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Cultural Complexity and the Canadian Armed Forces in Canada's Arctic:

Understanding the Impact and Preparing to Meet the Challenges

Maria Tretiakova, B.A.

Karen D. Davis, Ph.D.
Canadian Forces Leadership Institute and Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis

Cassandra Kuyvenhoven, M.A.

National Defence Défense nationale

Canada

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Maria Tretiakova

Karen D. Davis, Ph.D.
Canadian Forces Leadership Institute
and DGMPRA Director Research Operational & Organizational Dynamics 2

Cassandra Kuyvenhoven, M.A.

Defence R&D Canada
Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis

and

Canadian Forces Leadership Institute
Canadian Defence Academy

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Abstract

In recent years, the activities of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) in the Canadian Arctic and northern regions have taken on increasing significance. In response, this paper considers the cultural dimensions of whole-of-government operations in a culturally complex environment as well as the potential impact of CAF operations in the north. The analysis suggests that an integrated strategy for preparing CAF leaders for Arctic operations, developed within the context of broader Canadian priorities for the Arctic, is important in building a robust foundation upon which to build cultural adaptability for military success. In doing so, the report provides an overview of: the four pillars of Canada's *Northern Strategy* - sovereignty, social and economic development, protection of the environment, and northern governance; the roles and relationships of the CAF within the Arctic; the treaties, organizations, and international stakeholders that represent various interests in the Arctic; the residents of the north, their lifestyle and experience with a focus on the Aboriginal and Inuit populations; the current and historical relationship between the CAF and northern peoples; and, the various federal government stakeholders which contribute to a myriad of potentially complex cultural relationships in Canada's Arctic. The analysis recommends the development of holistic and inclusive pre-deployment training for CAF leaders that considers the impact of CAF operations on northern communities and integrates the cultural complexity represented by multiple stakeholders, the four priority pillars of the Canadian government for the Arctic, and the key dimensions of cultural intelligence – motivation, cognition, knowledge, behaviour, and mindfulness.

Résumé

Les activités des Forces armées canadiennes (FAC) dans l'Arctique canadien et les régions nordiques du pays ont pris de plus en plus d'importance au cours des dernières années. La présente monographie porte sur les dimensions culturelles des opérations pangouvernementales menées dans cet environnement où la question culturelle revêt un caractère complexe, en plus de traiter des répercussions que pourraient avoir les opérations des FAC dans le Nord. L'analyse effectuée suggère qu'il est important d'élaborer une stratégie intégrée visant à préparer les chefs des FAC aux opérations dans l'Arctique, en tenant compte des priorités globales du Canada pour l'Arctique, afin d'établir une base solide sur laquelle sera fondée l'adaptabilité culturelle essentielle à la réussite militaire. Le rapport présente ainsi un aperçu des quatre piliers de la *Stratégie pour le Nord du Canada* – la souveraineté, le développement social et économique, la protection de l'environnement et la gouvernance dans le Nord; des rôles que jouent les FAC dans l'Arctique et des relations qu'il y entretient; des traités, des organisations, et des intervenants internationaux et étrangers qui représentent divers intérêts dans l'Arctique; des résidants du Nord, de leur mode de vie et de leur expérience, et plus particulièrement des populations autochtones et inuites; des relations actuelles et passées entre les FAC et les peuples du Nord, et, enfin, des divers intervenants du gouvernement fédéral qui prennent part à d'innombrables relations culturelles potentiellement complexes dans l'Arctique canadien. L'analyse présentée dans cette monographie recommande l'élaboration d'un programme d'instruction préalable au déploiement global et inclusif à l'intention des chefs des FAC, c'est-à-dire d'un programme qui tienne compte des répercussions des opérations des FAC sur les collectivités du Nord et prenne en considération

la complexité culturelle qui découle de la multiplicité des intervenants, des quatre piliers de la stratégie du gouvernement canadien pour l'Arctique et des grandes dimensions de l'intelligence culturelle : la motivation, la cognition, la connaissance, le comportement et la conscience.

Table of contents

Abstract i
Résumé i
Table of contents iii
List of Figures iv
List of Tables iv
Acknowledgements v
1. Background 1
2. Introduction 3
3. Arctic Priorities, Challenges and Context 5
3.1 Sovereignty, Search and Rescue, and Whole of Government Operations 6
3.2 Environmental Protection 10
3.3 Social and Economic Development 12
3.4 Improving and Developing Northern Governance 13
3.5 The International Dimension 14
4. The View from the North 17
4.3 Aboriginal Worldview 22
4.4 Differences Between Mainstream and Traditional Aboriginal Culture 23
4.4.1 Verbal Communication 24
4.4.2 Non-Verbal Communication 25
5. The CAF and Aboriginal People 27
5.4 The CAF and Aboriginal Culture: Similarities in a Sea of Difference 30
5.4.1 CAF Perceptions of Aboriginal Communities 31
5.4.2 Aboriginal Perceptions of the CAF 31
6. Cultural Complexity – an integrated approach for CAF Leaders 35
6.2.1 Motivation - Why is it important? 37
6.2.2 Cognition - How do I know, learn and do and how do others know, learn and do? 38
6.2.4 Behaviour - What are the important behavioural outcomes? 39
7. Discussion and Recommendations 43
Bibliography 45
List of symbols/abbreviations/acronyms 55

