermore, while the VSEC categories do include components such as Health and Well-being, Traditional Activities and Skills, and Land Use and Occupancy, there are no outlined spaces to consider the overlapping and interconnected nature of these categories.

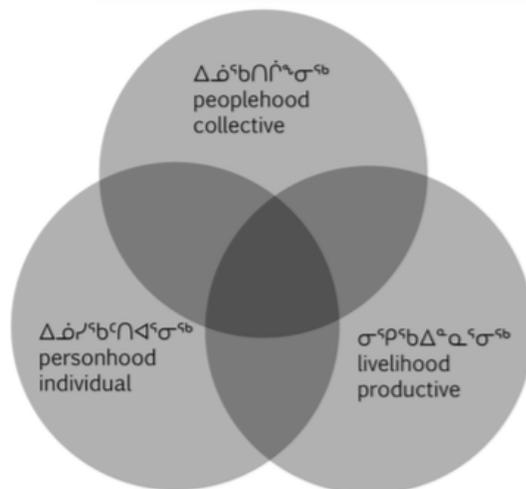
As will be demonstrated through the Kugluktuk CRI’s approach, northern economies must be considered within their particular epistemological context. The erasure of harvesting and arts and crafts for their economic contribution belies the ontological importance of land-based activities to Inuit notions of well-being and economy, and the interconnected nature of these categories.

4.6 Filling the map’s silences: The Kugluktuk CRI

The CRI reporting templates and Community Skills Survey are not meant to be strictly imposed on participating communities. Indeed, as one CanNor employee explained, “It’s not prescriptive by any means, it has to be participatory ... We opted to basically just draft what it could look like” (CanNor interview 2015d). Therefore, the participatory framing of the CRI allows communities to modify the framing of analysis and tailor consultations to fit the needs and concerns of the community.

For the Kugluktuk CRI this meant adopting a Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approach (see for example: Fletcher 2003; Koster et al. 2012; Castleden et al. 2012b; Castellano 2004; Castellano and Reading 2010), designed to center the knowledge and experiences of community members in the framing of both the project methodology and the final report. The CBPR approach included training community members in a number of different research methods, in designing and carrying out the research focus groups, as well as in playing an active role in formulating and conducting the Community Skills Survey. Importantly, a CBPR approach also meant the “development of culturally appropriate measurement instruments” (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p15). In that pursuit, the Kugluktuk CRI drew on Inuit frameworks of well-being, grounded in the principles of *inuuqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq* and *niqiqainnarniq* (peoplehood, personhood, livelihood) described by Aupilaarjuk – a well-respected Inuit elder from Rankin Inlet - and articulated by Janet Tamalik McGrath as a part of the Qaggiq Model in her PhD dissertation (McGrath 2011) (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Aupilaarjuk’s *Inuuqatigiingniq*, *Inuusiqattiarniq*, *Niqiqainnarniq* Triad



(McGrath 2011 p199)

The translation of *inuuqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq*, *niiqiqainnarniq* to peoplehood, personhood, livelihood, facilitates access of these concepts to an English speaking audience, but does not encompass the complexity and interrelated nature of these three components of Inuit well-being. Each of these components illustrate the importance and interconnection of land, community, and personal responsibility to societal well-being. According to McGrath's (2011 p199) translation and analysis of the etymology of *inuuqatigiingniq*, 'peoplehood' here must be understood as "living/being human together in kinship." In this sense, family and extended family are "the basis for healthy collectivities and that it is critical to have the skills to support those relationships" (McGrath 2011 p200). *Inuusiqattiarniq*, or personhood, includes the individual knowledge, skills, and attitudes - in the physical, social, mental, and spiritual realms – that are required for survival. McGrath (2011 p201) suggests this relates to "skills and interactions in the collective sense" and is the basis for peoplehood. Finally, *niiqiqainnarniq*, 'livelihood', translates literally to "always having meat" (McGrath 2011 p196). Importantly, *niiqiqainnarniq* should not be understood in a purely economic sense of obtaining food, material goods, or economic wage. Instead, in his conversations with McGrath, Aupilaarjuk suggests that livelihood encompasses the skills, social networks, and family supports that are needed for a successful hunt, and that are therefore employed to contribute to one's community. Livelihood in this sense is embedded in relations to the land, to community, and to personal responsibility (McGrath 2011 p7, translation from Inuktitut p335). Furthermore, Aupilaarjuk emphasizes that each of these three categories must be considered as interconnected, and as McGrath (2011 p202) suggests, need to be

“accounted for when developing programs of any kind in Nunavut that reflect Inuit values.”

The CBPR and *inuuaqatigiingniq, inuusiqattiarniq, niqiqainnarniq* approach allowed the Kugluktuk CRI to consider issues of economic growth, such as is anticipated through expansion in the extractive sector, while also bringing into focus connection to land and community. As was noted in the Kugluktuk CRI (2015 p66, emphasis in original):

When Kugluktukmiut speak about their fears about the environmental impact of large-scale industrial resource development, it is common, in Qablunaaq (non-Inuit) frameworks, to understand this as a concern for ecology, or perhaps about food security. But within Inuit frameworks, it is clear that what is at stake in discussions of the land is not just **ecological integrity**, but also a fundamental set of **relationships** that enable social, cultural, economic, physical, and collective well-being.

The *inuuaqatigiingniq, inuusiqattiarniq, niqiqainnarniq* approach taken in the Kugluktuk CRI therefore allowed for a discussion of important community concerns in ways that encompassed the interrelated and relational nature of land, livelihood, and community. This permitted the definitions of well-being, and thus the categories that formulated the discussion of necessary development interventions, to take shape through Inuit conceptions of economy that go beyond neoliberal frameworks rooted in wage employment. This decision was made by the Kugluktuk research team, but was made in response to requests from community members that the report better reflect the community’s concepts of and desires for development.

To ensure the integration of these principles the Kugluktuk modified much of the Community Skills Survey template and the CRI Map template. Unlike the CanNor Community Skills Survey, that focused primarily on wage employment, the Kugluktuk

survey instead contained questions that allowed respondents to represent the importance of other cultural and land-based activities. For example, questions 3.10 and 3.11 ask why a respondent may not have worked in a paid job, and why they might not have looked for work, and included options such as “On the land, hunting, fishing, etc.”, “Prefer to care for children”, and “Caring for elder relative” (Kugluktuk CRI Survey 2015 p6). The Kugluktuk survey also asks questions about paid labour such that the often temporary nature of northern work was captured, as well as the ways in which Inuit tend to move between paid work and time on the land. Furthermore, the survey allowed respondents to outline the importance of land-based activities through questions which asked for not only the monetary value of harvests, but about time spent on the land, how harvesting activities are shared through family networks, and the importance of country food. For example, question 4.6 asks, “Do you have difficulty getting as much country food as you would like?” (Kugluktuk CRI Survey 2015 p12), and is followed by a question asking why that might be so. The survey also asks questions regarding the production of arts and crafts, and the monetary value obtained for sold goods. It was found that over 30% of Kugluktukmiut produce carvings, sewing, and other crafts (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p93). These questions allow for land-based and traditional activities to be valued not only for their contributions to economic activity but for their cultural importance, role in social relations, and for the connections they create to home and land.

The CanNor survey was also modified to include several question about the respondent’s willingness to move, whether it be for rotational work shifts, within the Territory for work, or to the South for work or education. Importantly, respondents were also asked where they like to live and why. Among those community members I spoke

with the vast majority answered that they would like to stay in Kugluktuk. When asked why this was the case, they shared that it was home and that they had a very strong connection to the land there.

The Kugluktuk CRI Map was also modified. For example, the discreet VSEC categories of analysis presented in the CanNor templates were altered to instead allow for a consideration of the ways in which Kugluktukmiut well-being occurs through a relational approach. Instead of VSEC categories such as Food Security, Employment and Labour Market, or Fate Control, the Kugluktuk CRI selected topic areas based on the concerns ascertained through extensive interviews with community members, focus groups, meetings in the community, and consultation with the Kugluktuk CRI Advisory Committee and Project Coordinator. As a result, the following categories were selected as the key area of analysis:

- Land and Environment
- Social Relations
- Physical and Mental Health and Wellness
- Education and Training
- Employment and Economic Activity
- Community Services and Infrastructure
- Cultural and Spiritual Well-Being
- Self-Determination

The modification of VSEC categories from a segmented approach to one that encompasses *inuuqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq*, *niiqainnarniq* together within an integrated approach, allowed for the broadening of categories such as ‘Fate Control’ to one of ‘Self-Determination’. Fate control is a component of analysis frequently employed within consultation processes, and indeed is often used in the Environmental and Social Impact Assessments that are required in major project regulatory approvals. The term is used to discuss a person’s sense of agency in regards to their future, or “ability to control

one's own destiny" (AHDR 2004 p15). However, the specification of 'fate control' limits analysis to an individual basis and its future focus is one not easily taken up in an Inuit context. As Bates (2007 p89) argues, southern conceptions of the future are not always compatible with the unpredictable nature of northern life: "Accepting that the future cannot be known allows appropriate preparation for uncertainty". This results in a different orientation and relationship to the future among Inuit, which can be difficult for southern planners to understand. In its place, self-determination allows for a discussion that encompasses community and individual relationships to an ecological and economic context that is frequently viewed as uncertain. As stated in the Kugluktuk CRI (2015 p81, emphasis in original);

Nunavut is a territory shaped by both **colonial intervention and institutions**, and by **generations of Inuit relationships with the land and each other**, and the ability to exercise control over the future must be understood in relation to **Inuit values** as well as the various governance structures that shape decision-making in the community. In other words, peoples' sense of control over their fate is shaped by forces and structures outside of the community, over which they have very little control, but is also shaped by a very strong sense of being Inuit, with a **responsibility** to ensure that life remains viable for future generations.

Self-determination therefore reaches beyond the individual and future-focused confines of fate control to encompass both an individual and a community responsibility to viable well-being, as well as to an understanding of the adaptability and agency of Inuit. The modification of the VSEC categories therefore opened the Kugluktuk CRI to categories of analysis absent from those initially presented in the CanNor templates.

Furthermore, the SWOT analysis performed in the Kugluktuk CRI was done through a modified approach. Rather than being performed by the Kugluktuk CRI consultant team, a workshop was hosted by Dr. Bernice Downey and Dr. Janet Tamalik McGrath to inform community members about these research methods and their uses.

Participants in the workshop worked to modify the SWOT and PEST methods. The Project Coordinator, April Pigalak, who attended those workshops, then undertook SWOT and PEST focus groups in the Fall of 2014 with a number of community groups.

Although the participatory nature of the project has been repeatedly stressed by CanNor's members, the modified approach taken by the Kugluktuk CRI team was met with some resistance. As was expressed by one CanNor member, there existed certain apprehension about the comparability, and the success, of a CRI map that took a different approach:

We had a tough meeting with the Carleton folks early on, because we had created a structured approach. They were trying to deviate from that approach. If one of the outcomes is that we need to change the structure, fine, but we can't have, that was just too different. We needed a fairly standardized approach. Because it is a pilot, we're still trying to just figure out, does this actually work. Does it actually empower communities? Does it give them what they need to feel like they're making an informed decision when they say they support resource development? (CanNor interview 2015e)

Here we can see that although CanNor is amenable to long term changes to the templates, and to differing approaches taken by participating communities, in application during the pilot phase there was concern that deviation from the initial templates would complicate analysis. The CanNor CRI templates were designed in a way that speaks to the mandates and specific concerns of the federal economic development agency. The use of specific VSEC categories was formulated based on industry standards, but also in hopes that analysis through those categories would facilitate implementation via partnering federal agencies. Modification of those categories, or to the general format of the templates, was considered to potentially create additional barriers to the uptake of CRI map recommendations, and thus to the overall success of the CRI program.

However, as demonstrated by the broadened categories of the Kugluktuk CRI, the imposition of segmented categories leaves silences where more complex and relational issues might otherwise be discussed.

Ultimately, Kugluktuk was allowed to modify its reporting categories and the discussion that followed enabled a more integrated and holistic discussion of well-being than might have been possible through the original CanNor template. In my next chapter I will discuss how the categories of inquiry introduced in the Kugluktuk CRI allowed for a contemplation of community well-being that looks beyond a reliance on the mining economy and facilitates the inclusion of recommendations that seek greater structural change.

4.7 Conclusion

As critical cartographers like Harley and Pickles have suggested there is much to read beyond the surface representation of maps. Maps bring into focus the underlying intentions and political goals of their creators through the categories they delineate, and equally through the categories that are silenced. Although the CRI is not a geographic map, the lines of inquiry brought forth by Harley and Pickles highlight important issues in the conceptualization and application of the CRI.

The CRI map templates bring into focus a number of different elements, and are revealing of the types of knowledge CanNor is seeking to create. What is brought into focus through the VSEC categories and the methodological approach is a heavy emphasis on the state of the community's labour force. Although the VSEC categories that have been selected are based on industry standard approaches, the segmented and individual

nature of the VSEC categories are at times not fully compatible with Inuit conceptions of well-being. The VSEC categories make little room for analysis of the interconnected and relational nature of community concerns, nor do they incorporate any concrete discussion of the particularities of the northern mixed economy. In doing so the CRI makes important information visible to both the state and to industry. Alongside CanNor's desire to prepare communities to best take advantage of increased extractive industry activity, the CRI also facilitates a delineation of safe sites of investment and areas of risk for industry. The CRI maps may not accomplish the educational goal identified by some CanNor members of bringing communities onside with industry, but they do assist industry in identifying which communities are already supportive of extractive industries. This may help to subsidize the substantial cost and time commitments of industry consultations, and may help to fulfill regulatory obligations more rapidly.

