Journal of Rural and Community Development

Territorial Economic Development Strategies in Nunavut: A Hindrance or a Help to Community Economic Development?

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Abstract

Economic development strategies in Nunavut, Canada provide the broad direction for local level development, but communities must establish their own development paths, taking advantage of opportunities where their interests align with those of the regional government. The Nunavut territorial government has a specific concern with enhancing development in the remote and small, mostly coastal, communities that lie across the vast territory and to support the aspirations of Nunavummiut, particularly the Inuit population whose homeland is this territory. Yet, there has been a struggle between supporting large, externally based projects with few local benefits and small-scale projects with largely local economic benefit. This paper explores these issues within the framework of Indigenous nation-building and related community economic development approaches in order to come to an understanding of how the territory's economic development goals set the scene for local development. This analysis sheds light on the potential strengths and weaknesses of Nunavut's territorial economic strategies and their support or hindrance of community economic development. Our analysis shows that, for the most part, the territory is in the visioning stage of economic development and is constructing a foundation of guiding principles and intentions. The strength of the documents is in presenting strategic, long-term, big-picture thinking. There is a strong emphasis in some of the strategies on using these foundations for community benefit in order to improve the well-being of Nunavummiut and Inuit specifically. Further, there is a major emphasis on sustainability, an emerging theme that appears in every strategy and is related to both environmental and economic conditions. However, in order to determine the actual impact of the strategies, it will be necessary to explore community and territorial level change stemming directly from individual strategies.

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1.0 Introduction

Economic development strategies in northern areas have the potential to support local capacity and local efforts to adapt to rapidly changing economic and environmental contexts. Formal strategies can be expressed at various levels of government and those that are farthest from the local community still have important influences on how communities are supported or hindered in meeting their own socio-economic goals. Without some degree of local self-determination, broader level strategies may do more harm than good in providing assistance to struggling communities, resulting in major challenges to the economic and social sustainability of northern communities.

In Nunavut, a territory in Canada's Arctic, additional challenges exist including those related to the relatively recent creation of the territory in 1999 through an Indigenous land claim, a colonial history and a neo-colonial present, a resource extraction dependent economy, and a dramatically changing environment severely affected by climate change. Despite a vast natural resource wealth, the Inuit majority in the territory is not well-served by the existing economic activity in Nunavut and the socio-economic indicators for Inuit and for Nunavut as a whole demonstrate a dismal picture. Yet, Nunavut's GDP is above the Canadian average. It increased by 11.4 per cent in 2010 and was predicted to increase by 9.2 per cent over the next five years (Government of Nunavut, 2014). However, Nunavut leads Canada in rates of homelessness, substance abuse, violence, suicide, food insecurity, income support dependency, and lack of educational success (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Non-Inuit transient workers from the South outnumber the unemployed in Nunavut (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013) and most revenues generated by the resource extraction industry go to the federal government, not to the communities where the resources are located (Légaré, 2008). The link between economic growth and community well-being is arguably non-existent in Nunavut (Kral, 2012; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013).

As the territorial government and the co-managing Inuit agencies attempt to address these issues through legislation, regulation, planning and programs, a key component of the proposed solution is the creation of development strategies for the economic sectors in the territory. Economic development is the remit of the Department of Economic Development and Transportation (EDT) in the Government of Nunavut (GN), with a particular focus on communities and infrastructure. Sector strategies have been created by EDT for the following areas: arts and crafts; energy; mining; tourism; and, transportation.

These five economic development strategies set the foundation for current and future decision-making processes related to the territory's economic development. If the strategies are focused on attaining well-being, self-determination, sustainability, and adaptability, particularly at the local level, the territory might accomplish development that benefits Nunavut's communities. If the paths presented in these documents are focused primarily on supporting large-scale economic development, communities might be unable to pursue their own social and

economic development goals, potentially worsening the poverty and associated social problems currently plaguing Nunavut.

This paper explores these issues within the framework of sustainable community economic development and Indigenous nation building in order to come to an understanding of how the territory's economic development strategies set the scene for local community development. Specifically, we examine the goals of the strategies to assess whether and how they will support community well-being and economic self-determination. This paper uses the decolonizing framework of nation-building and the focus of alternative development theory on local community voice and participation.