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Northern and Arctic Regions of Canada……..…1
Figure 3.1 CAF Priorities and the 4 Pillars in the Arctic 6
Figure 3.2 Whole of Government Approach to Sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic..... 8
Figure 3.3 Comprehensive Approach to the Sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic..... 9
Figure 3.4 The complexity of the environment in the North..... 11
Figure 6.1 Cultural Intelligence (CQ) , Concepts and Relationships……..……...38
Figure 6.2 Cultural Complexity and CQ in the Canadian Arctic…….…..41

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Aboriginal Identity of Northern Population by Territory (2006 Census)……..17
Table 4.2 Comparing Values between Traditional Aboriginal and Mainstream Culture…… 24

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1. Background

The Canadian Arctic has been gaining prominence over past decades in national and international politics. With the increase in temperature and melting ice, it is becoming more accessible for a longer duration every year, as air traffic on polar routes over Canadian airspace increases and the region gains international importance as the new frontier for resource development, navigation, and territorial sovereignty (National Defence, 2012). Consequently, the Canadian Armed Forces' (CAF) is committed to expanding its presence and activities in the Arctic to meet emerging challenges.

Strictly speaking, Canada's Arctic includes Canadian territory, which is located north of the Arctic Circle or 60th parallel. As illustrated in Figure 1, Canada's north includes five northern regions that are somewhat isolated from southern Canada. The Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut are located north of the 55th parallel and include land north of the 60th parallel, while Nunavik in the northern area of the province of Quebec and Nunatsiavut in the most northern reaches of Labrador are located north of the 53rd parallel and border northern bodies of water which provide access to the Arctic. In addition to their geographical partnership with the northern and Arctic environment, each region also has unique priorities related to the self-government and well-being of indigenous Aboriginal communities that subsist in partnership with the Canadian government, the provinces of Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador, and non-government domestic and international stakeholders. Regardless of the unique characteristics of these regions, they also share a relationship with the land and seas of the north and the Arctic. As such, throughout this paper "the north" and "the Arctic" are frequently used interchangeably.

Figure 1: Northern and Arctic Regions of Canada

In spite of the increasing relevance of Canada's northern territories and their peoples to Canadian security, there is a paucity of research which considers the cultural relationships between the CAF and northern stakeholders, including Aboriginal people, and the associated requirement for cultural training (Armstrong, 2012). Given both the priority of whole-of-government operations and the cultural uniqueness of northern communities, this paper presents a strategy for preparing CAF leaders for operations in the northern and Arctic regions of Canada.

2. Introduction

The importance of soft skills such as cultural awareness and communication skills have been identified by various sources as essential to operational success as missions become more complex, and involve a variety of participants (Scoppio, 2011). Furthermore, negotiation, power, identity, stereotypes and prejudice and trust have been identified as themes that are particularly relevant to Joint, Inter-agency, Multinational, and Public (JIMP) operations (Thomson et al., 2011). In the CAF context, available training which is most directly relevant to operations in the Arctic is focused on providing knowledge about Aboriginal culture and preparing for the physical challenges of the Arctic environment and exercises with international military partners. For example, the Canadian Defence Academy offers Aboriginal Awareness Courses to assist CAF members in preparing for a range of leadership responsibilities, including deployment to the Arctic and the Canadian Forces Land Advanced Warfare Centre offers the Arctic Operations Advisor course to train specialists in the planning and conduct of operations in Arctic and extreme cold weather environments. This paper suggests that in addition to preparation for the physical environment and to build upon established Aboriginal awareness courses, the development of an integrated strategy within the context of broader Canadian priorities for the Arctic is important in building a robust foundation upon which to develop cultural adaptability for military success. It is important to recognize the complexity and dynamics among the various stakeholders in the north as they impact Canada, the CAF, and the residents of the north. As such, a cultural intelligence strategy is presented in this paper to place particular emphasis on developing understanding among military leaders of the relevance and impact of northern/Aboriginal versus military assumptions regarding whole of government priorities, processes and practices in the north.

This paper provides a preliminary discussion, analysis and recommendations in support of two specific areas of inquiry:

1. What do CAF operational leaders need to know and what competencies do they need to have to effectively implement a whole-of-government and comprehensive approach in the Arctic?

2. What is the social impact for residents of the Arctic of sovereignty-related activity, and in particular CAF operations?