As is demonstrated by the Kugluktuk CRI, the silences the CRI template creates are not just informational but epistemological. The discreet categories of the CanNor templates naturalize forms of knowledge that reinforce southern notions of development and prioritize engagement in the wage economy in ways that center paid work as the most valuable form of economic activity. The silences created through these categories are revealing of an approach to development that does not seek to make visible more challenging notions of well-being. As a result, the CRI templates downplay the importance of Inuit relationships with the land and to their communities, and for that matter, the colonial history that underlies current development issues.

It should however be noted that the participatory nature of the CRI creates important opportunities to fill-in the silences of the CanNor templates and thus to

highlight more complex and relational ideas of well-being. When the Kugluktuk CRI was framed through Inuit epistemological approaches (namely through the *inuuqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq*, *niqiqainnarniq* model), new, broader, and more complex categories were introduced. A shift from categories such as ‘fate control’ to one of ‘self-determination’ allows for an analysis that ground individual concerns in their relationship to community and the land, while also acknowledging the uncertainty that underlies northern life. To this end, the participatory approach taken by CanNor, although not participatory in all elements, creates openings for communities to express more holistic and complex recommendations regarding engagement with extractive industry.

The construction of the CRI templates cannot however be taken as wholly demonstrative of the potential of the CRI. As was noted by the majority of the CanNor representatives I spoke with, the templates are meant as a guiding structure, and may be modified as this pilot project takes shape. Although I do believe that the construction of the templates is revealing of areas of interest for the state, for industry, and for capital, it is equally important to consider how CanNor has thus far responded to the CRI Maps that have been created. For this reason, in my next chapter I turn my attention to the outcomes of the Kugluktuk CRI, including its specific recommendations, CanNor’s actions (and reactions) in implementing those recommendations, and the structural challenges posed by northern community development.

Chapter 5

“The low hanging fruit” - the biopolitics of development programming implementation

The participatory nature of the CRI has allowed communities to modify the CanNor CRI templates in interesting ways. As was demonstrated through the Kugluktuk CRI the broadening of the template categories introduced new and more complex points of analysis, but most importantly, it also permitted a consultative approach that was more reflective of Inuit conceptions of well-being and prosperity. Although the CRI is still quite new there remain important questions around how the recommendations produced through the CRI maps will be implemented.

Given that the CRI is positioned as a participatory program that is meant to bring together a myriad of federal agencies, industry partners, and various levels of territorial and Indigenous governance systems, the implementation of CRI recommendations finds itself at the nexus of many differing approaches and requires action on complex development problems. The different framing taken by Kugluktuk resulted in a long list of recommendations, many of which point to important development issues produced through persistent colonial structures.

CanNor is in the early stages of implementation and much remains to be determined. In this chapter I outline what has happened in the implementation of the Kugluktuk CRI recommendations so far. Just as with the delineation of categories of analysis in the formulation of the CRI templates, the recommendations prioritized by CanNor are revealing in a number of ways. Through discussion of the Kugluktuk CRI recommendations, and CanNor’s reactions to those recommendations, I examine the negotiation between the development desires of communities and the structures and

limitations that the federal government faces in implementation. As I have previously shown, the CRI templates disproportionately focus on determining who is ‘mine-ready’. Here, I contemplate how that framing impacts the specific priorities selected by CanNor and how this adds to a structuring of what is seen as needed, or indeed even possible, for northern community development. I also examine how these processes impact who is selected as the subjects of development programming and the potential consequences this selection has for those community members who find themselves on the periphery of CanNor’s priority areas.

In this chapter I therefore examine what is at stake in the framing of implementation priorities for the community, for the state, and for capital. Although the CRI implementation has just begun, I argue that CanNor faces substantial barriers in addressing those community recommendations that do not easily conform to the mandate and structures of the federal government.

5.1 The Recommendations of the Kugluktuk CRI

The different approach taken by the Kugluktuk CRI resulted in a broad range of recommendations outlined in the Community Readiness Action table (Kugluktuk CRI 2015). This table outlines key gaps in programming and details the resources needed to improve well-being in order to best take advantage of the expansions in the resource extraction industry. In the Kugluktuk CRI this recommendation table was modified to focus on eight different socio-economic themes (Land and Environment; Health and Mental-Health; Food Security; Education and Training; Employment and Economic Activity; Community Service, Crimes and Justice; Cultural and Spiritual Well-being;

Housing and Infrastructure) with forty-eight distinct recommendations made within those categories⁵. The Kugluktuk recommendations were developed based on the interviews, focus groups, and Community Skills Survey results, and were verified by community members, the Advisory Committee, as well as the local project coordinator.

The recommendations were developed through the *inuuaqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqaattiarniq*, *niqiqainnarniq* (Peoplehood, Personhood, Livelihood) (McGrath 2011) approach and cover a wide range of actionable items. The Kugluktuk CRI recommendations span from calls to increase on-the-land programming to address truancy issues in the schools, to more intensive support for community members in the criminal records pardoning process. Overall, the Kugluktuk CRI recommendations focus on the general well-being of the community, and highlight four overarching critical areas of needed engagement: mental health, the well-being of children, general employability, access to and well-being of the land and wildlife (CRI Template 2015 p107). The interrelated nature of all recommendations, as well as the importance of relationships between individuals, community, and the land, was emphasized within each of the socio-economic themes and within the individual recommendations.

Mental health was identified as the primary concern and its importance was reiterated among the majority of participants in the Kugluktuk CRI. Indeed, standard measures of mental health highlight the serious nature of this issue locally. Of the recorded suicides from 1990 to 2014, Kugluktuk holds the seventh highest suicide rate in the territory, with more than 150 deaths by suicide per 100,000 (Hicks 2015). This

⁵ There are 52 recommendations in total. There are 48 distinct recommendations as some are repeated within the different socio-economic themes.

compares to a national suicide rate of 11.3 per 100,000 (Stats Canada 2015). As one Hamlet worker stated, there exists a concern that the current status of mental health and general well-being may undermine community members' ability to take advantage of more mining jobs:

There are so many people in the community who are dealing with alcohol and drug abuse or family violence, or mental health issues that they can't, you know, no one is going to leave for work if they're not in a ready state. They need to be mentally stable. They need to be, we needed to find a way to work with those issues to help people be able to get jobs when our community is growing and we have resource development. And, that stems from everywhere I think. Supporting our youth so that they go to school, so that they can get jobs and not only trade jobs but management, and different kinds of positions. So, I think we were definitely looking at a bigger picture of how we can support people to take part in this so that they can benefit from resource and mining development. (Hamlet worker interview 2015)

This sentiment was reiterated by a community member in the Kugluktuk CRI (2015 p59);

Is the life they have now preparing them for what's to come in the future? Are they going to be able to make it through high school? By the time they're done are they going to be ready and are they going to have enough self-confidence and have that drive and ambition to succeed outside the school? Are they going to want to work in a mine?

Many of the community members we spoke to during the Kugluktuk CRI communicated the underlying importance mental health plays in one's ability to engage in schooling, paid work, and thus, participation in the mining economy. Community members also expressed concern regarding the compounding pressures that increased mining business might bring to town. As one participant in the Kugluktuk Women's group expressed:

This place will get more stressful with big business and people getting fired, and you know more money, and more gambling, or whatever. There'll be more stress. And you know it's already to me a gap. If the place got busy ... I'd like to see more mental health services. (Kugluktuk CRI Women's group 2014)

To this end, the Kugluktuk CRI (2015 p113) included recommendations to lobby for the creation of two full-time "Youth Mental-Health Outreach Workers," as well as the

creation of a men's group through the Hamlet's Wellness Committee, and culturally specific on-the-land health programming, among other recommendations.

The importance of supporting youth in the community was emphasized by almost every community member participating in the CRI. Community members expressed concern about the rapidly shifting cultural and economic landscape of the community, and the lack of programming supports currently available. This particular concern has manifested itself through elevated rates of crime and drug use among young people (Kugluktuk CRI, 2015). The Kugluktuk CRI Community Skills Survey data demonstrated that almost 50% of Inuit smoked marijuana in the previous month (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p32). For Inuit men aged eighteen to twenty-nine this rate was recorded at over 70% (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p32). This compares to Statistics Canada data which reports national marijuana use in the last year at 12.2% and at 33.3% among 18 to 24 year olds (Rotermann and Langlois 2015). Additionally, RCMP data from 2006 to 2013 shared in the Kugluktuk CRI shows an overall increase in the rate of youth crimes and mental health incidences (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p44). As one community member posited, the stresses felt by young people in the community can in part be attributed to the ongoing impacts that colonialism and residential schools have had on families:

Whether it's substance abuse or [gambling], I find that some children are not getting the sleep that they need, so they don't go to school. Their family is not big on education because of what happened to some of them. It makes it harder for them to enforce their children going to school and if they do go to school they get picked on because they haven't been going, they can't read, they can't write, and... they just quit. (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p76)

In response, many community members have called for an increased provision of youth services to help ground young people in healthy lifestyles. Indeed, when asked what was

needed to best meet the challenges of mine development in the Kugluktuk CRI Community Skills Survey the most popular response was a call for a youth center and/or increased youth programming (Kugluktuk CRI 2015).

General employability was highlighted by many community members who expressed concern that an increase in mining activity may not solve local employment needs and that mine benefits may not trickle down to those in greatest need. As one community member commented, there is a great desire to ensure that community members gain higher level management skills that would ensure greater control over the proposed projects, as well as training in skills that would be transferable to other industries:

We go to the mining meetings and stuff and hear ‘well we want to hire janitors, and we want to hire rock truck drivers.’ As a member of council, and as a community member, I don’t want to see everybody pushing a broom and driving a truck. Get them trained in office administration, get them trained in management, get them trained in plant operations. (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p102)

Community members are eager for employment, but wary of being stuck in low-skilled, lower-paying positions that they have traditionally occupied at mine sites (Gibson and Klnick 2005). As such, the Kugluktuk CRI recommended a focus on employment training that reaches beyond mine specific jobs.

Finally, access to land and concern about the well-being of land and wildlife was a topic that arose in almost every conversation, focus group, and Community Skills Survey response I was privy to. Community members expressed great hope in the potential economic benefits of the mining industry. However, this was balanced with apprehension and concern for mining’s impact to the local ecology, and importantly, to

the viability of land-based practices and relationships. As one community member shared, there is a great desire to pass down traditional skills and connections to the land:

My family has always been a traditional family. We do lots of hunting and what not. If say five, ten mines pop up just around Kugluktuk then how is that going to be affected? Will we be able to have clean drinking water? Or clean fish? Or healthy caribou? Or will the air be polluted? (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p64)

Connection to the land was highlighted not only for its ecological importance but for the central role it plays in supporting spiritual well-being, mental health, and the general vitality of the community and its traditional practices.

5.2 Moving Forward: the questions of implementation

In a meeting with the Kugluktuk CRI Advisory Committee in May of 2015 there was great concern from community members that the CRI report not “sit on a shelf and collect dust” (from meeting notes, May 2015). Community members were excited by the initiatives outlined in the recommendations and eager to have the project move forward but concerned that, like many reports written before, there may be few tangible outputs. To ensure the project did not lose momentum CanNor suggested that recommendations be prioritized, with easily actionable recommendations placed as the top priority. Reluctant to prioritize specific recommendations on behalf of the community, the Kugluktuk CRI consultation team instead highlighted three key overarching recommendations in the final report for moving forward. Key to those recommendations was the support of processes that would allow the community to determine more specific implementation priorities themselves. Namely, the Kugluktuk CRI consultation team recommended that a multi-day meeting be organized to bring together important local stakeholders who might put the CRI report recommendations into action.

The first overarching recommendation, as was demonstrated through the general recommendation areas, was a focus on mental health and community wellness. Mental health was seen as the greatest concern in the community, as mental health underlies one's ability to access and engage in all programming, educational opportunities, or economic activities. Prioritizing mental health emphasized the community belief that without health and well-being there can be no substantial local gains from resource development.

Second, the Kugluktuk CRI suggested that the CRI Coordinator position be extended by an additional six months. This extension would have allowed the Coordinator the time and resources to coordinate the stakeholder meeting. It suggested that this meeting be held over three days and bring together potential project partners to begin the local planning and implementation process. The extension of the CRI Coordinator position would also have allowed for continued partnership coordination, as well as facilitating the further prioritization of those individual recommendations presented in the Kugluktuk CRI final report.

Third, the Kugluktuk CRI proposed that the community act on those recommendations that could be implemented in the short term. This included a focus on providing financial literacy training programs, as well as on the first recommendation of the Employment and Economic Activity section –

The Hamlet should work with KIA to expand the criminal suspension services in the community and launch a one-year program to assist Kugluktukmiut with criminal records to apply for record suspension. The Hamlet and KIA should also contact employers to clearly specify their hiring practices around criminal records allowing certain people to work despite having a record. (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p122)

The prioritization of this recommendation came, in part, at the request of CanNor. Many mining companies have policies in place which prohibit the employment of those persons who hold a criminal record. Given the substantial portion of community members with criminal records, many don't qualify for the mining jobs that are available (Fowler et al 2013). However, as one community member illustrates, there are substantial barriers to participation in the mining economy that often go well-beyond criminal records:

You need Grade 12. You need a clear criminal record. University or college is preferable, sometimes it's required. And that's just not the reality of where Kugluktukmiut are right now. There are a handful of people who have gone to university or college and then there are the [high school] graduates and then there's everybody else. So, that can be discouraging if you're looking for work and you can't apply because your education doesn't match what they're looking for. But there are people that are really skilled, that could probably do the job better than someone who has a Grade 12 or a college certificate or diploma. (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p76)

For community members with these qualifications, clearing their criminal record can be a lengthy process. This is particularly true after changes to legislation were made through the Conservative government's 'tough-on-crime' program that increased the cost and wait-time required for the pardoning application (Webster and Doob 2015). However, as the community member's quote above highlights, removing the criminal record check barrier is not adequate to ensure that all community members reap the benefits of a mining economy.