2.0 Context and Literature Review

The traditional Inuit economies of the Canadian Arctic are the foundation of the mixed economies in Inuit homelands today in the Inuvialuit region, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavut (Gombay, 2010; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016; Natcher, 2009). The sustainability of traditional economies was dependent on the mobility of a hunting and fishing lifestyle (Matthiason, 1995) and the management of resources as common property with social structures that enforced equitable distribution of harvested resources through social relationships (Natcher, 2009; Tanner, 2014). Contact with Europeans, first through the transient whaling industry and explorers, and then through the traders, missionaries and police, and later the military, brought change to all aspects of Inuit lives (Légaré, 2008; Matthiason, 1995; Zaslow 1988). The introduction of the fur trade marked the beginning of a major shift in Inuit economic structures (Coates, 1985; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016) away from production for use and toward production for exchange and dependence on an externally controlled system (Coates, 1985; Leacock, 1954; Petersen, 1995; Tanner, 2014). The colonization of the region that began with the fur trade put an end to the nomadic subsistence-based economy of Inuit, resulting in sedentary habitation centred on services and trade, loss of control over resources and land, and disruption in social structures (Légaré, 2008; Zaslow 1988).

Movement into settlements introduced another dimension to the economy—the opportunity for wage work, the availability of food and goods for purchase, and a new reliance on government funds (Légaré, 2008; Zaslow 1988). Nunavut's economy today is the product of the introduction of a market-based economy into the traditional subsistence economy. This new mixed economy contains components of the subsistence economy, the social economy, and the market economy (Natcher, 2009). The rapid transition from life on the land to a settled life in small communities resulted in dramatic economic and cultural upheaval for Inuit (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016).

Eventually Inuit began to organize themselves politically across the region and formed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) to represent their political interests (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). In 1976, the ITC proposed the creation of a new territory to encompass the traditional homeland of Inuit and establish Indigenous control of decision-making and governance in the region (Légaré, 2002, Marecic, 1999). The new territory of Nunavut, established by a comprehensive land claim agreement in 1993, would also serve the needs of all residents of the territory—Inuit as well as non-Inuit—collectively known as 'Nunavummiut' (Légaré, 2008). To ensure that Inuit interests, rather than non-Inuit interests, dominated the decision-making processes in the new territory, the ITC ensured legal protection for the priority

of Inuit interests through the creation of birthright organizations. These organizations operate alongside the territorial government and are responsible for ensuring that the rights inherent to Inuit and protected by the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement [NLCA] are upheld by the territorial government of Nunavut.

Despite the intentions of the proposal, it has been suggested that the settlement of the land claim and the creation of Nunavut in 1999 may have created an opportunity for rapid assimilation of Inuit into the larger culture and that adopting the Western system of public governance may ultimately undermine the self-governance originally intended (Henderson, 2004; 2007; Légaré, 2002; Marecic, 1999). Indeed, Nunavut's situation is at times described as postcolonial, though a more accurate term might be neo-colonial. According to Shohot (1992), postcolonialism describes a situation marked by struggle and recovery following a past period of a colonial regime, while neo-colonialism refers to the re-creation of colonial structures in new forms. The evident disconnect between Nunavut's current economic growth and real community benefit provides a strong indication of a neo-colonial economic regime (see Coates, 1985).

In Nunavut today, self-government is constricted within a Euro-Canadian model (Hodgkins, 2009; Marecic, 1999; Tanner, 2014) and the economic regime that seems to better serve the interests of the federal government rather than the needs of Inuit (Banta, 2006; Hodgkins, 2009). The majority of resource revenues generated within the region flow out to the central Canadian government (Banta, 2006). The educational system fails to adequately prepare people to participate in the colonially-imposed market economy; employment in the resource extraction industry is largely enjoyed by people coming from southern Canada for work, with most Inuit unqualified to fill long-term or managerial positions (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). The situation leaves many Inuit dependent on federal transfers and subsidies for their survival (Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Current economic conditions in Nunavut demonstrate the complexity of the context of socio-economic development in the territory and reinforce the need to examine whether territorial economic development strategies contain a vision that could translate into community level growth and a sustainable local economy.

If communities are to benefit from development, institutional systems in place must produce ongoing and prolonged local benefit rather than boom-and-bust economic growth or short term social and political fixes (Adger, 2003; Adger & Jordan, 2009; Banta, 2006; Friedmann, 1992; Jorgensen, 2007; Markey, Halseth & Manson, 2008; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). Development that results in this type of local benefit demands a sustainable approach. While some discussions of sustainable development use the definition given in the Brundtland Commission Report: "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 6), others urge the inclusion of equity and participatory democracy (e.g. Purvis & Grainger, 2004; House of Commons, 1997). It is clear that sustainable development will not be possible without a break from the classical model of market economics and the adaptation of an alternative approach to economic development (Berger, 1978; Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Hausler, & Wieringa, 1994; Colby, 1990; Purvis & Grainger, 2004). Economic development that prioritizes the long-term well-being of communities and their resource bases must consider how to address the challenges of ensuring environmental, economic, social, and political sustainability. According to Rasmussen (1999), sustainable development in the North is not possible without the direct involvement of Arctic

communities, yet local, Indigenous control of decision-making has been lacking in contemporary economic development pathways.