In arriving at its recommendations, the report provides an overview of CAF resources, activities, and various stakeholders in the north and discusses the challenges inherent within northern operations. This includes the international, national, and local context within which CAF operations take place, beginning with four priorities which define the objectives of the Government of Canada for its most northern regions—sovereignty, social and economic development, protection of the environment and the development of northern governance—and how the military contributes to these objectives. Furthermore, the report examines the knowledge, competencies and experience that CAF leaders need in order to be prepared for the culturally distinct and diverse environment within which they must work in partnership with northern residents and governing bodies, other government departments, security partners, volunteers, academics, industry partners, and international stakeholders.

3. Arctic Priorities, Challenges and Context

In response to developing trends and activities, in 2009 *The Northern Strategy* was published to reflect the priorities of the Government of Canada in Canada's Arctic and northern regions. In leading the development of the strategy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), now Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), worked closely with several federal government departments including the Department of National Defence (DND) (Kozij and Bogusis, 2011). As such, the following four priority areas, or pillars, are identified in the strategy:

- Exercising Arctic sovereignty
- Protecting the environment
- Promoting social and economic development
- Improving and developing Northern governance.

Each of these priorities, addressed in greater detail throughout this chapter, rely upon the contributions and cooperation of numerous government departments, including the DND, as well as various non-government organizations. In addition, there are numerous international stakeholders in the Canadian Arctic who share concern for the sustainability and well-being of the international Arctic environment and its peoples. The Arctic Council, established in 1996, is an international multilateral forum through which such concerns are addressed. As a key stakeholder, Canada is a member, along with eight Arctic states and six international indigenous peoples associations (Foreign Affairs Trade and Development Canada). As discussed throughout this section, the Arctic council has influenced each of the four pillars.

Within the context of the numerous challenges presented by various national and international treaties, agreements, councils, and working groups that deal with a range of many different concerns including pollution and the environment, cultural protection, land claims and territorial disputes, CAF operations in the North influence all of the priorities of the Government of Canada. Notwithstanding, the key responsibility of the CAF is to exercise Arctic sovereignty. This is achieved by:

- Providing a continuous presence in the Arctic through surveillance and on the ground operations in order to validate Canada's claims of Arctic Sovereignty,
- Maintaining the ability to support and participate in search and rescue (SAR) operations,
- Assisting civil authorities "when responding to a wide range of threats" (Canada Command, 2012c).

Canadian sovereignty is further dependent upon cooperation among several federal government departments. The cooperation of each of these departments, including DND and the CAF, with northern and Aboriginal communities is important to ensure that as a minimum, their operations do not present obstacles to the unique concerns of northern communities.

CAF responsibility for sovereignty includes the protection of Canadians as well as the social and economic environment within which northern Canadians survive and thrive. Although a

developing concept, sovereignty can be generally understood as "a collective or umbrella term that indicates the rights and duties that a state is accorded by international law at a given time" (Ferreira-Snyman, 2006:19). The concept of responsible sovereignty implies "adherence to minimum humanitarian norms and a capacity to act effectively to protect citizens from acute threats to their security and well-being" (ibid). The participation of the CAF in the north will both contribute to and be impacted by northern governance, the environment and social and economic development. The relationship and interdependence between the four pillars as identified in Figure 3.1, highlights that Arctic sovereignty is inter-dependent with, if not dependent upon, northern communities that are significantly shaped by the values, lifestyles and priorities of First Nations and Inuit peoples. Each pillar is discussed below.