5.3 Prioritization of the 'low-hanging fruit'

When asked about implementation, the importance of further prioritizing recommendations into actionable items was reiterated among CanNor members as the most effective means to engage with partnering federal and industry agencies (CanNor

meeting notes May 2015). CanNor members were eager to further prioritize the recommendations presented by in the Kugluktuk CRI relative to what many CanNor employees referred to as the “low-hanging fruit” (CanNor meeting notes May 2015).

Here, a CanNor employee explains the logic behind the priority areas:

We need to prioritize these findings because it can't just be a to do list. Somehow we've got to put logic behind it. If certain things are able to happen immediately, then we can capture a certain momentum. We can get started with certain things right away. One of the things we're looking at is for example criminal records. If that's the biggest barrier [to mine employment] then we need to knock that off first. (CanNor interview 2015a)

Here, we see CanNor suggesting a focus on ‘low-hanging fruit’ recommendations that would precipitate engagement with other federal partners and ensure that implementation moved forward quickly. In this example the ‘low-hanging fruit’ identified were to facilitate the navigation of the criminal record pardoning system and to implement mine work training programs. These priorities were selected in an effort to ensure development issues could easily be taken up by other federal agencies and industry partners.

The Mine Training Society, for example, has already partnered with CanNor to offer programs through which potential mine workers are provided legal council and support to navigate the criminal record pardoning process in the hopes of increasing the number of Inuit eligible for mining work (Industry interview 2015a). The Mine Training Society also offers a number of training programs in areas such as haul-truck driving, and in the “essentials of mining” to facilitate the number of local hires that companies are able to make (MTS 2015 np).

Orienting the recommendations of the Community Readiness Action Table towards programming that is already available through the Mine Training Society serves several needs. It allows CanNor to easily position community problems relative to

tangible solutions. It also allows CanNor to quickly move forward with implementation, proving to their funders that there are tangible outcomes from the project. Although CanNor is in the very early stages of implementation, the selection of those items (criminal record pardons and mine training) as ‘low-hanging fruit’ is revealing of both the potential impact of a program like the CRI, and the serious structural limitations CanNor faces.

5.4 The Push for Priorities

As Tanya Murray Li explains in her book, *The Will to Improve*, development schemes often rely on the selection of “prioritized finalities” (Li 2007 p6) or outputs, such as we see here with CanNor. Li suggests that this process occurs through the “problematization” of specific development issues, such that they are made legible to the state, and the “rendering technical” of the solutions offered to those problems (Li 2007 p2). Li (2007 p7) thus argues that, “the identification of a problem is intimately linked to the availability of a solution”. Development schemes therefore depend on the problematization of development issues such that they are constructed relative to already available solutions that can be easily identified and taken up by technocratic experts.

In the case of the CRI, we can see this problematization and rendering technical process at play in the prioritization of the ‘low-hanging fruit’ discussed by CanNor members. Those issues which are highlighted as the most pressing problems by CanNor, are those that are easily understood through the mandates of the agency and its partners. With the mandate to increase engagement with the resource economy, criminal records and a lack of mine specific training are easily legible as key ‘problems’ to community

development. On the other hand, issues such as mental health, or connections to the land, are more complex, require resources from multiple agencies, and are thus harder to take up through the specific mandates of CanNor and its federal partners. Furthermore, both criminal records and mine specific training are problems which have readily available ‘solutions’ already on offer through state partners such as the Mine Training Society.

As an economic development agency CanNor has a clear mandate to support those CRI recommendations they see as facilitating engagement in and the growth of northern economies. CanNor, NPMO, and SPI (from which CRI funding was acquired), all work with the mandate to “increase Indigenous participation in complex economic development opportunities, particularly in the natural resource sectors” (CanNor 2015b np). Within these mandates the CRI is therefore oriented to examine community development needs relative to the solutions that might be provided via increased participation with extractive industries. Although, as outlined in the previous chapter, the CRI’s underlying goals are at times somewhat contested among CanNor’s members, the CRI is propelled by a desire to increase community prosperity while also supporting industry activities. As one CanNor employee explains, the CRI is an opportunity for communities to reflect on how they will best position themselves relative to the one industry seen as viable by the federal government:

[The CRI] tells me that it did work. Despite all the politics and bullshit that I had to go through, the community has spoken. Based on the CRI Maps a picture of the community will be developed. [The CRI Map] is what your community looks like today. What would you like your community to look like down the road? You only have one tool to allow you to go wherever you want to, and that one tool is the resource base. (CanNor interview 2015a)

Through the mandates of these agencies the mining economy is positioned as the central vector for development. This, as was shown in the previous chapter, is reflected in the

formulation of the project's structure and the questions posed to community members through the templates provided by CanNor, but is also visible in the selection of the 'low-hanging fruit' priorities as those recommendations that are easily solvable through the mining economy. Importantly, such an approach leaves little room for communities to question whether extractive industries are the best means to actualize their development goals or what role subsistence or mixed economies might play towards those ends.

Underlying this assumption that mining will bring prosperity, or that it stands as the only means for improvement, are the longstanding attempts by the federal government to assimilate Inuit and other Indigenous northerners into the wage economy. Dictating the terms of development to focus on an engagement with the wage economy is congruent with a long history of federal paternalistic policies seeking to turn Inuit into good capitalist subjects (Bonesteel 2008). Northern development policies have historically been shaped by a linear discourse of development focused on transferring Inuit from subsistence practices, that were seen as backwards, into the wage economy where they might meaningfully contribute to capitalist production (Kuokkanen 2011a).

This linear conception of development belies the complexity of Inuit subsistence practices, conceptions of 'economy', and the multiple ways Inuit contemporarily engage with the wage economy. Subsistence activities encompass much more than the hunter-gatherer image pushed by colonial discourses. As defined by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, subsistence includes

... vital economic, social, cultural and spiritual dimensions ... It enriches and sustains Inuit communities in a manner that promotes cohesiveness, pride and sharing. It also provides an essential link to, and communication with, the natural world of which Inuit are an integral part. (ICC 2009 p29)

Subsistence economies therefore inform relationships to the land in ways that cement family networks, social relations, and ground Inuit epistemologies in those relations (Kuokkanen 2011b).

Furthermore, the colonial understanding of subsistence has, as argued by Peter Usher et al. (2003), created a false dichotomy between subsistence and wage economies. While colonial discourses suggest that development requires a movement from subsistence to wage employment, Usher et al. (2003) document that Inuit who do engage in wage labour rarely do so without maintaining connection to subsistence economies. Inuit who work in the mining sector, or other forms of wage employment, will often use earned income to finance equipment for camping or hunting trips, or for their families to spend time out on the land (Gibson and Klinck, 2005). Furthermore, Usher et al. (2003) found that Inuit were not acting as individual economic units, but instead made economic decisions at the level of the household, with income and goods distributed through family and social networks.

This is not to say that CanNor is pursuing the paternal development policies of the past. However, the prioritization of recommendations that focus on northerners as individual economic actors does limit an engagement with the unique economic landscape of northern communities that might better inform development interventions. As a member of KIA explains, there is a disconnect between the wage economy focus taken in the CRI and the community desire to take an approach that accepts the complexities and particularities of the northern economy:

CanNor works in a more compartmentalized or narrower view, that it's all about the resource development side of things. But, when you put it in the community's hands, the control for the planning process, they come back with something that's more holistic and recognizes that everything is connected. It's good. (KIA Interview 2015)

While I will return to the implications of this disjuncture in approaches, it is important to note that CanNor does aim to be a more holistic through the CRI, and intends to address the interrelated nature of economic affairs in the North. However, the CRI faces substantial structural and political barriers, despite their aims to alter the approach of federal interventions in northern development.

5.5 Structural limitations and the challenges of implementation

The push to prioritize less complex CRI recommendations occurs for several reasons. CanNor is not ignorant of the importance of addressing historical trauma, nor of the structural importance of many of the recommendations presented by community members. CanNor does however, face several structural limitations in its implementation planning.

Among them is the limited funding and mandate of CanNor as a federal agency. CanNor has an annual budget of \$44 million (Nunatsiaq News 2014), with a portion of that budget directed towards the development, execution, and implementation of the CRI. Programs such as a mine training course for approximately fifteen community members can cost upwards of \$60,000, although they do benefit from the partnership of organizations like the Mine Training Society (CanNor interview 2015a). CanNor's mandate is also focused specifically on economic development, with an additional focus on working with industry (CanNor 2015b). With a limited budget and mandate, tackling

more complex issues such as mental health can be a costly endeavor and one that is seen as out of the purview of CanNor.

Although CanNor acknowledges that mental health is an important underlying factor to development, it is constrained by its own capacity to provide programming. As one CanNor employee notes, CanNor is not seeking to ignore the more complex issues highlighted within the CRI Recommendations, but there are limits to how CanNor can assist in the implementation of those recommendations:

We're not losing sight of it. We're saying that mental health has to be looked at on its own merits. It's not something that can be dealt with in one or two years ... just taking on mental health itself won't get them anywhere. People look at that issue and they think, 'this person who is struggling with mental health issues, they'll cost me half a million dollars, because we need to this and then this, and then this'. Who is going to put half a million dollars into trying to address the mental health of one person? (CanNor interview June 2015a)

Here we see the negotiation and assessment within CanNor of where best to invest their limited implementation funding. Although mental health is recognized as a complex issue, it is also seen as highly individual, and requiring too great a financial cost to justify investment.

The issue of funding and programming responsibility poses great challenges to the CRI's implementation. The CRI is funded under SPI and thus is expected to partner with other federal agencies and departments to coordinate implementations. SPI was designed with the intent to combat decision-making that has historically been "made individually by federal departments and agencies and in isolation of a broader strategy" and instead calls for collaboration across "different levels of government, industry and Aboriginal communities" (INAC 2015 np). As one CanNor employee explains, this has

meant engaging federal departments at a much earlier stage in development programming:

Often departments will go in to consult with communities on their very specific mandated items. So they'll have public safety go into communities and they'll only want to talk about crime prevention, they'll only want to talk about youth suicide. Or you'll have Health Canada go in and consult, but they only want to talk about HIV. But, with the CRI what we're trying to do is do an all encompassing, holistic, analysis of a community. Because we recognize that, especially in the North, but in any Aboriginal community in Canada, you can't cherry-pick out those things. Everything has to be considered at once. (CanNor interview 2015b)

There is a real desire among CanNor's members to make the approach of the CRI more holistic, and to address development problems in a less compartmentalized and bureaucratic way. However, CanNor is also constrained to its mandate. Shortly after expressing a desire to take a different tack with the CRI, the same CanNor employee went on to state that the agency has a limited capacity to deal with more systemic or structural political issues, stating that they must work within the confines of the mandates of the participating federal agencies:

CanNor does have some funding set aside from the CRI to implement some of those projects, but what we have to worry about is mandate creep. We can't go in and start funding nursing stations, but what we can do is fund mine training. We can help get partners around the table, but the asks that are made must fit into the specific mandates and funding opportunities presented by participating federal agencies. (CanNor interview 2015b)

This requires early participation and investment from federal partners, as well as the framing of CRI recommendations in ways that fit into the mandates of those agencies. As that same CanNor employee explains:

It's great that we can do these maps, but then we can't just turn around and say, 'Hey Health Canada we did this map, where's the money?' That's not how it works. They need to be a partner from the beginning. They need to know what's going on from the beginning, so they can plan our work into their ultimate strategic objectives. (CanNor interview 2015b)

While the SPI and CanNor have a goal to battle complex issues in a more holistic way, the program is unable to shift the mandates of participating organizations, and must instead work within them. Those recommendations that are easily legible within the mandates of the participating agencies, or can readily be addressed within available programming from industry, are taken up by partnering agencies in what is otherwise a complex negotiation of responsibility for development interventions.

The implementation of development programming is further complicated by the complex governance system in Nunavut. Nunavut is a public government, and is thus charged with the provision of social services, much like provinces are. The Territory is, however, bound by certain constitutional restrictions (most importantly in this case, the Territory lacks control of federal Crown Land and thus non-renewable resources) and is dependent on the federal government for transfer funding and additional support in social programming (Hicks and White 2000). The Government of Nunavut is also beholden to the particularities of the NLCA, and the organizations that arose out of the land claim agreement. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), and the Regional Inuit Associations (RIAs) that fall under its purview, have a great deal of political power in Nunavut, particularly as they have greater control over the regulation of extractive resources through the IIBA agreements and the retention of subsurface rights for certain tracts of Inuit-owned land (White 2009). However, there are some tensions between the RIAs and municipalities. Although NTI is meant to represent beneficiaries of the land claim, decisions are not

always made inline with community desires. Environmental lawyer Laura Bowman (2011) argues that Inuit have few mechanisms to influence NTI policies save for the right to vote on the election of one third of NTI's board members. Warren Bernauer (2011) further argues that NTI and the RIAs profit from partnerships with industry without adequate engagement of communities in decision-making processes. For example, NTI changed its mining policy in 2007, reversing its longstanding opposition to uranium mining and exploration (NTI 2007). The change in their position was made as the Areva Resources Inc. mining company put forward a proposal to open the Kiggavik mine near Baker Lake, Nunavut (NTI 2007). For many community members in Baker Lake, this change was troubling. At NIRB's initial hearing the majority of Baker Lake residents expressed their opposition to the project (Bernauer 2011). Ultimately, following extensive community mobilization, the mine was not approved by NIRB (NIRB 2015), but the policy changes implemented by NTI and their support for uranium mining highlight the tensions between Inuit, the institutions meant to represent them, and the role mining might play in the Territory's development.