Classical economic development strategies, such as dependence on industrialized resource extraction for export, often come at a cost to community well-being. Reliance on export of raw materials leaves a region vulnerable to global market fluctuations and hinders local adaptive capacity (Ford et al., 2012; Markey et al., 2008). In addition, external investment focussed on extractive industry can perpetuate a lack of autonomy over development approaches by limiting investment available to support viable local options (Banta, 2006; Coates, 1985; Markey et al., 2008). Classical development strategies increase GDP but do not necessarily lead to community development. Communities may experience continuing economic and social ills and a weakened capacity in local decision-making power. True development consists of more than economic growth; its purpose must be the improvement of human well-being (Friedmann, 1992; Sen, 1999; Nunavut Economic Forum, 2013). According to the Nunavut Economic Forum (2013), development must create an economic system that supports self-sustaining progression towards better lives and increased happiness for community members. The economy is only a tool used in pursuit of the goal of increasing communities' capabilities, freedoms and access to choices (Sen, 1999).

In Nunavut, existing poverty reflects a lack of economic development that improves well-being in communities and perhaps too much reliance on the classical model. Alternative development, particularly approaches founded on ideas of community economic development, provides opportunities for communities to generate their own solutions to the economic problems they identify as affecting their own well-being, resulting in sustainable development that benefits communities in the long run (Markey et al., 2008). The integrated approach of community economic development links social and economic goals, and acknowledges the alternative development concerns of local participation, the importance of community buy-in and inclusion, and the roles of local agents and leaders (Markey et al., 2008). An increased focus on local leadership and participation requires that community economic development efforts address governance and not simply economics. Responsibilities are shifted away from centralized state power and toward local agents and institutions. Government institutions play a vital role as instigators and facilitators of regional action and capacity (Markey et al., 2008).

Attaining sustainable community economic development is a challenge under any circumstances, but in a context of postcolonialism and neo-colonialism even greater obstacles exist. Development strategies should reflect the challenges and advantages of this context, including particular goals relevant to Indigenous communities, such as maintaining traditional culture and political sovereignty. In an examination of development in Indigenous communities, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED) sought to understand why some American Indian nations have been successful in achieving their own economic, political, social, and cultural goals, while others were unable to accomplish their goals (Jorgensen, 2007). The answers that emerged over thirty years of case studies became the 'nation-building framework' that describes the factors supporting successful development in Indigenous nations. These factors are summarized as: practical sovereignty, cultural match, effective governing institutions, strategic vision, and leaders who are committed to nation-building (Cornell & Kalt 2000; Cornell & Taylor, 2000; National Centre for First Nations Governance and Native Nations Institute for Leadership, Management, and

Policy, 2010). With a focus on Indigenous decision-making power and self-determination, the nation-building framework essentially explores the role of self-governance in producing social, cultural, and economic well-being. The generation of self-determined, sustained economic development of any form, together with the alleviation of the nation's social problems and the preservation of self-defined Indigenous identity, is the definition of successful development in the nation-building framework (Jorgensen, 2007).

Criticisms about the framework include its use in contexts outside the realm of tribal communities in the U.S.A., its conceptualization of local decision-making capacity and political sovereignty, and its treatment of the relationships between economic development and traditional culture (see Simeone, 2007; Sullivan, 2007). Further, the framework was developed to explore nation-building at the tribal level and has not traditionally been used at the community level (Ritsema, Dawson, Jorgensen, & Mcdougall, 2015). Nonetheless, there may be utility in using the framework in the Nunavut context. Ritsema et al (2015) undertook a case study in Nunavut aimed at identifying the factors contributing to a community's ability to develop economic self-sufficiency, finding that the nation-building framework encompassed respondents' views of effective self-determined development. Following the case study, they suggest its use at the community level provides insight, but recommend further community-level case studies are warranted. The question of scale and differing nation-state relationships are especially important in Nunavut given its distinct context as an Inuit region with a territorial government and a complex framework of self-governance established through the NLCA. While the strength of the nation-building framework reflects the tribal level of governance, the strong focus on local involvement and benefit found in alternative development approaches helps address the issue of scale.

Economic development in the Arctic must also be examined in terms of adaptation to change, given the current context of a changing climate and resultant economic and environmental shifts that are being felt acutely (see e.g. Berkes & Jolly, 2001; Ford et al., 2012; Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004; Cameron, 2012; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2001; Stewart, Dawson, & Johnston, 2015). Adger (2003) highlights the importance of self-identified priorities and agendas in adaptation, especially in the case of marginalized communities, reinforcing the role of self-determination in successful community development.