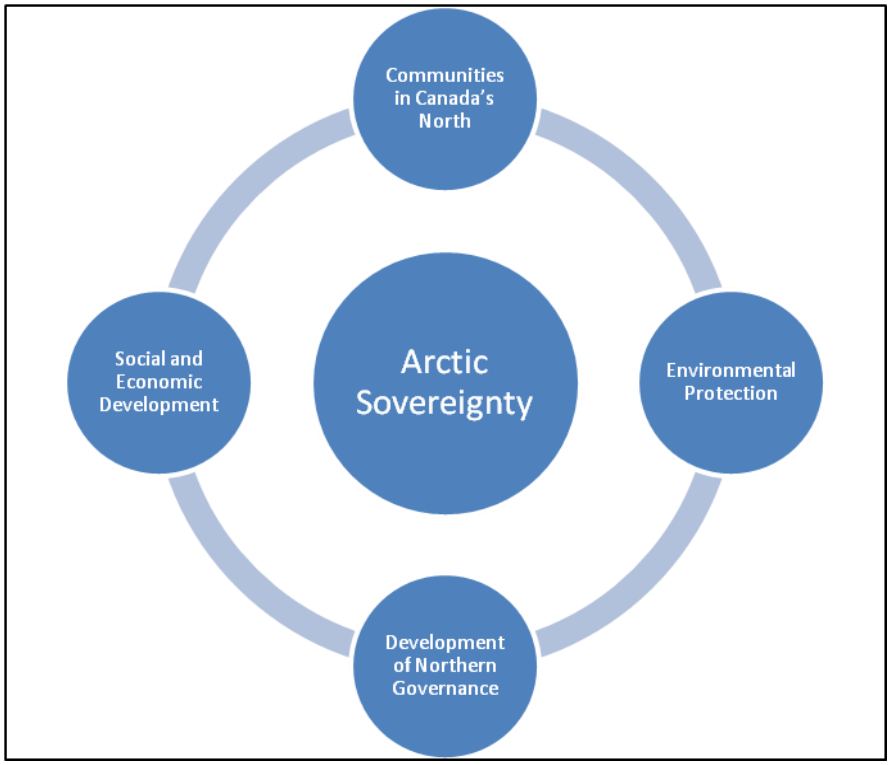

Figure3.1: CAF Priorities and the 4 Pillars in the Arctic

3.1 Sovereignty, Search and Rescue, and Whole of Government Operations

In support of sovereignty operations and related priorities, Canadian Forces Joint Task Force North (JTFN) is headquartered in Yellowknife, N.W.T. with responsibility for coordinating CAF operations north of the 60th parallel (Canada Command, 2012a). JTFN maintains detachments in Whitehorse, Yukon and Iqaluit, Nunavut, and supports, and is supported by, 59 patrols of Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, Area Support Unit (North), the Regional Cadet Support Unit (Northern), C Company of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment, a Canadian Forces Recruiting Detachment, and 1 Field Ambulance Detachment. Canada also relies on Aboriginal populations to preserve and demonstrate its claims to sovereignty over the Arctic territories including lands and waterways. Members of the Canadian Rangers, a part-time Reserve Force in the North, are recruited from the communities to "conduct surveillance or sovereignty patrols as required," with some performing inspections of the North Warning System sites (Kokan, 2010:29).

The DND and the CAF share responsibility for sovereignty-related operations with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Public Safety Canada, the Canadian Coast Guard (CCG), Transport Canada and the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA). The CAF are primarily responsible for air surveillance, maritime Search and Rescue (SAR), support to other government departments and responding to hostile activity, carried out primarily through patrols, surveillance and SAR operations (Alexander and Cote, 2011). Public Safety Canada ensures coordination across federal departments and is responsible for national safety and security; in particular it developed the Federal Emergency Response Plan and is responsible for the co-ordination of an emergency whole of government response.

Responsibility for the safety of air, marine, rail and road transportation systems, as well as oversight of legislation that focuses on marine protection rests with Transport Canada. For example, the National Aerial Surveillance Program (NASP) currently administered by Transport Canada helps to provide a cost effective surveillance of vessels within Canadian waters as well as the ability to enforce pollution prevention regulations. Working together with RADARSAT, the NASP system is able to provide accurate and comprehensive information on threats to the environment and Canadian sovereignty (Spears, 2011a).

CAF resources are also located throughout the country to provide SAR response to the greatest number of potential incidents (Canada Command, 2012b). Historically, about four percent of all SAR incidents occur north of 55^{th} parallel. The most recent SAR agreement of the international Arctic Council does not require changes to existing practices or resources, but rather formalizes coordination between members of the International Arctic Council (Canada Command, 2012c). Non-government resources, primarily volunteer organizations assist with SAR throughout Canada. The Civil Air Search and Rescue Association assists in aeronautical incidents by making available private aircraft and trained volunteers as well as various communication services. With marine SAR operations, the Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary provides vessels and crews. By far the largest civilian participant in SAR operations is the Search and Rescue Volunteer Association of Canada that assists in ground operations, and has divisions within each province and territory in Canada (Canada Command, 2012b). Working with volunteers and non-military members provides the added challenge of conducting operations in a mixed military-civilian environment.

Northern Canada and the Canadian Arctic are sparsely populated areas with weak lines of defence. In addition to the communities in the north, Canada exercises its sovereignty through the manned and automated weather and research stations as well as the presence of Canadian Forces Station (CFS) Alert which is located on the north eastern tip of Ellesmere Island well into the high Arctic, at $82^{o}30'$ latitude. The station, surrounded by an unforgiving environment with alternating seasons of full daylight and full darkness, and snowfall every month of the year, is temporary home to approximately 55 military, civilian and contracted personnel at any given time (CCFS Alert, 2009).

The CCG has extensive experience in navigating the challenging Northern Canadian waters. Its primary roles include ice breaking, SAR, placement of navigational aids, vessel support to other government departments, and waterway management (Alexander and Cote, 2011). CBSA is in charge of northern border control though interaction in the Arctic is restricted due to limited resources. The RCMP has built a strong network with northern communities and has intimate knowledge of the northern environment. It is responsible for all national security investigations and the enforcement of federal laws. The continued presence of the RCMP in Canada's North has provided "the grounds for Canada to claim it has maintained a clear presence in the Arctic since Canada's conception" (ibid: 30).