The CRI finds itself at the center of those tensions. As a program intended to address the needs of communities, implementation requires the participation of municipal, territorial, federal, and Indigenous organizations. For CanNor, bringing together all of these partners poses a great challenge, particularly when those actors have their own mandates and frameworks for development interventions. As one member of CanNor notes, it has not always been easy to manage the portfolios of participating partners:

The biggest challenge from my perspective was getting the GN and the territorial governments on board. Because they saw this as meddling in their portfolio. One effort was to try to get them in as a partner, so they could deliver the CRI on our behalf ... because they would be part of working on managing or developing some sort of solution to the problem. But that hasn't happened. (CanNor interview 2015e)

Similarly, although CanNor holds strong partnerships with the RIAs, at the time of this project, there was no clear plan for how they would be involved in implementation. As a representative of KIA states:

What role [are the RIAs] going to [have] in terms of the implementation of these plans? I don't know. I mean we do have some funding that communities can apply for. I could also see us acting as kind of an advocate, or you know, providing support if the hamlet requires it, or as a community organization requires it. But, I think that these plans, the readiness map being so wide reaching, that it's going to take a lot of partners, not just an [RIA], not just CanNor. It will take a lot of partners to move things along. (KIA interview 2015)

The question of who is left to coordinate those partnerships remains. One CanNor member suggested that the CRI maps could be used as a tool for communities to “shop around” to different potential partners, who could then fund and take responsibility for implementation. This does however pose potential capacity issues. As that same member of KIA suggests, this would be a difficult task for communities, already struggling with limited capacity, to manage without funding directed towards a community coordinator:

You know, at the end of the day, so much, and it's an issue that a lot of communities face in Nunavut, or probably right across rural Canada, a lot of responsibilities fall to the local government, to the Hamlet. And you know, they can only juggle so much. But, I really can't see it working any other way. But, if they can secure funds to hire a coordinator, someone who is qualified, who's energetic and knowledgeable, then theoretically that person could you know, it's kind of like hiring the implementation staff person, that would be kind of the seed money and that person proceeds to bring in project funding. (KIA Interview 2015)

Hiring a community coordinator to facilitate funding and partnership building was a primary recommendation suggested in the Kugluktuk CRI. CanNor has not funded this position in Kugluktuk. CanNor representatives have however stated that it is an option they are pursuing with the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (CanNor interview 2015f).

While there have been difficulties coordinating with NTI and the Territorial government, CanNor has suggested that they remain responsible for bringing together the appropriate partners for implementation. As one employee suggested CanNor will remain active in implementation coordination:

If anyone thinks that our role is to hand it over to the community when the map is done, they've missed the whole point of this. It's actually almost the opposite ... It's our work to help implement it. We're really in the learning phase right now, thinking about how do you put together the right consortium of the willing. Who's got the right tools and mechanisms to start implementing some of those things? (CanNor interview 2015f)

Several CanNor employees emphasized that the recommendations that come out of the CRI maps are meant to be taken up not only by CanNor, but also by partnering federal agencies. An important challenge in the pilot phase of the CRI has therefore been adequate engagement with those partnering agencies to ensure that funds are available for communities upon completion of the CRI maps. As one CanNor employee noted, "In future, there will be greater emphasis on earlier engagement with federal departments" (CanNor interview 2015b). At present CanNor is still working to strengthen those partnerships and at the time of interviews no firm funding had been dedicated to the implementation of community recommendations by other federal agencies. Although CanNor maintains that its role in implementation is to coordinate between communities and potential funding partners, the responsibility to find funding for projects has thus far relied heavily on the capacity of local communities.

To date, the CRI is still in the consultation phase in four of seven of the participating communities. For those who have completed consultations and have moved forward on their recommendations, implementation has focused on those ‘low-hanging fruit’ (CanNor interview 2015a) identified by CanNor. For Kugluktuk several partnership and programming options have been explored. However, of the forty-eight distinct recommendations made to date, only mine training and mental health initiatives (run through non-profit organizations) have been implemented.

In coordination with CanNor, the Mine Training Society has run a mining job training session for fifteen Kugluktuk community members. This session included an additional on-the-land component to address issues that arise in the transition into mine work (CanNor Interview 2015a). A potential project is being explored with Health Canada to examine the impacts of residential schools, and there is talk of establishing a Men’s support group (CanNor interview 2015a).

During the writing of this thesis it was communicated to Kugluktuk CRI consultant, Dr. Gabel, that the non-profit Moving Forward Together Initiative has offered programming geared towards children and youth, including after school programming, parenting classes, counselling services, and Applied Suicide Intervention Training to twenty community members. It is not clear the extent to which CanNor, or any other federal agency, has been involved in coordinating or providing funding for these mental health programs. The programming has been offered in collaboration with the Kugluktuk Community Wellness Coordinator, and appears to be a predominately Hamlet lead initiative. While the Moving Forward Together program is a first step in providing much needed mental health services, the programs targets children and youth, leaving a

programming gap for men in their twenties and thirties - an important target group identified in the Kugluktuk CRI final report.

The prioritization of the 'low-hanging fruit' by CanNor points to an important disjuncture between their stated goals and approach towards implementation. Community members want structural change, and the recommendations of the Kugluktuk CRI point to the need to build community capacity such that not only those who have traditionally been targeted for mine training are the recipients of programming, financial support, and government driven capacity building. CanNor's stated goals in the CRI do present a desire to address community issues through a more holistic approach, pulling upon various government agencies and industry partners. However, CanNor is faced with a number of structural limitations that have thus far inhibited implementation of recommendations that are more structural in nature, and have instead relied upon industry and non-profit organizations to do this work. CanNor faces a limited budget, and a constrained mandate that makes an engagement with the complexity of the northern mixed economy difficult. At the nexus of complex - and at times conflicting - governance systems the negotiation of responsibility for implementation is no easy task for a small federal agency. It is therefore understandable that, as Li (2007) suggests, those recommendations that do fit easily into CanNor and industry mandates, and conform with readily available programming, are prioritized. However, reliance on industry and small Hamlet councils to move forward with recommendations, even for those 'low-hanging fruit' items, places a burden on communities already facing capacity issues and limits

their ability to address structural issues through the integrated approach CanNor has pledged.

5.6 What's at stake in prioritization?

As Li (2007 p2) argues, prioritization depends on expert ability to “problematize” and “render technical” community concerns into a language that is legible to the state and its structures. Rendering complex and relational community concerns legible requires a translation into a bureaucratic or technical discourse. Similar to the cartographic process highlighted by Harley (1988), this translation brings certain issues into focus and necessitates the erasure of others (Li 2007). Prioritization is thus a highly political process by which experts deem a specific set of issues worth the concern and resources of the state, while leaving other, often more complex or controversial, issues aside. Li (2007) argues that this identification of deficiencies in a target population, and the corresponding identification of points of intervention for improvement, is the hallmark of governmental power.

This process has important implications for how Indigenous communities are able to express, or render legible, their development concerns. Scholars examining the translation of Traditional Ecological Knowledge into scientific discourse have noted a similar process at play. As Paul Nadasdy (1999 p5) argues, “compartmentalization has profound effects on how people can think about knowledge and the ways in which it can be used.” Arun Agrawal (2002 p290) refers to this compartmentalization of traditional knowledge as ‘particularisation,’ arguing that only those forms of Indigenous knowledge

that are deemed relevant to the interests of those in power are taken up while “Other forms of such knowledge, precisely because they are irrelevant to the needs of development, can be allowed to pass away.” Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2005 p377) furthers this argument positing that those forms of knowledge that are ‘distilled’ or ‘allowed to pass away’ in the translation of Indigenous knowledge by scientists and government experts, are often those “that are subversive in nature and that are a direct threat to those who maintain their power as beneficiaries of the colonial system.” The compartmentalization and distillation of Indigenous knowledge reifies the dominance of western modes of thinking and wipes away assertions of resistance to that very system.

Li (2007) argues that the process of compartmentalizing development issues into technical solutions legible to state, renders those issues apolitical. For Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982 p196) the reliance on ‘expert’ determination of development issues takes “what is essentially a political problem, remov[es] it from the realm of political discourse, and recast[s] it in the neutral language of science.” Ferguson and Lohmann (1994 p270) add to this argument, stating that the technical selection of development interventions serves to "squash political challenges to the system – not only by enhancing the powers of administration and repression, but by insistently reposing questions of land, resources, jobs, or wages as technical ‘problems’ responsive to technical ‘development’ intervention." This, Ferguson and Lohmann (1994) argue, limits engagement with questions regarding systemic inequalities and/or control of the means of production.

In the CRI, the prioritization of the ‘low-hanging fruit’ requires the uptake of those recommendations that are already legible to the state and that are solved most easily by the mining economy. When CanNor states that “the asks that are made must fit into

the specific mandates and funding opportunities presented by participating federal agencies” (CanNor interview 2015b), there is a perceived need to translate community recommendations into a format that is legible to the mandates and discourse of the state. Furthermore, a focus on increasing mine employment creates little room for development interventions that may challenge the centrality of capitalist production, or bring into focus the need for cultural or spiritual renewal in communities. As Jeffery Corntassel (2012 p88) articulates, “policy makers who frame new government initiatives as ‘economic development’ miss the larger connections embedded within Indigenous economies linking homelands, cultures and communities” and in doing so “run the risk of seeking political and/or economic solutions to contemporary challenges that require sustainable, spiritual foundations” (Corntassel 2012 p115-116). Recommendations, such as a focus on mental health, are deprioritized because they are seen as intangible, too complex, or outside the purview of partnering implementation agencies. This prioritization thus limits discussion on how development programming may need to engage with historical trauma, colonization, or the structural roots that underlie the manifestation of particular development issues. In this sense, a focus on development ‘problems’ like a lack of mine training may depoliticize or turn attention away from recommendations that challenge the prevailing neoliberal economic system.

In contrast, the Kugluktuk CRI mental health recommendations acknowledge the impact of colonization and residential schools and seek solutions that are rooted in Inuit epistemologies and land-based relationships. For example, in the Kugluktuk CRI, Health and Mental Health Recommendation number nine states, “Intergenerational trauma has placed a significant burden on many young men in Kugluktuk, sometimes resulting in

serious mental health problems” and connects this to the high rates of addiction experienced by community members (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p115). The recommendation calls for a multipronged approach that includes on-the-land-education, connections to elders and cultural practices, as well as public educational programming. The importance of relationships to land and community is further highlighted in Health and Mental Health recommendation number fifteen. This recommendation addresses the lack of support for traditional approaches to supporting mental health and recommends increased access to such supports through partnerships between elders, community members, and community organizations, as well as through increased cultural sensitivity of services provided by the local health clinical (Kugluktuk CRI 2015). Such recommendations therefore bring into play the importance of the principles of *inuuqatigiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq*, *niqiqainnarniq* (Peoplehood, Personhood, Livelihood) (McGrath 2011) and the central role of relationships between land and the overall wellbeing of the community. As Natcher (2009 p85) notes, the importance of land-based activities is not limited to harvesting, fishing, or the production of goods and services but also “entails the transmission of social norms and cultural values... Participation in subsistence activities is fundamental in maintaining the social vitality and cultural continuity of Aboriginal communities.” Although mine work can provide the economic means to access necessary equipment, transportation, and time off for hunting, it has been reported that mine workers actually spend less time on the land (Gibson and Klinick 2005). Moreover, the vitality of the land and land-based practices are put at risk, or are undermined, through the environmental impacts of extractive industries (Kuokannen 2011b). Programs that facilitate entrance into mining jobs may provide short term economic relief, but do little

to sustain cultural values and practices or land-based relationships and may indeed work to undermine them. To that effect, the pursuit by CanNor of recommendations that focus on engagement with the mine economy pull limited resources away from much needed structural changes and instead focus on programs that work to entrench neoliberal measures of well-being wherein value is determined through wage employment.

5.7 Biopolitics and Development

The impact of prioritizing certain recommendations is not limited to the restriction of eligible development concerns, or to the depoliticization of the recommendations that are taken up. The process of prioritization also selects for certain portions of the community as eligible for development itself and contributes, and as was suggested by Pickles (2004) to the formation of particular identities. The ‘low-hanging fruit’ as outlined by CanNor targets community members who are already at a certain level of health and economic stability, and who are willing to participate in the mining economy. With the belief that “the one tool [for development] is the resource base” (CanNor interview 2015a), what becomes of the community concern that “... no one is going to leave for work if they’re not in a ready state. They need to be mentally stable.” (Hamlet worker interview 2015)?