As active agents in the development of their lives and futures, communities seek appropriate paths as context and opportunities change (Garud, Kumaraswame, & Karnoe, 2010). Insufficient research attention has been paid to the local uptake of benefits and opportunities created by a changing climate (Ford et al., 2012) and to the role of colonialism in communities affected by climate change (Cameron, 2012). Economic opportunities arising from changing environmental conditions could result in improved lives for Inuit families but, in order to benefit, Inuit communities will need to take control of local economic development, assisted by regional frameworks that support such self-determination.

Territorial strategies for economic development are intended to support regional and community economic development. The primary goal of the EDT is to ensure that "Nunavummiut participate in the benefits of economic growth" (Government of Nunavut. Departments: Economic Development and Transportation, n.d., para. 3) and the department is responsible for "ensuring sustainable growth [and] helping [to] build healthy communities and essential infrastructure" (Government of Nunavut.

Departments: Economic Development and Transportation, n.d., para. 3). Strategy documents exist for five economic sectors, articulating the intentions of the territorial government to support economic development in Nunavut and therein the well-being of communities. Vaara, Sorsa & Pälli (2010) explores the power of strategy documents, finding that they act as agents with the capacity to produce action from a distance. According to Vaara, Sorsa & Pälli (2010, p. 699) "strategy documents should not be treated as just any texts, but understood as powerful devices through which specific objectives, values and ideologies—and not others—are promoted and legitimated." Clearly, an examination of Nunavut's five economic development strategy documents is vital to understanding the principles guiding the territory's development as well as the nature and identity of control, engagement, and voice within the territory's decision-making processes.

3.0 Method

The research examined the content of the five current economic development strategies produced by EDT. The five documents, available at the department's website, vary from 23 to 64 pages in length and contain priorities, principles, objectives, policy positions, action items, and implementation plans. The documents cover a range of dates for both publication and strategy timeframe: at the time of this research these were the posted sector strategies and so constitute the material for this analysis (see Table 1).

Table 1: *Economic Development Strategy Documents*

Title	Page Length	Publication Date and/or Relevant Time Frame
Ikummatiit: The Government of Nunavut Energy Strategy (Government of Nunavut, 2007)	23	Published: September 2007 Time frame: up to 2020
Ingirrasiliqta: Let's Get Moving: Nunavut Transportation Strategy (Government of Nunavut, 2008a)	32	Published: 2008 Timeframe: not available
Parnautit: A Foundation for the Future: Mineral Exploration and Mining Strategy (Government of Nunavut, 2006)	64	Published: 2006 Time frame: up to 2010
Sanaugait: A Strategy for Growth in Nunavut's Arts and Crafts Sector (Government of Nunavut 2008b)	38	Published: 2006, revised in 2008 Time frame: up to 2013
Tunngasaiji: A Tourism Strategy for Nunavummiut (Government of Nunavut, 2013)	53	Published: 2013 Time frame: 2013 to 2018

The content analysis was focused on material that provided textual description of intentions, goals, themes and actions. A directed content analysis was conducted, an approach that involves a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns within a document using existing theory or relevant prior research as the basis for code development (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The investigation employed a deductive approach to undertake the content analysis (see Bowen, 2009; Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013), utilizing the nation-building framework and alternative development theory as the basis for the coding structure (see Table 2). Initially, the five factors of the nation-building framework were given operational definitions using descriptions outlined by Jorgensen (2007). Then, in order to ensure that the concerns of this research relating to scale were covered in the structure, codes and operational definitions were developed for aspects of community economic development that did not appear to be fully enveloped by the nation-building framework. This is particularly important given the purpose of the research to examine territorial level strategies and their potential to influence development at the community level. Codes called community benefit, community voice and self-reliance were added to reflect the strong local and community focus in the alternative development work of Markey et al. (2008), Friedman (1992), Sen (1999) and Petersen (1995), for example. The code Inuit participation was added to reflect the focus in these works on local participation with the recognition that in this context it is important to assess the particular emphasis in economic development strategies on Inuit involvement and benefit given the existence of birthright organizations and the need to prioritize Inuit in territorial development. The addition of these codes helps ensure that the territorial context of Nunavut as an Inuit homeland with a public government is recognized. During the coding phase, material that did not fit into the structure was considered to represent new categories that should be added to the coding structure (see Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The 'emerging themes' category contains recurring values, concerns, and priorities expressed in the documents. Several codes in the emerging themes category and in the community involvement category did not meet a minimum threshold of 1% of occurrences; these codes were grouped into an 'other' category and are not examined in any detail in this analysis.

The initial analysis involved identifying the thematic nature of segments of text (n=1700) in the strategies and assigning them to codes. Excluded from this analysis is any material that provided background, context or description of the problems to be addressed because of the focus on goals and intentions. Material that contained any reference that could be construed as representing goals or approaches to intended outcomes was included. Critical consideration was required to determine whether and how the material related to the coding structure and to develop emerging codes. Constant comparison was used to ensure new themes were drawn out and existing theme boundaries were maintained. The program Atlas.ti was used as a note-keeping aid, which allowed for data to be fully cross-referenced, grouped, and counted.