Clearly a whole of government responsibility, Arctic sovereignty and SAR operations demand a

multi-faceted comprehensive approach to facilitate the combined employment of available resources in order to meet the challenging and changing demands of the Government of Canada in Canada's Northern region. As illustrated in Figure 3.2, a whole of government strategy is represented by an overarching framework through which government departments' work within their areas of expertise towards a single goal, and a single area of responsibility which can be aligned with more than one department.

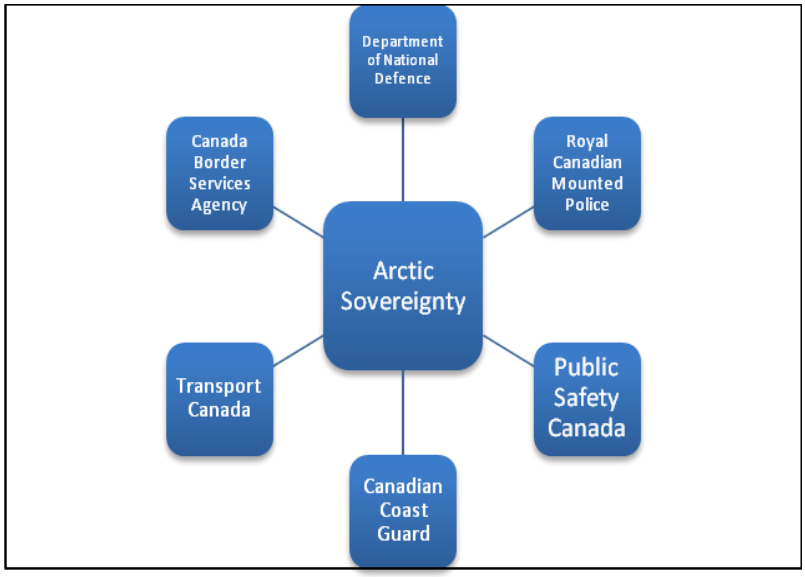

Figure 3.2 Whole of Government Approach to Sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic

As illustrated in Figure 3.3, a comprehensive approach is defined as a concerted effort, based on a shared sense of responsibility requiring closer partnerships between government departments and non-government organizations. A comprehensive approach includes a broader range of actors and organizations, each with their own culture, mindsets, priorities and capabilities. The multitude of requirements, roles and responsibilities that exist in the North necessitate co-operation between, and the integration of, the available resources of government and non-government organizations (ibid). This is achieved in part through the Arctic Security Working Group (ASWG), which was created at a regional level in 1999 to "co-ordinate the efforts of the various federal departments/agencies involved with various aspects of security in the North," (Canadian Directorate of Defence, 2000: 4). The ASWG has met in the north on a biannual basis since 1999 and today is composed of almost 80 representatives of federal and territorial governments, agencies, and non-government organizations (ASWG cited in Alexander and Cote). The ASWG represents an important consultation and collaboration resource for the CAF and as such, the ASWG is co-chaired by the Arctic Regional Manager, Public Safety Canada and the CAF Deputy Commander, Joint Task Force North (National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces).

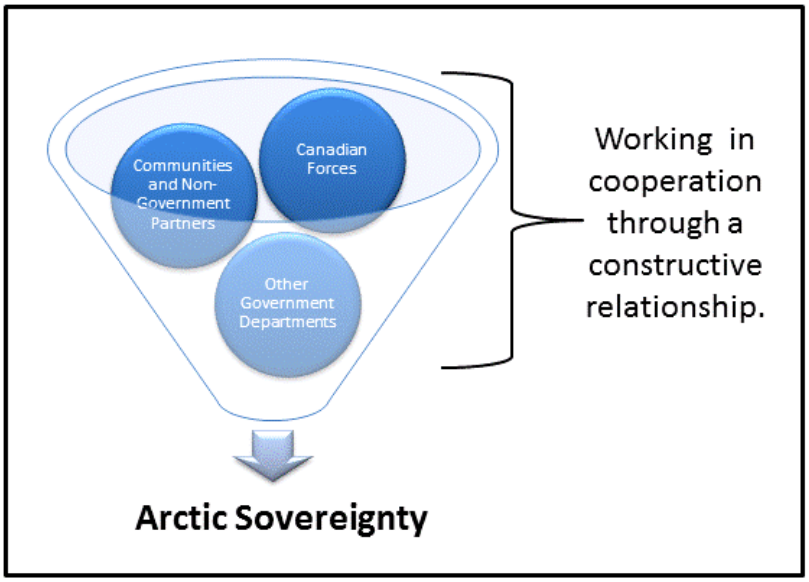

Figure 3.3 Comprehensive Approach to Sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic

Annual exercises, carried out by the CAF, CAF Ranger Patrols, various government departments and international partners provide opportunities to improve interdepartmental coordination and interoperability as they respond to northern safety and security issues (Joint Task Force North 2011). These operations, which take place throughout the spring and summer, are designed to enhance the CAF's knowledge and capacity for operating in austere locations and challenging environments, and to demonstrate the ability to respond effectively to safety and security emergencies in the Arctic (Kokan, 2011). They include sovereignty patrols, training exercises based on simulated major disasters and maritime emergency exercises, and provide opportunities to test communication systems and expose personnel to the conditions of operations in the North (Joint Task Force North, 2011). These exercises are an important opportunity for members of the Ranger force and the CAF to work alongside and to learn from one another. Operations in the North are designed not only to exercise Canada's sovereignty in the North but to also allow the CAF and other government departments to enhance their skills and experience within the unique Northern environment.