The ‘mine-ready’ population CanNor’ has targeted through the ‘low-hanging fruit’ is in fact a small portion of the community. Data from the Kugluktuk CRI Survey found that the ‘mine-ready workforce’, defined as “persons between the ages of 18 and 64 who have graduated from high school and/or ended college” (Kugluktuk CRI 2015 p41), was roughly five hundred people. While this number may at first appear large for a

community with a population of 1400, 53% of those eligible for mine-work were working at the time of the survey. Among those who were not working, many stated that they were unable or uninterested to work because they were caring for children or elderly relatives, were spending time on the land, or were not able to work due to illness or disability (Kugluktuk CRI 2015). Roughly 30% of men aged eighteen to twenty-four reported their mental health as fair or poor (Kugluktuk CRI 2015) and as was noted earlier, Kugluktuk holds a suicide rate roughly nine times the national average (Statistics Canada 2012; Hicks 2015). Additional barriers include the high percentage of the local population that possess criminal records, and who are therefore ineligible for mine work without a pardon of that record. Although overall rate of criminal charges appears to be dropping, in 2014 the rate of adults in the Kitikmeot charged with a criminal violation was 9282 per 100,000 (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics 2015). This compares to the national rate of 5046 per 100,000 in the same year (Stats Can 2015). With community members unable or unwilling to do mine work, and with a crime rate at almost double that of the national average, the actual ‘mine-ready’ population is substantially reduced.

A focus on mine work training programs, and the pardoning of criminal records, may therefore assist those who are willing and/or able to join the wage economy, but does little for the majority of the local population. Moreover, for those who are not among the ‘mine-ready workforce’ the CRI’s focus on the ‘low-hanging fruit’ recommendations does little to alleviate the structural circumstances which give rise to such pressures.

The selection of the ‘mine-ready’ population by CanNor occurs, not through an explicit program, but rather through the particular assemblage of the limiting structures in

which the agency is situated. Given its restricted budget, its specific economic mandate, and its particular orientation towards capitalist development, CanNor is forced to make calculations about where its resources are allocated. As one federal employee illustrates, that means making difficult choices about who is targeted in programming:

Development is not going to solve all issues in the community ... it's very, very hard to deal with personal issues. Until you are able to say 'I have a problem and I want help', until you do that nothing matters. You could have top notch counsellors ... but you're just wasting good money. And the CRI can do nothing to help an individual identify that they have a problem. (CanNor interview 2015a)

Mental health issues are categorized here as an individual challenge that are not easily taken up through development programming, and are not seen as a productive investment for the state. If one suffers from mental health issues it is seen as a personal difficulty to overcome, something to surmount on one's own, before being able to engage in programming that is targeted at those who are more easily brought into the wage economy. Investments are made in those individuals who are able to participate in mining employment training, who are seen as a more productive return on investment. Thus, the subjects of development are produced as community members already within reach of capitalistic economic production. However, the large percentage of the population that is not willing or able to be 'mine-ready' is rendered, as Li (2007 p15) suggests, "unimprovable" by such development structures.

For Li, to be rendered 'unimprovable' is linked to Foucault's (2003 p241) biopolitics and the governing power to "make live and let die". In *The Will to Improve*, the categories of improbability Li (2007) speaks of are rooted in a desire to 'make live' certain categories of people, but have historically ignored those who do not conform to

the desire of the capitalist state. Those actors who do not conform are thus placed outside the concern of developing forces.

Li argues that more recently tactics of improvement have been taken up by technocratic development programs and that these programs, although not as overt or hegemonic as in past, are at their core colonial projects. Working from Foucault's definitions of government (the "conduct of conduct") Li (2007 p5) argues that development schemes target populations rather than individuals, in order to "shape human conduct by calculated means." Governments operate by educating desires, and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs, such that "people, following only their own self-interest, will *do as they ought*" (Li 2007 p7). She emphasizes that while persuasion may be used to gain consent of the population, state power operates via diffuse and calculated means, relying upon the advice of 'experts' to validate technical solutions to development problems that support the entrenchment of capitalist modes of colonial extraction.

The marginalization of certain subjects of improvement is not, therefore, a hegemonic force or part of a calculated plan. Instead, Li (2007) argues that the 'will to improve' is rooted in an authentic desire to improve lives, but as a governmental assemblage targeting populations is mired by contradictions that cause it to at times fall short of its goals of improvement. The consequence is that those who are not targeted for improvement are often cast aside in the process:

[T]he sad truth is that this desire is frustrated, especially for the poorest people, who are routinely dispossessed through the very processes that enable other people to prosper. Far too many of them cannot even access a living wage, because their labour is surplus to capital's requirements. (Li 2007 p88)

In the calculation of who is deserving of resources, those who easily fit within the technical solutions provided by capitalist development are more readily targeted, and those who are not fall by the wayside.

In the case of the CRI, the force to ‘make live’ neoliberal subjects is manifested through the prioritization of recommendations that enable the entrenchment of development predicated on capitalist production. By focusing on mine-training programs and on criminal record pardoning programs the CRI works to target those subjects of development that fit most easily into the mining economy. Those in the community who are ‘mine-ready’ receive CanNor support through funded programming and policy implementation support. By casting the problems of mental health as an individual issue, rather than as part of the ongoing and structural impacts of colonialism, the CRI enables an approach that produces the subjects of development through neoliberal values and categorizes the unwell as outside the purview of development interventions.

5.8 Conclusion

When we examine the difference in the Kugluktuk CRI recommendations and CanNor’s responses to implementation, there exists a disjuncture between CanNor’s desire to be holistic and those recommendations that are seen as tangible or are deemed ‘low-hanging fruit’. Kugluktuk’s CRI put forth forty-eight distinct recommendations, some of which call for structural change and development that go beyond engagement with the mining economy. CanNor faces many limitations that have not resulted in the prioritization of mental health services or a development model rooted in community and land-based relations. Instead the agency has focused on mine training and criminal record

pardoning. These programs do little to reach those in the community who continue to struggle with the impacts of colonial trauma, or who seek development through engagement with subsistence or mixed economies. Although CanNor recognizes the importance of mental health and cultural well-being, it is limited by its budget, specific mandate of economic development, and by the difficult task of bringing together diverse, and at times divergent, agencies. CanNor has been tasked with the difficult role of making complex community recommendations legible within the framework of those partners. The translation of community recommendations into the mandates of those agencies requires the selection of those points of intervention which are most easily legible and actionable by those partners. This translation is therefore necessarily selective and recommendations that have been taken up are the 'low-hanging fruit', those points which, as Li (2007) suggests, can be answered through already available technical solutions provided by industry. The recommendations that are seen as too complex or too structural in nature, are deprioritized or left in the periphery of implementation planning. In consequence, development recommendations are categorized as eligible or ineligible, and in the process serve to categorize community members as 'improvable' or 'unimprovable'. Those community members who are not easily taken up into the mining economy, by those readily available solutions, remain in the periphery and their demands unsupported by the interventions state development offers.

Chapter 6

Conclusion - New Model, Old Goals

The CRI is still in its initial phases. At the time of interviews CanNor was in the process of developing its implementation plan and had yet to complete consultations in all of the participating communities. There is however excitement regarding the opportunities the CRI model presents for government and industry actors. As one federal government worker shared, CanNor has already given presentations to the other federal and provincial development agencies about this “community-led” mine readiness program, and there is interest in transferring this model to resource rich areas like the Ring of Fire mining developments in Northern Ontario (CanNor interview 2015f). The CRI does present an interesting new model for engaging communities in resource development. Unlike older mining operations, the CRI begins its consultations with community members well before the EIA stage, and aims to “empower communities to begin to take a more active management role in managing the impacts from resource development” (CanNor 2015a np) rather than taking a traditional top-down approach with directives sent from Ottawa. However, does it achieve this goal of empowerment, and is the model presented in the CRI really all that different from the approaches historically taken in state interventions in the Canadian arctic?

When one looks at the origins of CanNor and the SPI, it is clear that the CRI arose from the state’s historic interest in extractive resources as the pillar of northern development. From the ebbs and flows of mines in the 1950s to the current push for renewed extraction, mining and resource extraction has remained a key tenet in federal interventions in the North. The CRI is no different in this respect. The project centers on

the question of how to make the most of an anticipated boom in mining, asking communities to reflect on their futures through a framing that centers wage employment and economic growth as the primary measures of development. As we have seen through the Kugluktuk CRI, this approach is not always compatible with community conceptions of well-being, nor is it without material or epistemic consequence.

The CRI's orientation towards the security of capital investment is visible in all elements of the project's constructions, its application, and in the questions that remain around its implementation. In Chapter Three, working from the questions of critical cartographers, I examined how the construction of the CRI templates was revealing of the underlying political ambitions and epistemological approach of CanNor. The templates' particular construction serves to bring into focus who in the community is ready to be brought into the mining economy, through its questions that emphasize current rates of employment, education levels, and through its examination of the resources needed to grow that mine-ready population. Although the project is meant to be community-led, CanNor has constructed the templates, and expressed some concern about the comparability of projects that chose to deviate from those templates. Furthermore, the particular construction of the templates points to CanNor's underlying desire to demarcate where risk lies for industry. The CRI provides an opportunity for communities to meet and discuss their future development goals, but in a manner which also tracks for industry which communities will make the safest sites of investment. The templates do not however provide a similar opportunity for the centering of Inuit understandings of well-being and prosperity. The templates lay out the educational levels of community members, and their willingness to participate in mine work, but they do not seek to bring

into focus, or to support, ways of being already weakened through ongoing colonial processes.

The effects of the selections made in the construction of the CRI templates are further amplified in CanNor's desired priority areas for implementation. In Chapter Four, I explored how the *inuugatiingniq*, *inuusiqattiarniq*, *niqiqainnarniq* (Peoplehood, Personhood, Livelihood) (McGrath 2011) approach taken in the Kugluktuk CRI led to development recommendations that were much more structural in nature than those CanNor sought to prioritize. Despite CanNor's ambitions to work across federal agencies and their real desire to address some of the structural issues that underlie the most pressing development issues faced by Inuit, they are confronted with substantial limitations in their ability to do so. Restricted by the fear of 'mandate creep', CanNor is forced to ensure that those recommendations that are taken up fit into the mandates of the participating agencies. CanNor has consequently pushed for the selection of 'low-hanging fruit' recommendations, prioritizing those problems for which technical solutions already exist and can be provided through non-governmental actors. These 'low-hanging fruit' recommendations are those which seek to improve the lives of community members who already seem to fit easily into a capitalist paradigm, and who can further support extractive industries.

Importantly, what is deemed unworthy of selection in both the construction of the templates and in those recommendations that fall by the wayside is highly indicative. By selecting for information regarding safe investment sites and the employability of the local population, and through the prioritization of recommendations that act to bring those select community members into mine labour, a paradigm of development is

structured in which those goals that support capitalist production receive government support. Calling for increased access to mining employment does little for the large number of community members struggling with mental health issues or trauma that prevent them from participating in mine work-readiness programming. Nor does it address the structural roots of those issues – mine work-readiness programming does not act to reconnect community members with the land or subsistence practices, or give room to challenge the persistent structures of capitalist-colonialism. Indeed, as Kuokkanen (2011b) suggests, the assimilation of Inuit into the mine economy ties them to a system which endangers the very viability of the land-based practices and subsistence economy that are central to Inuit ontologies.

When certain recommendations are placed in the periphery, as too intangible or as simply too complicated to tackle within the confines of specific agency mandates, it is those more structural recommendations that are left behind. This in turn works to set limits on what is seen as possible within the realm of community development. While job training and the expedition of criminal record checks are seen as tangible development goals that can be prioritized in the short term, and implemented through non-governmental partners, mental health and recommendations that ask for greater self-determination and decolonization, are relegated to the realm of the undoable. In doing so the recommendations that receive government support and funding are those that forward the entrenchment of capitalist interventions. Recommendations that may challenge the certainty of capital investment, and the role of extractive industry in development planning, are depoliticized or erased all together. Regardless of community desires, the unfortunate consequence is that this orientation towards the ‘low-hanging’ fruit serves to

undermine the stated goals of the CRI program. As community members suggest, and the recommendations of the Kugluktuk CRI demonstrate, without addressing the underlying and structural issues that prohibit healthy living, communities will see little change in their ability to engage with and profit from increased extractive industry.

Although the CRI is a new and relatively small program it is tied into the many governance structures and governmental actors that organize life in Nunavut. While this thesis has explored the initial composition of the project and CanNor's first forays into implementation, there are a number of aspects that were not addressed. While it is too early at this stage to see how the CRI will impact community members on a day to day basis, there exist important biopolitical processes that require closer examination. This program in its current state seeks to 'make live' neoliberal subjects, however the fate of those not targeted by programming remains to be seen. The stakes are however very high. In a territory with the highest national rates of suicide, high rates of unemployment, and a high cost of living, what will become of those Nunavummiut whose cultural, spiritual, and material needs lie outside the mandates of state development agencies? If the goal of the CRI is to make the most of mining, what of community members that are too unwell to access the services and employment industry might provide? What of those communities who decide that they want development without investment in extractive resources? What role should the state play in mediating development, and what role should industry play in these processes? Will the CRI serve to shift the benefit of mining from industry to Indigenous communities, or will it serve to recreate old colonial models of primitive accumulation under new labelling?

At a practical level, it would be interesting to explore how this program has rolled out in the remaining six participating communities. Although CanNor has shown some resistance to changing the template categories, the participating communities have taken a variety of approaches in their consultations. An examination of how this program has occurred in all seven communities would further clarify CanNor's approach and political motivations. Furthermore, it would be most revealing to engage with community members and gauge what their response has been to CanNor's approach to implementation. Much more could be said regarding the 'participatory' nature of the project and the power imbalances that exist between community members and the governance structures they must navigate in both the creation and implementation of this project.