4.0 Results

The goals and objectives in the territory's official economic development strategies provide an outline of EDT's current intentions and the foundations upon which the government expects to create economic development in the region. This section describes the themes covered in the documents by examining the inclusion of the nation-building framework codes, the additional community development codes, and finally the emerging theme codes. The second part of this section explores

the occurrence of the codes in the individual strategies. Of the 1700 occurrences, 123 were in the 'other' category.

Table 2: *Codebook for Primary Analysis*

This statement demonstrates that:	**Nation-building Framework Codes**
Attention is being given to the question of whether Nunavut's culture supports the initiative, principle, program, or mission being promoted.	Cultural Match
Here is a focus on maintaining institutions free of political interference or corruption, so that the institutions can fulfill their intended purpose.	Effective Institutions
A priority is placed on nurturing and promoting indigenous leaders who are motivated by a desire to build a strong, self-determined nation.	Nation-building Leadership
Economic development is seen also as a political issue, not purely an economic issue.	Political Focus
Governance is understood to be a broad process, not only an administrative task. Does the government only function as a distributer of federal funds, or do its leaders shape and direct the course of future political and economic policy for the benefit of the indigenous nation.	Practical Sovereignty
Decisions are made with long-term nation-building goals in mind.	Strategic Vision

This statement demonstrates that:	**Community Involvement Codes**
The intention or the goal of the proposed action is to produce broad benefits at the local–community level.	Community Benefit
Input from the local–community level shapes and directs the course of development decisions.	Community Voice
'Community input' and 'community benefit' specifically address inclusion or prioritization of Inuit.	Inuit Participation
The prioritization of territorial or community self-sufficiency.	Self-Reliance

This statement demonstrates:	**Emerging Theme Codes**
A desire to work with other organizations or agencies to actualize the stated intention or goal.	Collaboration
A focus on improving the quality and accessibility of education programs for Nunavummiut.	Education
That attention is given to the steps that will be necessary to actualize intention or goal.	Follow-through
A focus on acquiring financial investment, or a need to address a gap preventing actualization of stated goals due to a lack of adequate financial resources.	Investment
Recognition of the unique needs and strengths related to Nunavut's geographical, cultural, economic, and ecological niche.	Place
A focus on ensuring that communities are set up to thrive into the indefinite future—ecologically, economically, or socially.	Sustainability

Nation-building codes appeared in all of the documents. Overall the most frequent references were statements related to strategic vision. Statements such as "To take full advantage of these possibilities, we need to have specific goals and objectives and a plan to achieve them" (Government of Nunavut, 2008b, p. 3) reflect strategic, long-term vision. Strategic vision also includes the type of big-picture thinking that acknowledges that individual policy decisions are not isolated from other decisions, and can even contribute to solving larger-scale issues. Statements such as "We must take advantage of opportunities to improve and build our infrastructure so that developments in one sector of our economy provide broad benefits throughout other economic sectors" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 6) reflect this big-picture thinking.

The second-most frequently occurring nation-building code in the strategy documents is cultural match. All strategy documents confirm their adherence to the government's mandate to abide by Inuit traditional knowledge and values. The strongest demonstrations of cultural match, though, are those that focus on gaining Inuit approval before making decisions and on the need for Inuit to set the territory's priorities. Further, there is recognition of the traditional environmental values: the mining strategy states "the relationship Nunavummiut have with this untouched natural world is something that defines us as a people, and any proposed activity that significantly affects the sensitive ecological balance will not be well received" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 41).

Community involvement codes also appear in all the documents. In particular, community benefit appears consistently through numerous references to a "high and sustainable quality of life" (see Government of Nunavut, 2006, pp. 5, 7 & 44; Government of Nunavut, 2008b, p. 5). The mining strategy states that its vision "effectively focused all economic issues on the much broader issue of quality of life for Nunavummiut" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 7). Related to this is an emphasis on sustainability, the most frequent emerging theme identified in the documents. References to both environmental and economic sustainability appear in the energy strategy: "Nunavut will have a sustainable energy system that is secure, environmentally responsible, and optimizes economic benefits for Nunavummiut, both today and tomorrow" (Government of Nunavut, 2007, p. 6).

4.1 Comparing the Sector Strategies

Analysis of the themes in the documents reveals that the strengths of the EDT's development strategies vary by sector. For example, the energy and tourism strategies contain references to the nation-building leadership code more often than any other sector document (see Table 3), while the tourism sector strategy refers to community benefit and Inuit participation more often than any other sector strategy (see Table 4). Self-reliance, as well as references to place and sustainability, occur with the greatest frequency in the energy strategy document (see Table 5). An examination of the results of this analysis, broken down by sector, reveals areas of emphasis or weakness in each sector. The following tables illustrate the strategies with the highest number of code occurrence, the relative frequency of the code in that document, and the percentage occurring in that document of the overall total occurrences (n=1700).