Clearly, there is an abundance of sovereignty-related activity taking place in the north. With increased accessibility to the Canadian Arctic, numerous Arctic states, including the United States, Russia, Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and non-Arctic states, including China, South Korea, and Japan, are also more active in the region. Stakeholder claims to the Arctic include among other things, resource exploitation and development, division of the Arctic seabed, and right of transit in the Northwest Passage (Huebert, 2009: iii). As a result, Arctic security is becoming increasingly essential to Canadian sovereignty. The projection of Canadian authority and sovereignty in the Arctic is "the best defence against threats to Canadian values and interests" (Mychajlyszyn 2008: 3), yet the increasing presence of the CAF and others in the Arctic risks contribution to a security culture which undermines the values and interests, lifestyles and cultures of the resident peoples of the north. Some of the implications of the presence of military organizations and other external stakeholders on northern communities and their interests, including the environment, are explored below as well as later in the paper.

3.2 Environmental Protection

When discussing the Arctic, the environment inevitably becomes a significant topic as it directly shapes individual and community experience. At the same time, the Arctic environment is fragile and vulnerable to human actions. As illustrated in Figure 3.4, the values, priorities and relationships among all who have an interest in the Arctic will impact and be impacted by the environment. The Arctic environment is particularly vulnerable as it "serves as a sink for toxic substances in the air and water," and is first to be dramatically affected by the effects of climate change (Governments of Yukon, NWT, and Nunavut, 2005: 7). Research has indicated an "increase in the frequency and magnitude of hazardous conditions in the Arctic, including permafrost thaw, coastal erosion, ice instability and increases in average temperatures and precipitation," the effects of which have further increased the risk of travel in the North and have impaired community infrastructure (Pearce et al., 2009: 11). Environmental changes have had, and will continue to have significant consequences in the Arctic and there are national and international attempts to reduce environmental risks.

The Government of Canada and its agencies are working to improve environmental regulations in order to protect Canada's Arctic. To protect the species and habitats of the Arctic, three new National Wildlife Areas have been created as well as a new national park. New ballast water control regulations will reduce the risk of vessels releasing harmful aquatic species and pathogens, and an amendment to the 1970 Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention act extends the application of the act to 200 nautical miles from the coast line (Government of Canada, 2011). Although these regulations contribute to the complexity of Northern operations in an environment already impacted by a harsh environment and infrastructure limitations (Anderson, 2006), they apply to all marine activity, including the navy. Fuelling of sea going vessels requires specialized equipment, monitoring processes to ensure pollution does not occur, coordination with the Canadian Coast Guard, and is only permitted while at anchor (Forget, 2012). There are also environmental concerns on land such as abandoned mines, for which cleanup programs have been created to "repair or remediate environmental damage" (Government of Canada, 2011). The steps taken to eliminate and prevent environmental dangers as well as to protect the climate of the North are particularly important due to the increased fragility of the Arctic eco-systems and the severe repercussions that could result from even the smallest actions.