Further to that line of inquiry, is the role that the CRI might play in the restructuring of governance relationships. As one federal government employee suggested, the CRI could be used to give over more power to communities in the negotiation of IIBAs with industry (CanNor interview 2015a). It was suggested that with the CRI report in hand, that communities would be able to approach industry directly to ensure that their development demands would be met. At this early stage in the CRI there is no evidence that this has occurred, nor that industry, or the RIAs - who are required through the NLCA to sign IIBAs with industry - would be amenable to these types of negotiations. If communities were to use the CRI to guide consultations with industry there would be much broader implications for how political power is distributed and how governance relationships are established. As one federal employee noted:

The rebalancing of power has a very broad implication and I would never want to think that we're doing that. It's not our role... I might say that it creates a bit more collectivity around it. Because you can have the [RIA] leadership negotiating the IIBA and never really talking to the communities directly about what they want or not. If these CRI Maps get done and if things start to get implemented, that will help inform the negotiating team from the Regional Inuit Association. They will be better informed and have hopefully better negotiations and the community's voice will have found itself through something that we happen to help support them to do. So, maybe it's more like a win, win, win. We win because we have an informed community. The community wins because they have a voice and were able to articulate it and capture it and the RIA team has a win because they have the weight of the views of the community that have been properly pulled together. Of course the issue becomes if there is a schism between the two. (CanNor interview 2015f)

The repositioning of power regarding IIBA negotiations could have important implications in terms of how Nunavut communities relate to the RIAs, but also to how industry engages in IIBA negotiations. More importantly the repositioning of community control in IIBA negotiations could contribute to a reshaping of who holds responsibility in terms of development planning and implementation, and how the federal government negotiates its role with industry.

What has, however, been made clear in this thesis is that there exists a disjuncture between the goals laid out at the CRI's onset and CanNor's ability to achieve those same goals. For a project that is meant to be participatory and community-led, CanNor maintains a great deal of control over how the project has been shaped and in deciding which recommendations will receive their support and limited funding.

The participatory model of the CRI does, however, create certain opportunities for communities. As the Kugluktuk CRI demonstrates, when communities push for modifications of the CanNor templates towards questions that are grounded in Inuit epistemologies, new and more complex issues are brought into focus, and from those discussions come recommendations that are more structural in nature. That the project is

meant to be ‘community-led’ presents an opening for Indigenous communities to assert differing articulations of how development may play out in the North. What remains to be seen is how CanNor and its partnering federal agencies choose to act on those articulations.

CanNor finds itself at an important juncture. The CRI is novel in its desire to empower communities in the management of extractive resources. At this early stage of implementation CanNor has the opportunity to reflect on the completed CRIs and, where possible, make certain changes in their approach. If the Kugluktuk CRI is to stand as an example of the potential and the limitations of this program, there are a few key lessons for CanNor to consider.

First, is the question of participation and community empowerment. Much has been written about community-based participatory approaches and the challenges of true partnership in academic work (Themba and Minkler 2003; Dressler et al 2010; Grimwood et al. 2012; Castleden et al. 2012b). Central among them is who has the power to shape, communicate, and act on the research that is produced (Gearheard and Shirley 2007; Koster et al 2012). A similar process is at play here in the CRI. With templates provided by CanNor, made with limited input from participating communities, the scope of the project is set by the mandates of CanNor, INAC and their partnering federal agencies. As the Kugluktuk CRI demonstrates, allowing for communities to shape the consultation questions and turning over greater control of how results are then analyzed and presented, is an important step towards a truly community-led process. It is however only a small step.

Second, as the challenges of the Kugluktuk CRI show, there exist a number of concerns regarding the implementation of the community recommendations that come out of the CRI Maps. CanNor and its federal partners hold a great deal of power in prioritizing recommendations, and control funding to put those recommendations into action. Communities are required to make their development needs legible to the government by framing their recommendations through the mandates and stipulations of the partnering agencies. Furthermore, as several CanNor employees suggested, communities may be required to approach partnering federal agencies themselves, placing a substantial burden on communities already facing great capacity shortages. Ultimately, if this project is to be community-led and serve their empowerment, communities should be allowed to shape the framing of the project itself, and federal agencies should prioritize community needs over adhering to rigid mandates. This would require a greater leniency and adaptability among federal mandates, and configurations that would ensure communities are supported in accessing those agencies.

Third, the challenges faced by fears of ‘mandate creep’ point to larger structural issues that must be addressed. Initially positioned as a program to ‘empower’ communities to help deal with the ramifications of an increase in mine activity, the program is highly limited by the capitalist structures from which it was conceived. By asking that communities frame their recommendations in ways that fit squarely within federal mandates, the structural development desires of Indigenous communities are depoliticized or cast aside entirely. If this project is truly to empower Indigenous communities, it would require a turn away from the neoliberal principles that currently underwrite federal mandates. The markers of development must be allowed to go beyond

wage labour and the valuation of individuals based on their monetary contributions to the capitalist economy. Instead, development policies should root articulations of community concerns in Indigenous epistemologies, seek to sustain connections to land, to enrich self-determination, and to do so even if they pose a challenge to capitalism's dependence on extractive resources.

The CRI does in many ways represent a shift in state approaches to development in the North. The program originates from a recognition of the deleterious impacts that mining often brings to Indigenous communities, and seeks to better position them in future. What has not however changed are the underlying forces that shape federal conceptions of what a better future might mean for communities. The CRI is demonstrative in this respect of the particular articulations of a contemporary approach to state development and to the ways in which neoliberal formulations of development are being entrenched in Canada's North. The formulation of the template and the limitations that CanNor faces in implementation point to an approach that continues to center the security of capital investment, and the role of industry, in ways that are not always congruent with community conceptions of well-being.

For Kugluktukmiut these issues are all too real. As a community that has seen mines come and go, that has witnessed various government consultations, and iterations of development programs, little will change under a program that presents a new model for dealing with mines, but maintains old goals of seeking to increase the security of the mining economy. Instead, new visions of development must be sought out that prioritize those goals which are most meaningful to all Inuit, not only to those better positioned to be taken up by wage labour. As one Kugluktukmiut shared, for the CRI to succeed in

bettering the lives of Inuit community members, the program must find ways to address the structural issues which limit the greater population from participating in such programs:

If you want to know what needs to be done for the community to be ready for this development, then this is what needs to be addressed... We needed to find a way to work to help people be able to get jobs when we have resource development. That stems from everywhere - supporting our youth so that they go to school, so that they can get jobs and not only trade jobs but management and other positions... When all those issues are addressed and people are healthy and well, then they can really take part in it. (Kugluktuk Hamlet interview, 2015)

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Question Guide

Sample Questions for Government Interviews:

- Please describe the general purpose/role of this agency/department and the nature of your work/position within it. How long have you held this position?
- Please describe the nature of your involvement with the Community Readiness Initiative.
- Why was the Community Readiness Initiative developed, and why was it deemed necessary to implement now?
- Please describe the different actors involved in creating the scope and format of the Community Readiness Initiative.
- What do you see as the principle goals of the Community Readiness Initiative? How do they relate to the broader objectives of your agency/department?
- In the development of the Community Readiness Initiative how did your department/agency determine the parameters of development to focus on? How was the format of the initiative decided?
- How were the pilot communities selected?
- The Community Readiness Initiative is in its initial stages, what do you see for the future of this initiative?
- What challenges does your agency/department anticipate once the CRI surveys have been completed?
- How do you perceive community response thus far towards the Community Readiness Initiative?
- There have been similar surveys completed in communities such as Kugluktuk before, what new opportunities for development does the Community Readiness Initiative present?
- How has the Community Readiness Initiative impacted your agency/department's relationship with the Regional Inuit Associations? With individual communities?
- How has the Community Readiness Initiative impacted your agency/department's relationship with industry?
- How does your agency/department anticipate managing community expectations around development policy changes?
- What, if any, support structures/programming are anticipated to aid communities implement their community readiness maps?
 - i.e. people are excited about implementation but wary that this will be another report that gathers dust on the shelf, how will CanNor ensure implementation?
- What funding is available to communities to implement their community readiness maps?
- In terms of implementation – what role will the fed gov't play – is it only about resolving the 'low hanging fruit' development issues?
- What role do you see industry playing in community development in the Kitikmeot region? In the North?

- It has been suggested that the framing of the CRI focuses too heavily on employability with industry. What is your response to that?

Sample Questions for Industry and Other Organization Interviews:

- Please describe the general purpose/role of this agency/department and the nature of your work/position within it. How long have you held this position?
- Please describe the nature of your involvement with the Community Readiness Initiative.
- In what ways have you/your organization been involved in the development of the Community Readiness Initiative?
- What do you see as the principle goals of the Community Readiness Initiative? How do they relate to the broader objectives of your organization?
- What do you/your organization hope to gain through your participation in the Community Readiness Initiative?
- What role do you see industry playing in the implementation of community development plans?
- What role do you see federal government playing in the implementation of community development plans?
 - NTI? The RIAs?
- How, if at all, has the Community Readiness Initiative impacted your relationships with both government and communities/industry?
- The Community Readiness Initiative was developed in part as a response to the negative socio-economic impacts felt in communities with the introduction of extraction projects. How do you see this initiative changing social outcomes for communities?
- The Community Readiness Initiative is in its initial stages, what do you see for the future of this initiative?
- What challenges does your company see in terms of community development implementation?
- What, if any, support structures/programming does your company already provide towards community development?
- It has been suggested that the CRI focuses too heavily on employability with industry. What is your response to that?

Appendix B: Interview Consent Form

Title: The Community Readiness Initiative and Mine-Ready Programming in Nunavut

Date of ethics clearance: April 21, 2015

Ethics Clearance for the Collection of Data Expires: May 31st, 2016

I _____, choose to participate in a study on the Community Readiness Initiative (CRI). This study aims to examine the origins and objectives of the CRI as it relates to the broader objectives of AANDC and CanNor. This research will also examine the role the CRI plays in shaping discourses of Northern development and the opportunities the CRI creates for government and extractive industries. The researcher for this study is Dana Holtby in the Geography Department of Carleton University. She is working under the supervision of Dr. Emilie Cameron in the Geography and Environmental Studies Department of Carleton University.

This study involves one interview of 60 to 120 minutes. With your consent, interviews will be audio-recorded. Once the recording has been transcribed, the audio-recording will be destroyed.

As this project will ask you about your employment, there are some potential professional risks to you if your statements are critical of your employer. While this risk is expected to be minimal, should you so desire your responses will be kept anonymous. You may also request that certain responses not be included in the final project.

You have the right to end your participation in the study at any time, for any reason, up until October 1st, 2015. You can withdraw by phoning or emailing the researcher or the research supervisor. If you withdraw from the study, all information you have provided will be immediately destroyed.

All research data, including audio-recordings and any notes will be encrypted. Any hard copies of data (including any handwritten notes or USB keys) will be kept in a locked cabinet at Carleton University. Research data will only be accessible by the researcher and the research supervisor. Once the project is completed, all research data will be kept for five years and potentially used for other research projects on this same topic. At the end of five years, all research data will be securely destroyed. (Electronic data will be erased and hard copies will be shredded.)

If you would like a copy of the finished research project, you are invited to contact me to request an electronic copy which will be provided to you.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research. Should you have questions or concerns related to your involvement in this research, please contact:

REB contact information:

Professor Louise Heslop, Chair
Professor Andy Adler, Vice-Chair
Research Ethics Board, Carleton University
511 Tory, 1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6
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Researcher contact information:

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Supervisor contact information:

Dr. Emilie Cameron
Geography
Carleton University
Tel: (613) 520-2600 ext. 6291
Email: emilie_cameron@carleton.ca

Do you agree to be audio-recorded: Yes No

I would like my identity to be anonymized: Yes No

Please note: In choosing to have your identity anonymized you will be referred to in broader terms (i.e. government worker, Inuit association worker ...). However, due to the small sample size of interviewees there is a possibility that your identity may be known relative to research participants who have identified themselves. In signing this form you consent to participating in this project and acknowledge the risks associated with doing so.

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of researcher

Date

Appendix C: CRI Community Skills Survey

Community Readiness Initiative Labour Skills Survey 2013 Personal Interview

The Community Readiness Initiative Labour Skills Survey (CSS) is being conducted by [] with technical and financial support from the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency. We are surveying all households in [the Community] to develop an understanding of the educational and training needs in the community as well as the wealth of skills and experience each person possesses.

We are interested in learning more about what the community priorities, issues and concerns are in relation to major resource developments. With this information we are hoping to identify and support opportunities through Community Readiness that benefit communities as mineral resource development occurs in Nunavut. By doing this survey we will also have a better chance of supporting better access to targeted programming to address needs and priorities identified in [the community].

We would like to ask you and each member of your household 15 years of age and older a few questions to help us gather information to be used to provide the best possible education and training opportunities for the people living in [the Community]. We have also include a short section on hunting and fishing and food security in order to better understand these important aspects of community life in your community.

The information you provide is your personal information. Your privacy will be respected. Information disclosed through this survey may, however, be reported publicly on a community-wide basis. Please do not hesitate to ask any questions throughout the survey. This is an opportunity to contribute to identifying benefits for your community.

Survey Form is attached as a separate cover. It prints on Legal Size paper.

**Community Skills Survey 2013-14
Personal Interview**

Section A: "This Section helps us create a data base so you can update your information in the future."