Table 3: *Nation-building Codes: Highest Frequencies in Strategy Documents*

Theme	Strategy with Most Frequent Occurrence	Frequency in Document	Relative Frequency in Document	Percent of Theme Total
Cultural Match	Transportation	23	6.9%	4.8%
Effective Institutions	Transportation	12	3.6%	2.3%
Nation-building	Energy	8	3.2%	1.1%
Leadership	Tourism	8	1.8%	1.1%
Political Focus	Mining	23	6.6%	3.7%
Practical Sovereignty	Transportation	29	8.7%	3.7%
Strategic Vision	Transportation	109	32.7%	13.4%

Table 4: *Community Involvement Codes: Highest Frequencies in Strategy Documents*

Theme	Strategy with Most Frequent Occurrence	Frequency in Document	Relative Frequency	Percentage of Theme Total
Community Benefit	Tourism	65	15.1%	13.0%
Community Voice	Mining	32	9.1%	5.9%
Inuit Participation	Tourism	46	10.4%	6.4%
Self-Reliance	Energy	31	12.3%	2.5%

Table 5: *Emerging Themes: Highest Frequencies in Strategy Documents*

Theme	Strategy with Most Frequent Occurrence	Frequency in Document	Relative Frequency	Percentage of Theme Total
Collaboration	Tourism	71	16.0%	9.8%
Education	Tourism	44	10.2%	6.6%
Follow-Through	Arts	9	2.8%	1.7%
Investment	Arts	36	11.2%	6.1%
Place	Energy	7	2.8%	1.0%
Sustainability	Energy	83	32.8%	10.8%

4.2 The Individual Sector Strategies

The Energy Strategy is focused largely on the emerging theme of sustainability, with its primary focus on reducing Nunavut's reliance on imported fuel (Government of Nunavut, 2007, p. 6). Many of the references to nation-building codes are therefore related to Nunavut's energy security. According to the document, "This energy strategy will enable Nunavut to reduce its dependency on fossil fuels, a dependency that holds Nunavut hostage to volatile world oil prices and makes us one of the largest per-person greenhouse gas producers in Canada" (Government of Nunavut, 2007, p. 5). In addition to outlining strategies for increased self-reliance, statements acknowledge dependence on outside entities for Nunavut's current energy needs that are roadblocks to Nunavut's self-reliance. The energy strategy also states that certain policy initiatives will only proceed "if the studies are positive, licenses are approved, and funding is available" (Government of Nunavut, 2007, p. 16) from the federal government. Given its focus on energy security as a territory-level challenge, little attention was allocated to community participation and benefit.

The Transportation Strategy takes on the challenge of Nunavut's inadequate transportation infrastructure. Reducing Nunavut's geographical isolation from national and international markets and reducing communities' isolation from hunting grounds and from other communities requires an improved transportation infrastructure. Over half of all coded statements in this strategy fall into the nation-building category. This is largely due to the emphasis given to the strategic vision required to create a functional transportation system that will support the territory's economic development and communities' cultural and social needs. The long-term feasibility of the territory's economic and social systems depends on adequate transportation infrastructures, and the transportation strategy placed great emphasis on this long-term vision. "Bringing our territory towards self-sufficiency and sustainability can only begin when our communities become physically connected to each other, to the vast resources that are currently out of reach, and to the world markets eager for those resources and the unique experience of Nunavut" (Government of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 18). This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building code.

The cost of creating a functional transportation system in Nunavut is a significant impediment to community economic development. An improved transportation system was presented in this document both as a necessary component of the territory's economic development and as a vital requirement for maintaining cultural continuity and community sustainability. For example, the document states "the small but growing network of improved trails and all-wheel drive access roads is necessary for the wellbeing and cultural continuity of our people" (Government of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 11). In addition, "improving Nunavut's connection to the sea presents opportunities to preserve traditional livelihoods and foster new economic activity that will promote healthy and productive living" (Government of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 25).

The presentation of a dual-purpose transportation agenda resulted in considerable attention given to community involvement while at the same time emphasizing the importance of gaining access to national and international markets. This strategy document also makes reference to community benefit. For example, "communities understand the value this program brings to the lives of their people in increased harvesting opportunities, access to recreational areas, historical sites, and granular or carving stone quarry locations" (Government of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 12).