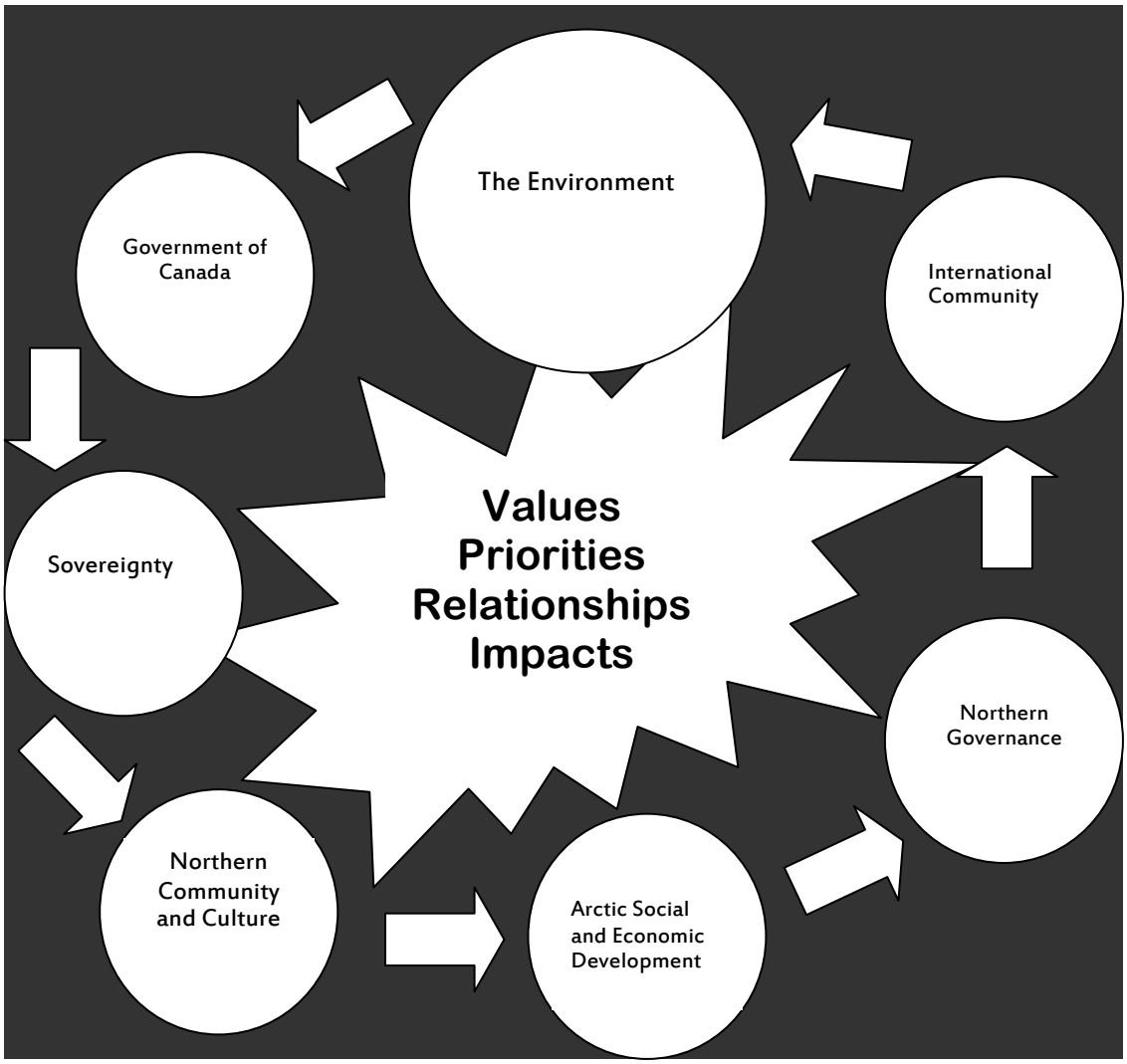

Figure 3.4 The complexity of the environment in the North

Other organizations seek to protect plant and animal species. The Circumpolar Biodiversity Monitoring Program (CBMP) is a Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) initiative that brings together an international network of governments (including Canada, Iceland, Russia, and Sweden), scientists, Indigenous organizations, and conservation groups (including the United Nations Environment Programme) to integrate efforts that monitor the Arctic's marine, freshwater, terrestrial, and coastal ecosystems. Each of the six Arctic Council Indigenous Peoples' organizations - The Aleut International Association (AIA); The Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC); Gwich'in Council International (GCI); Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC); Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON); and Saami Council—are permanent participants in the CAFF community-based monitoring (CBM) operations. These participants combine their efforts to detect, understand, and report on significant Arctic biodiversity trends. The contribution from circumpolar peoples ensures that the monitoring program is relevant and responsive to local concerns.

As an organization, CAFF seeks to "conserve the natural environment and allow for economic development" (Conservation of Flora and Fauna, 2012: 1). CAFF focuses on regional growth through sustainable practices, like species and habitat management and utilization. The Gwich'in people, permanent members of the CBMP, rely both culturally and economically on

hunting, fishing, and trapping, with moose, caribou, and whitefish being staples of their diet (Gwich'in Tribal Council 2009). Nevertheless, as members of the CBMP program, the Gwich'in peoples strive to make sustainable choices and be environmentally responsible in the Arctic.

The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) has a Canadian Arctic program that seeks to: (1) promote international governance solutions to safeguard the Arctic; (2) create a science-based conservation blueprint for Arctic species; and, (3) partnering with industry leaders to "demonstrate how shipping, mining, fishing, and oil and gas development can take place in the Arctic, benefitting local communities while respecting and reinforcing the integrity of Arctic ecosystems already under siege from climate change" (World Wildlife Federation Canada, 2011: 1). Similar to CAFF, the WWF engages with northern communities in an effort to promote continued economic development through the maintenance of environmentally sustainable practices. Social and economic development in the north is, like the environment, impacted by multiple priorities and stakeholders.