Form Number: _____

Family Name: _____ Given Name: _____

Gender: _____

1. What are the names of the persons who live here as of "September, 2013", even if they are away on business, school or vacation? (Starting with the yourself)

Person	Family Name	Given Name	Date of Birth D/M/Y	Gender, Male Female
Person 1				
Person 2				
Person 3				
Person 4				
Person 5				
Person 6				
Person 7				
Person 8				
Person 9				
Person 10				

2. Did you leave anyone out of Question 1 because you were not sure if the person should be listed?

- No
- Yes - please list their name and the reason they were not included:

Name:	Reason:
Address:	
Contact Info Tele/E-mail:	

Name:	Reason:
Address:	
Contact Info Tele/E-mail:	

Name:	Reason:
Address:	
Contact Info Tele/E-mail:	

**Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview**

**5. Are you currently enrolled in a College, other certificate or diploma program?
(For example: accounting technology, real estate agent, industrial engineering technology)**

1 Yes **Go to 5.1**
2 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refuse

5.1 Type: _____; What School? _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

6. Have you completed a College, other certificate or diploma program? (For example: accounting technology, real estate agent, industrial engineering technology)

1 Yes **Go to 6.1**
2 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refuse

6.1 Type: _____; What School: _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

7. Are you currently enrolled in a university degree program?

1 Yes, **Go To 7.1**
2 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refuse

7.1 What type of degree are you working towards?

1 Bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.Sc., LL.B)
School: _____ Type: _____

2 University certificate or diploma above bachelor level
School: _____ Type: _____

3 Master's degree (e.g., M.A., M. Sc., M.Ed.)
School: _____ Type: _____

4 Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry (e.g., M.D., D.D.S., D.M.D., D.V.M., O.D.)
School: _____ Type: _____

5 Doctorate (e.g., Ph.D., D.Sc., D.Ed.)
School: _____ Type: _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

8. Have you completed a university degree?

1 Yes, **Goto 8.1**
2 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refuse

8.1 What type of degree have you completed?

1 Bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.Sc., LL.B)
School: _____ Type: _____

2 University certificate or diploma above bachelor level
School: _____ Type: _____

3 Master's degree (e.g., M.A., M. Sc., M.Ed.)
School: _____ Type: _____

4 Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry (e.g., M.D., D.D.S., D.M.D., D.V.M., O.D.)
School: _____ Type: _____

5 Doctorate (e.g., Ph.D., D.Sc., D.Ed.)
School: _____ Type: _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2013
Personal Interview

Section C. "The next section is about other training you may have.

9. Have you ever had a license and/or ticket? (e.g., driver's license, first aid, air brakes ticket, WHMIS, etc.)

1 Yes 2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

↓ If Yes, Check all that apply.

9.1 First Aid:

- 1 Standard/Basic Current
- 2 Advanced Current
- 3 Industrial/Occupational Current
- 4 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 5 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

9.2 Safety:

- 1 Boat Current
- 2 Chainsaw Current
- 3 Firearms Current
- 4 Fire Fighters Current
- 5 HEED (Hunter Education) Current
- 6 TDG (Transportation of Dangerous Current
- 7 WHMIS Current
- 8 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 9 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 88 Don't Know 99 Refuse

9.3 Occupational:

- 1 Air Brakes Current
- 2 Flagging/Traffic Control Current
- 3 Food Safe Current
- 4 Heavy Equipment Operators Current
- 5 Lifeguard Current
- 6 Small Engine Repair Current
- 7 Trappers Current
- 8 Welding Current
- 9 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 10 Other (specify) _____ Current
- 88 Don't Know 99 Refuse

9.4 Driver's License: Current

- Class : 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- Other (specify) _____
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

9.5 Other licenses and/or tickets (specify type):

- 1 _____ Current
- 2 _____ Current
- 3 _____ Current
- 4 _____ Current
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2013
Personal Interview

Section C. Employment related training (continued)

10. Have you received any other employment-related training? (e.g. computer courses, time management courses, etc.)

- 1 Yes, Go to 10.1
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refuse

10.1 What types of training have you received?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____
- 8. _____
- 9. _____
- 10. _____

88 Don't Know 99 Refuse

11. Are you planning to take any employment-related training programs within the next two years? (e.g. computer courses, trades courses, an apprenticeship, a diploma or degree program etc.)

- 1 Yes Go to 11.1
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refuse

11.1 What type of training are you planning to take?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

**Community Skills Survey 2013
Personal Interview
Section D. "The next section is about your employment history."**

12. Are you currently working at a job or business?

12.
1 Yes, **Go to 12.1**
2 No, **Go to 12.4**

8 Don't Know
9 Refuse

12.1. Who is your main employer (business or organization) right now?
 Self-employed

12.1.1. Are you currently working at this job:
1 Full-time? 2 Part-time? 3 Seasonally? 4 On-call? 8 Don't know 9 Refuse

12.2. Do you have more than one job right now?
1 Yes ↓ [2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refused Go to

12.2.1. What other individual, business or organization do you currently work for?
 Self-employed
8 Don't Know 9

12.2.2. Are you currently working at this job:
1 Full-time? 2 Part-time? 3 Seasonally?
4 On-call? 8 Don't know 9 Refuse

12.3. Do you have another job right now? 1 Yes ↓ [2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refused Go to Q13.1.]

12.3.1. What other individual, business or organization do you currently work for?
 Self-employed
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

12.3.2. Are you currently working at this job:
1 Full-time? 2 Part-time? 3 Seasonally?
4 On-call? 8 Don't know 9 Refuse

Go to Question 13.1.

12.4. Would you like to be working at this time?

1 Yes, (**Go to 12.4.1**) 2 No (**Go to 12.5**) 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

12.4.1. In what occupation would you would you like to be working?

1 _____
8 Don't know 9

12.4.2 What keeps you from working at this time?

1 Child care responsibilities
2 Elder or partner care responsibilities
3 School/ studies
4 Health issues
5 Other _____
8 Don't know
9 Refuse

12.5. Have you ever worked at a job or business?

1 Yes, (**Skip to Question 13.2**)
2 No 8 Don't know 9 Refuse (**Skip to Question 14**)

Community Skills Survey 2013
Personal Interview

Section D. Employment (continued)

13.1 An occupation is a type of work (such as receptionist, carpenter, cashier, or electrician). What is your current (main) occupation?

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.1.1 Occupation code: _____

13.1.2 In your entire life, what is the total length of your experience in this occupation, including any time spent doing similar work for different employers?

Years: _____ Months (if less than 1 year): _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.2 An occupation is a type of work (such as receptionist, carpenter, cashier, or electrician). What is your past (or previous) occupation?

7 Not Applicable - Skip to Question 14
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.2.1 Occupation code: _____

13.2.2 In your entire life, what is the total length of your experience in this occupation, including any time spent doing similar work for different employers?

Years: _____ Months (if less than 1 year): _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.3 What is your other (or previous) occupation? _____

7 Not Applicable Skip to Question 14
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.3.1 Occupation code: _____

13.3.2 In your entire life, what is the total length of your experience in this occupation, including any time spent doing similar work for different employers?

Years: _____ Months (if less than 1 year): _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Repeat as required.

13.4 What is your other (or previous) occupation _____

7 Not Applicable Skip to Question 14
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

13.4.1 Occupation code: _____

13.4.2 In your entire life, what is the total length of your experience in this occupation, including any time spent doing similar work for different employers?

Years: _____ Months (if less than 1 year): _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview

Section E. "The next section is about Community Businesses and Mining."

14. Are you planning to start a new business in the next 2 years?

- 1 Yes (Go to 14.1) 14.1 What type of business are you planning to start?
2 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refuse
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15. Do you currently own or co-own a business that operates in the Nunavut?

- 1 Yes (Go to 15.1) 2 No (Go to Q 16) 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.1 What is the name of this business? _____

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.2 In addition to you, are there any co-owners of this business?

- 1 Yes (Go to 15.2.1) 2 No (Go to Question 15.3) 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.2.1 What are the names of the co-owners of this business?

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.3 What is the complete mailing address of this business?

Street/P.O. Box _____

Community _____

Territory/Province _____ Postal Code _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.4 What is the main telephone number for this business?

(____) - _____ 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

15.5 From time to time, we may be asked to share information about locally-owned business which could provide contracted services to various contracting agencies. Do you give permission to the Government to share information about this business with contracting agencies?

- 1 Yes 2 No
3 Contact someone else for permission (name) _____
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

**Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview**

16. Are you willing to train and work in the Mining Industry?

1 Yes 2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refused

16.1. Are you willing to work underground in Mining?

1 Yes 2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refused

16.2. Would you like to know more about a career in Mining?

1 Yes 2 No 8 Don't Know 9 Refused

If Yes, someone will contact you at this address.

...Go to Section F...

Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview
SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions

17. In the last year, did you hunt, fish or trap?

- 1 Yes (Go to Question 17.1) 2 No (Go to Question 19)
 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

17.1 During the hunting, fishing or trapping seasons, how often did you do this?

INTERVIEWER: Read categories to respondent. Combine frequency for all activities if respondent participated in hunting, fishing, and trapping.

Hunting	Fishing	Trapping
1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day
2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week	2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week	2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week
3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week
4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month	4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month	4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month
5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month
6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month	6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month	6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month
8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse

17.2 Did you do this... ?

Read categories to respondent. Mark all that apply.

Hunting	Fishing	Trapping
1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure	1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure	1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure
2 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income	2 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income	2 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income
3 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use	3 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use	3 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use
4 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with others in the community	4 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with others in the community	4 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with others in the community
5 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with people in other communities	5 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with people in other communities	5 <input type="checkbox"/> To share with people in other communities
6 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason Specify: _____	6 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason Specify: _____	6 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason Specify: _____
8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse

17.3 Did you do this... For some other reason

INTERVIEWER: Specify.

(80 spaces)

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2008

Personal Interview

SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions... Continued

18. Would you say that you would like to spend more time hunting, fishing, or trapping, less time doing it or that you are spending just about the right amount of time doing it?

- 1 More time (Go to Question 18.1)
- 2 Less time (Go to Question 20)
- 3 About the right amount of time (Go to Question 20)

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

18.1 What reasons prevent you from doing these activities more often?

INTERVIEWER: Mark all that apply.

- 1 Not enough time
- 2 Not enough money for supplies or equipment
- 3 Fewer animals
- 4 Quota restrictions
- 5 No one to do it with
- 6 Physical disability
- 7 Location
- 8 Other - Specify (Go to Question 18.2)

88 Don't Know 99 Refuse

18.2 What reasons prevent you from doing these activities more often?

INTERVIEWER: Specify.

(80 spaces)

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

19. Are you interested in hunting, fishing or trapping?

- 1 Yes (Go to Question 19.1)
- 2 No (Go to Question 20)

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

19.1 If yes, what reasons prevent you from doing these activities?

INTERVIEWER: Mark all that apply.

- 1 Not enough time
- 2 Not enough money for supplies or equipment
- 3 Fewer animals
- 4 Quota restrictions
- 5 No one to do it with
- 6 Physical disability
- 7 Location
- 8 Other - Specify (Go to Q 19.2)

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview
SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions

19.2 What other reasons prevent you from doing these activities more often?

(80 spaces)

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

20. How much country food came into the house this week?

Interviewer check all that apply

- Caribou
- Seal
- Narwhale
- Ptarmigan
- Moose
- Deer
- Goose
- Duck
- Char
- Other Fish
- Other, Please list _____

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

21.a Who caught or gave you country food?

Interviewer check all that apply

Relationship	Do they live in the community?			
<input type="checkbox"/> Husband	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Wife	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Father	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Father-in-law	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Mother-in-law	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Sister	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Brother	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Son living in House	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Son Living Out of House	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Friend	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, Please list _____	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused

8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2008

Personal Interview

SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions

21b. Who did you catch or give country food to.

Interviewer check all that apply

- | Relationship. | Do they Live in Community? | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Husband | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wife | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Father | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Father-in-law | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother-in-law | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sister | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Brother | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Son living in House | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Son Living Out of House | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Please list _____ | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

22. Who from outside your household came to eat country food at your house?

Interviewer check all that apply

- | Relationship. | Do they Live in Community? | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Father | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Father-in-law | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother-in-law | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sister | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Brother | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grandchildren | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Son | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Daughter | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Neighbour | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Please list _____ | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refused |
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

23. In the last year, did you make arts or crafts, for example, carvings, print making, drawings or jewelry?

- 1 Yes (Go to Question 20.1)
2 No (Go to Question 21)
8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview
SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions

23.1 Please list the types of arts and crafts you participated or worked in.

INTERVIEWER: Mark all that apply.

- 1 Print Making
- 2 Carving
- 3 Drawing
- 4 Jewelry
- 5 Clothing or Fashion Design
- 6 Other: (Please List here _____)
- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

23.2 In the last month, did you do this... ?

INTERVIEWER: Read categories to respondent after asking them which are the most frequent Arts and Crafts they participated in 1 through 3.

<i>Most Frequent Name</i> <u>Example Carving</u>	<i>Second Most Frequent Name</i> _____	<i>Third Most Frequent Name</i> _____
1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Every day
2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week	2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week	2 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week
3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week
4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month	4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month	4 <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month
5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month
6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month	6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month	6 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month
8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse

23.3 Did you do this ... ? *INTERVIEWER: Read categories. Mark all that apply.*

<i>Carving</i>	<i>Print-making</i>	<i>Other: Name</i> _____
1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure	1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure	1 <input type="checkbox"/> For pleasure or leisure
2 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use	2 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use	2 <input type="checkbox"/> For your own use or your family's use
3 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income	3 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income	3 <input type="checkbox"/> For money or to supplement your income
4 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason <i>Specify:</i> _____	4 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason <i>Specify:</i> _____	4 <input type="checkbox"/> For some other reason <i>Specify:</i> _____
8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	8 <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse	9 <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse

23.4 Did you do this work for some other reason:

INTERVIEWER: Specify type of Work

Type of Work: _____ Reason: _____

Type of Work: _____ Reason: _____

Type of Work: _____ Reason: _____

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

**Community Skills Survey 2008
Personal Interview**

SECTION F: Inuit Traditional Life Style Questions

23.5 Would you say that you would like to spend more time making arts or crafts, less time doing it or that you are spending just about the right amount of time doing it?