The Mining Strategy document contains more occurrences of sustainability than any other code. Much of the strategy is focused on increasing the territory's control over mining activity in Nunavut. Political focus, practical sovereignty, and strategic vision play important roles in securing territorial control of the mining industry. Over a third of all coded statements in the mining strategy belong to the nation-building category. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building code, but over 7% of coded statements in the document refer to practical sovereignty. For example, the strategy notes that now is the time to take charge of Nunavut's governmental processes and structures. "As legislative and regulatory responsibilities transfer from a federal to a territorial mandate, we have the opportunity to craft a jurisdictional framework particular to Nunavut" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 3). Further, "We need to develop the strategies and initiatives that will build on our strengths and allow our people and communities to become full participants with a true sense of ownership in our minerals economy" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 11). The mining strategy addresses the territory's intent to access the economic potential of mineral extraction while also protecting Nunavut's environment. It emphasizes that "as we move forward with development we must retain a balanced and sustainable approach to development" (Government of Nunavut, 2006, p. 3). A high proportion of statements in the document are covered in emerging themes, particularly sustainability.

Fourteen percent of the theme occurrences in the Art and Crafts Strategy comprise the Inuit participation code. For example, "Promoting industries that build on skills that many Inuit already possess (e.g. in the arts industry or commercial wildlife harvesting) [will] increase Inuit participation in the wage economy" (Government of Nunavut, 2008b, p. 11). Some of the statements provide specific targets: "This sector will contribute at least $50 million annually to the territorial economy, while providing 250 full-time jobs, in addition to maintaining its high rate of participation by thousands of Inuit" (Government of Nunavut, 2008b, p. 38). Statements referencing nation-building were often linked to promoting and protecting the intellectual property of Inuit artists. This strategy document refers to strategic vision more than any other nation-building code.

This strategy document also focusses more on community benefit and voice than any other strategy; 24.3% of all coded statements belong to this category. References to follow-through occur with greater frequency in the arts strategy document than in all other ED&T strategy documents.

The Tourism Strategy document contains more references to collaboration than to any other emerging theme. Regarding the goals set forth in the strategy, the document states, "No single government, institution or business can achieve this alone" (Government of Nunavut, 2013, p. 36). This strategy document contains more occurrences of the strategic vision code than any other nation-building code. Redesigning legislation and regulation is a major pillar of the strategy and 3.4% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to political focus. For example, "a successful tourism sector must be built on a foundation of quality tourism products and services, supported by…a supportive, effective framework of legislation and regulation" (Government of Nunavut, 2013, p. 3). Another foundation noted in the document is education, an emerging theme; 10.2% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to education. For example, "education and training is essential to developing the capacity of our tourism operators and communities that will advance the growth of the tourism sector" (Government of Nunavut, 2013, p. 8).

The tourism strategy placed great emphasis on the benefits tourism can bring to communities. Community benefit, community voice and Inuit participation are prioritized throughout this document: 10.4% of all coded statements in the tourism strategy refer to Inuit participation. The tourism strategy lists as one of its goals "increased Inuit participation and benefits in the development of the tourism sector in Nunavut" (Government of Nunavut, 2013, p. 7). The Tourism Strategy also stands out as providing detailed implementation action plans for achieving its goals.

5.0 Discussion

The government of Nunavut appears to be in a visioning stage of its planning process across all sectors. The majority of the coded statements represent visions or intentions rather than action items. The strategy documents describe foundational principles and visions for economic development that will influence the direction and the form of policy development and implementation (see Vaara, Sorsa & Pälli , 2010), directly impacting the adaptive capacity of communities (see Adger, 2003; Adger & Jordan, 2009; Ketskitalo & Kulyasova, 2009) across Nunavut. The visions, values and ideologies set forth in Nunavut's strategy documents demonstrate recognition of the importance of strategic vision, defined in the Nation-building framework as the ability to think ahead to the distant future and make decisions that will result in long-lasting benefits for the nation (Jorgensen, 2007). Strategic vision also involves recognition of the interconnectivity of individual policy decisions— the potential for individual decisions to compound, thereby producing broader, systemic changes in the economic and social environment (Jorgensen, 2007). Given that the strategic vision code occurred more often than all others, it is evident that one of the strategies' strengths is long-term, big-picture thinking. Community benefit was also found to be a dominant theme of the strategy documents. It appears that the Nunavut territorial vision places value on the potential of economic development to promote the well-being of Nunavut's people and communities. In addition, the most prevalent emerging theme in the documents, sustainability, reinforces the long-term and big-picture approach.

In addition to intentional statements, action-oriented statements were also contained in the documents. These differ from the intentional statements that set the foundations for long-term approaches and are focussed more on shorter-term preparedness and responsiveness to immediate challenges (see Ruhanen, Mclennan, & Moyle, 2013). Nunavut's strategy documents propose implementation of several specific action items. These include plans to reduce Nunavut's dependence on imported fuels, develop multi-use transportation infrastructure, protect and market the intellectual property of Inuit artists, streamline the approval process for mining project proposals while increasing the stringency of environmental protection standards, and enact legislation aimed at ensuring Nunavummiut, and particularly, Inuit, have access to the benefits of a growing tourism industry.