- 1 More time (Go to Q 21)
- 2 Less time (Go to Q 22)
- 3 About the right amount of time (Go to Q 22)

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

24. What reasons prevent you from doing these activities more often?

INTERVIEWER: Mark all that apply.

- 1 Not enough time
- 2 Not enough money to buy supplies or equipment
- 3 No one to teach the skills needed
- 4 Physical disability
- 5 Location
- 6 Just not Interested
- 7 Other - Specify (Go to TA_S02E)

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

(What other reasons prevent you from doing these activities more often?)

INTERVIEWER: Specify.

(80 spaces)

- 8 Don't Know 9 Refuse

25. Would you like a copy of the summary results of this survey?

- 1 Yes 2 No

25.1 Would you prefer to receive the results by:

Mail - What is your mailing address? _____

E-Mail - What is your e-mail address? _____

Appendix D: CRI Map Template

Community Readiness Map

Kugluktuk, Nunavut

2014-15



DRAFT

Community of
Kugluktuk
Address
Tel: (867) XXX-XXXX
Email: __@__.__

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This section presents a high-level synopsis of the entire document.

DRAFT

COMMUNITY READINESS BACKGROUND

This section presents a background on the Community Readiness Initiative in the context of Kugluktuk.

DRAFT

COMMUNITY OVERVIEW

This provides a general overview of the community of Kugluktuk, its composition, location, history and participation in the Community Readiness Initiative.

DRAFT

COMMUNITY READINESS COMMITTEE

This section provides an overview of the initiative governance, partner interest and involvement, the validation of community support and the communications protocols related to the initiative.

PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE

This section describes the Community Readiness committee and its purpose.

DESCRIPTION AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE

This section describes the Community Readiness committee, its governance structure, partners, their mandates, interests and participation in the initiative.

GOVERNANCE DOCUMENTS

This section outlines the governance documents behind the Community Readiness Initiative.

DRAFT

COMMUNITY READINESS APPROACH

This section describes the approach and methods taken by community and its partners through the Community Readiness process.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT

This section describes and documents the community's support for the initiative.

COMMUNICATIONS

This section describes the communications plans and protocols related to the initiative. Different communications means and mediums may need to be established and documented for different audiences to accommodate 'access' to the process and outputs.

DRAFT

COMMUNITY VALUED SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPONENT BASELINES

This section provides an overview of the Valued Socio-Economic Component (VSEC) baselines related to the community at the outset of the initiative. Note: This list should be validated across all regions and communities to capture unique components.

DEMOGRAPHICS

This section depicts the Demographic VSEC baseline information related to the community.

HEALTH & WELL-BEING

This section depicts the Health & Well-Being VSEC baseline information related to the community.

FOOD SECURITY

This section depicts the Food Security VSEC baseline information related to the community.

EDUCATION & TRAINING

This section depicts the Education & Training VSEC baseline information related to the community.

EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR MARKET

This section depicts the Employment and Labour Market VSEC baseline information related to the community.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

This section depicts the Economic Activity VSEC baseline information related to the community.

HOUSING

This section depicts the Housing VSEC baseline information related to the community.

CRIME

This section depicts the Crime VSEC baseline information related to the community.

LOCAL INFRASTRUCTURE

This section depicts the Local Infrastructure VSEC baseline information related to the community.

CULTURE

This section depicts the Culture VSEC baseline information related to the community.

TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES & SKILLS

This section depicts the Traditional Activities & Skills VSEC baseline information related to the community.

FATE CONTROL

This section depicts the Fate Control VSEC information related to the community.

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

This section depicts the Religion and Spirituality VSEC baseline information related to the community.

LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY

This section depicts the Land Use and Occupancy VSEC baseline information related to the community.

ENVIRONMENT

This section depicts the Environment VSEC baseline information related to the community.

COMMUNITY X SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CONTEXT AND DRIVERS

This section provides a community overview of the socio-economic development context and drivers in general terms and related to major resource development. It is focused on socio-economic development drivers and community-specific factors related to perceptions, predicted socio-economic impacts, priorities, issues and concerns – structured thematically around the Valued Socio-Economic Components identified by the community.

MAJOR RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

This section introduces and describes the nature of, past, present and reasonable foreseeable future major resource developments proximal to the community and of socio-economic interest.

PERCEPTIONS

This section documents community perceptions related to past, present or future developments.

MAJOR PROJECT(S) AND PREDICTED IMPACTS

This section documents the known major project(s) and their associated predicted socio-economic impacts related to the community's VSECs.

ISSUES AND CONCERNS

This section documents community issues and concerns related to the predicted socio-economic impacts on the community's VSECs.

PRIORITIES AND EXPECTATIONS

This section documents community priorities and expectations related to major resource development activities.

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

This section documents any knowledge gaps related to the associated predicted socio-economic impacts of the major project(s) on the community's VSECs.

GENERAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This section introduces and describes the nature of, past, present and reasonable foreseeable future socio-economic development *not* related to major resource developments. In other words, this section examines other factors which have shaped or will continue to shape a community (i.e. climate, location, health outcomes, access to markets, accessibility of services, infrastructure, etc.) which are not directly linked to resource development. As such, this section serves as a counter reference point to support broad community readiness planning.

PERCEPTIONS

This section documents general community perceptions related to past, present or future socio-economic developments *not* related to major resource development.

ISSUES AND CONCERNS

This section documents general community issues and concerns related to past, present or future socio-economic developments *not* related to major resource development.

PRIORITIES

This section identifies key short-, medium-, and long-term community priorities related to socio-economic development.

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

This section identifies knowledge gaps related to past, present or future socio-economic developments *not* related to major resource developments.

COMMUNITY READINESS ASSESSMENT

This section analyses information obtained through the preceding context. It applies key tools related to assessing the state of community readiness in relation to major resource development.

PEST ANALYSIS

This section provides an analysis of the political, economic, social and technological environments external to the community considering trends in the resource development sector and process.

FACTOR	ISSUE	COMMUNITY READINESS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR COMMUNITY		
		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
POLITICAL				
ECONOMIC				
SOCIAL				
TECHNOLOGICAL				

SWOT ANALYSIS

This section documents the community's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in relation to the resource development process. Information from the PEST analysis may inform this section.

INTERNAL ANALYSIS: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

This section documents what the community's internal strengths and weaknesses are and how they fit within the context of resource development.

FACTOR/VSEC	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
-------------	-----------	------------

<p>Demographics</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Age composition - Household structures 	<p>i.e. identify what the community's strongest resources/assets are within this VSEC area</p> <p>i.e. what opportunities exist to maximize the strength of this resource?</p> <p>i.e. are there resources that could become a relative strength with support, promotion or investment? If so, identify which resource(s).</p>	<p>i.e. what are the liabilities that can limit the achievement of community readiness goals and benefits (from identified opportunities related to this VSEC)?</p> <p>i.e. what are the constraints and needs that can inhibit the achievement of community-based readiness initiatives in this area?</p>
<p>Health & Well-Being</p> <p>i.e.</p> <p>Quality of Life:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cost of living 		
<p>Food Security</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Nutrition -Dietary preferences 		
<p>Education & Training</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Colleges or universities - Higher technical training - Vocational skills training - Business services and technical support 		
<p>Employment & Labour Market</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Skills - Wage Rates - Productivity - Availability 		

<p>Economic Activity</p> <p>i.e.</p> <p>Business Climate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government responsiveness - Taxes - Regulations and controls - Cooperation/assistance with private sector <p>Financial Capital:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Private capital -Public capital -Seed venture capital -Startup capital <p>Access to Markets:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Proximity to customers -Proximity to suppliers 		
<p>Housing</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cost of living - Availability - Rent or cost - Suitability 		
<p>Crime</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - safety of community 		
<p>Local Infrastructure</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Transportation: -Access to major highways -Access to airports 		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Access to port -Access to railways <p>Sites and Facilities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of sites and size - Cost - Infrastructure and utility availability - Telecommunications - Number of available/existing structures - Rent or cost - Suitability - Capacity of sewage lagoons -Capacity of electrical grid -Capacity of water treatment facilities 		
<p>Culture</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recreational centers 		
<p>Traditional Activities & Skills</p>		
<p>Fate Control</p>		
<p>Religion and Spirituality</p>		
<p>Land Use and Occupancy</p>		
<p>Environment</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Climate - Weather - Local resources 		

EXTERNAL ANALYSIS: OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS

This section documents what potential external opportunities and threats exist for the community to benefit or not to benefit from in relation to resource development.

FACTOR/VSEC	OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Demographics i.e. - Age composition - Household structures	i.e. what opportunities exist for maximizing, enhancing, or supporting existing identified strengths? i.e. Could identified weaknesses benefit from support? If so, describe. i.e. what opportunities external to the community can be identified for each category/VSEC?	i.e. what threatens the strengths? i.e. what threatens the realization of identified opportunities and benefits? i.e. what weaknesses stand to become worse and under what circumstances?
Health & Well-Being i.e. Quality of Life: -Cost of living		
Food Security i.e. -Nutrition -Dietary preferences		
Education & Training i.e. - Colleges or universities - Higher technical training - Vocational skills training - Business services and technical support		
Employment & Labour Market		

<p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Skills - Wage Rates - Productivity - Availability 		
<p>Economic Activity</p> <p>i.e.</p> <p>Business Climate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government responsiveness - Taxes - Regulations and controls - Cooperation/assistance with private sector <p>Financial Capital:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Private capital -Public capital -Seed venture capital -Startup capital <p>Access to Markets:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Proximity to customers -Proximity to suppliers 		
<p>Housing</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cost of living - Availability - Rent or cost - Suitability 		
<p>Crime</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - safety of community 		
<p>Local Infrastructure</p>		

<p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Transportation: -Access to major highways -Access to airports -Access to port -Access to railways <p>Sites and Facilities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of sites and size - Cost - Infrastructure and utility availability - Telecommunications - Number of available/existing structures - Rent or cost - Suitability - Capacity of sewage lagoons -Capacity of electrical grid -Capacity of water treatment facilities 		
<p>Culture</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recreational centers 		
<p>Traditional Activities & Skills</p>		
<p>Fate Control</p>		
<p>Religion and Spirituality</p>		
<p>Land Use and Occupancy</p>		
<p>Environment</p> <p>i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Climate 		

- Weather
- Local resources

COMMUNITY READINESS NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Based on all information obtained throughout the process, this section defines the need/gap between the current community conditions and desired community conditions related to community readiness opportunities.

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COMMUNITY READINESS MAP

This section builds upon the previous sections, looking towards closing any gaps between current community conditions and desired conditions related to community readiness opportunities. Furthermore, this section maps out the strategic approaches and activities to achieve beneficial future outcomes and results from participating in the resource development process.

VISION AND MISSION STATEMENTS

This section refines the community's readiness vision (i.e. defining the community values, principles and objectives) and the mission statement (i.e. what will be done by the community and why).

GOALS & STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

This section documents the community's goals, strategic community readiness objectives and measurable goals.

TARGETS

This section documents the specific targets (i.e. indicators) that the community will strive to attain in their strategic approaches and activities.

DESIRED OUTCOMES

This section documents the desired outcomes from pursuing strategic approaches and activities.

COMMUNITY CONSENSUS - NEEDS

This section summarizes the community's consensus regarding its needs in relation to its readiness objectives.

PRIORITIES

This section identifies (ranking where desired) and describes specific community readiness priorities associated with the map.

OPPORTUNITIES

This section documents the community consensus related to opportunities associated with achieving its community readiness objectives.

STRATEGIC APPROACHES AND ACTIVITIES

This section documents the strategic approaches and activities of the community in participating in the opportunities and achieving its goals and objectives.

COMMUNITY VALIDATION

This section reaffirms the community's validation of the Community Readiness Map.

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IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

This section provides an overview of the specific tasks, timelines and support networks (i.e. resources, potential programs, etc.) which will support the achievement of desired future outcomes and results.

COMMUNITY READINESS ACTION TABLE

This section incorporates the specific inputs and actions to be taken, roles and responsibilities, and the associated timelines related to the strategic approaches and activities outlined in the Community Readiness Map. Where relevant, this section also links activities with required resources and potential support networks (i.e. support groups, expertise, potential public and/or private funding programs, etc.) to support the activities.

Need/Gap	Ultimate Outcome/Impact	Inputs			Activities			Outputs	Outcomes
		Resources Required	Potential Resources/Support	Lead/Responsibility	Description	Timescale	Lead/Responsibility		

ASSUMPTIONS

This section lists any assumptions related to the successful implementation of the Community Readiness Map (i.e. seasonal activities which may influence planning and activity periods).

RISKS

This section lists any real or potential risks to implementing the Community Readiness Map.

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MONITORING AND EVALUATION

This section provides an overview of the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms specific to the Community Readiness Map and the community's progress in achieving desired states.

MONITORING FRAMEWORK AND KEY INDICATORS

This section provides an overview of the community readiness action monitoring framework, associated key performance indicators, monitoring and reporting protocols and roles and responsibilities derived from the action table.

Predicted						Actual		
Need /Gap	Ultimate Outcome /Impact	Inputs	Activities	Outputs	Outcomes	Date	Status	Comments

CONCLUSIONS

DRAFT

REFERENCES

This section provides a list of references related to the document.

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