Nonetheless, the weakness of the strategies appears to be in the level of detail surrounding the implementation of the visions. Successful sustainable economic development requires that strategic vision be accompanied by timeliness and leadership, especially in the rapidly changing environmental and economic conditions evident in Nunavut through climate change. The strategy documents as a group provide insufficient evidence that consideration is being given to implementation of the strategic vision to ensure a sustainable future for Nunavut. Sustainability is not fully defined by the documents, so it is not clear whether the

term means the same across the sectors. Indeed, it is unlikely to. A sector such as mining, connected to large, external companies, will differ in its approach to sustainability in comparison to the arts, for example, with a large focus on individual artists and community level economic activity. The documents pay considerably less attention to implementing sustainability than to expressing it as a desired outcome.

Further, strong and representative leadership is infrequently noted in the strategy documents. Without culturally resonant, local leadership (Friedmann, 1992; Jorgensen, 2007; Markey et al., 2008) and timely implementation (Borgerson, 2008; Cameron, 2012; Duerden, 1991; 2004; Ford et al., 2012; Prowse, Furgal, Chouinard, Melling, Milburn, & Smith, 2009), via relevant and effective networked institutions (Jorgenson, 2007) it will be challenging for communities to leverage support for local benefits from increased development in Nunavut.

It is surprising that community voice and Inuit participation in economic development are not more prominent in the documents, though they do appear broadly. This should be viewed as a weakness in the documents, particularly given the finding of Ritsema et al. (2015) that residents in their case study felt a lack of local voice and a sense of powerlessness in relation to the decisions of the territorial government. The focus in the documents on community benefit as a goal needs to be further nuanced with an emphasis on ensuring local input into development and adherence to the requirements of the NLCA that Inuit benefit from development. The Arts and Tourism strategies were more focussed than the others on community involvement and Inuit participation; perhaps this should be expected given the requirement for local products and experiences in these sectors. These may be the sectors that provide the most potential for community benefit through territorial strategies given their grassroots foundations.

Though this research did find major differences among the sectors in the content of the document in relation to the question examined, it is not possible to take into account the influences of document-specific characteristics, such as time-frame and authorship, on the differences. The four early documents (2006–2008) might be expected to contain material and approaches that are different to the Tourism Strategy, published in 2013. A document produced in-house by the EDT might differ from one produced by a consulting firm. A sector which has already produced several strategic plans might differ from one that is producing its first. These issues reflect limitations of the research and should be considered in any direct comparisons.

6.0 Conclusion

Economic development strategies that focus on achieving self-determined local economic development in Nunavut have the potential to ensure community well-being for Inuit. The five sector strategies demonstrate long-term, big-picture thinking and resonance with much of the nation-building framework. Yet there is little emphasis on leadership, an area that is vital to ensuring that communities have the capacity to pursue their development dreams. Few references exist in the strategy documents to the intent to nurture Inuit political leadership. To actualize the strong strategic vision of sustainability and community well-being described within the documents, Nunavut will need to increase its focus on generating and supporting capable, representative leadership in its communities as well as strong and culturally relevant institutions. Since local adaptive capacity can be either encouraged or stifled by political, economic, and social institutions, community-driven adaptive responses to a rapidly changing economy and climate will

require institutional support and a collaborative relationship with the state (Adger, 2003; Ketskitalo & Kulyasova, 2009).

Through the strong focus in the documents on local benefit and, in certain cases, on local voice and involvement, there is the potential for the territorial vision to strongly support community-level development and well-being. Surprisingly, Inuit participation in economic development was not a particular focus of each strategy. Given the requirements of the NLCA for Inuit to benefit from development, this shortcoming must be addressed in formal documents and in resulting actions. A neo-colonial regime is not the only developmental outcome possible for Nunavut. An alternative path exists, which could lead to an outcome in which Inuit are able to harness the financial benefits of economic growth in their territory and the largely externally driven economy to better suit local needs and desires. Inuit could invest the benefits of economic growth into the creation of a sustainable, self-determined, regional economy that supports adaptive responses to Nunavut's rapidly changing environment in a variety of different ways. The official economic development strategy documents must provide a more locally relevant blueprint to achieve this future in order to more fully support communities in creating sustainable, self-determined political and economic structures that will nurture local adaptive capacity and enhance well-being for Inuit and for all of Nunavut. Finally, the real proof of the strength of the vision and the effectiveness of its implementation will be evident in the changes in the communities that reflect supportive community economic development. An assessment of strategy effectiveness should be undertaken to ascertain the extent to which the intent of the documents begins to match reality, illustrating whether they have, in fact, been a help or a hindrance.

Acknowledgements

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