3.3 Social and Economic Development

Those who live in Canada's Northern region face unique challenges that are exacerbated by limited infrastructure, high transportation costs, remoteness from primary markets and small populations with limited formal education or industrial skills (Library of Parliament 2008a). These conditions hinder economic development and create economic and social concerns that differ significantly from those in southern regions. Food and resources must be ordered nine months in advance and there are few healthy options available. Those that are available are extremely expensive; for example, Northerners pay approximately $14 for two litres of milk, (MSN Money, 2012) three times the cost in the rest of Canada. In Nunavut, 17.5 percent of the annual household budget is spent on food, nearly double the amount for other provinces and territories where food expenses range from 9.1 to 12 percent of the annual household budget (ibid). The high costs of healthy food and a dwindling supply of traditional food due to contamination and climate change has led to high rates of food shortages. The majority and often times close to 100 percent of residents do not meet the daily recommendations "of fibre, vitamins and minerals" (Shapardanov, 2012). This places additional burdens on the already taxed and limited health care system. Government funding supports social and economic development in the Arctic by addressing specific areas of concern in including housing, health care and skills development.

The erosion of traditional Aboriginal cultures and languages across Canada including the North is a tragic legacy left behind by Indian residential schools and the imposition of Western cultural traditions. The Canadian government aims to preserve the distinct cultures that exist in Canada's Arctic, through funding that helps to protect and support community cultural and heritage institutions. The establishment of the Piqqusilirivvick cultural facility at Clyde River is one such initiative. This facility allows individuals to study elements of traditional land-based knowledge and participate in Inuit cultural programs (Department of Community and Government Services, 2008).

The Canadian government alongside Aboriginal groups and industries works to "create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people across Canada in major industries like mining, oil and gas, and hydro-electricity (Government of Canada, 2011). A new economic development strategy is being developed to support Northern communities. Programs and supports are also being developed in order to maintain and increase Aboriginal participation within the developing economy, and ensure Aboriginal representation within new and continuing projects. Such strategies seek to ensure that regulatory systems "across the North protect the environment in a predictable, effective and efficient manner" to make endeavours in the North more predictable

and foreseeable (ibid).

Big game hunting is a part of the Arctic's tourism industry and economic development. The north is home to some of the most exotic and highly prized big game animals, including: polar bears, grizzly bears, muskoxen, barren-ground caribou, moose, wolverines, and wolves. There are also plenty of small game animals, like arctic hares, ground squirrels, and ptarmigan. Some Arctic hunting outfitters will not permit the hunting of snowshoe hares in an effort to maintain a large, healthy wolf population (Nunavut Tourism, 2013). There may also be restrictions on hunting certain animals in order to maintain a sustainable resource for future generations; for example, the Northwest Territories restricted the hunting of barren-ground caribou herds in the winter 2013 season (Spectacular Northwest Territories, 2013). The Inuit are renowned for their patience, tracking skills, and stamina that make them effective hunters (Nunavut Tourism, 2013). Tourists who visit the Arctic for hunting trips are required by law to used licensed outfitters, usually operated by Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic. Mandatory hunting licenses and tags must be acquired before any hunting trips, with prices that range from $10 for wildlife tags to $750 for trophy fees (Nunavut Department of Environment, 2011).

There are three classes of licensed hunters in Nunavut: a resident who has been living in Nunavut for at least three months; a non-resident who is a Canadian citizen who lives outside of Nunavut; and a non-resident foreigner who is neither a Nunavut resident nor a non-resident. Each territory and province has Wildlife and Conservation Officers that enforce hunting seasons and quotas. Arctic hunts must be arranged through local hunting outfitters and be guided by provincially licensed hunters. Many Arctic Aboriginal peoples are employed as hunting guides (Spectacular Northwest Territories, 2013).

Sport fishing is also an important component of the Arctic's economic development. There are 28 different fish species in the north, including: Arctic char, Arctic grayling, northern pike, whitefish, and lake trout (Nunavut Department of Environment, 2010). A Sports Fishing Licence is required by anyone intending to sport fish in the Arctic. In Nunavut, Nunavut residents and Canadian residents less than 16 years of age are not required to purchase Sport Fishing Licenses. According to the Nunavut Sport Fishing Guide, it is an offense to "waste any game fish which is sustainable for food" (ibid: 3). Territorial control over hunting and fishing is just one indication of the increasing influence of regional and local governance on the sustainability and future of the north and its peoples.

3.4 Improving and Developing Northern Governance

Successive assimilation laws and policies introduced by the Canadian government in the past have resulted in the erosion of traditional forms of government (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2003). In collaboration with territorial government and Aboriginal communities, the Canadian Government supports "made-in-the-North policies" to develop tailored responses to local needs (Government of Canada, 2011). Such responses create practical, innovative and efficient governance models that are uniquely suited to fit the needs of the people of the North. Part of this initiative includes rebuilding the relationship between the government and the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. This is achieved through formal apologies, paying tribute to the courage and perseverance demonstrated by Aboriginal peoples in the North, as well as recognizing their "contribution to a strong Canadian presence in the High Arctic" (Government of Canada, 2013).

Land claim and self-governing agreements allow Northern communities to develop policies to address distinct social and economic challenges and opportunities. Land and resource devolution, the process through which the territories take control of the land and resources within their

region, began with Yukon taking full control of its resources in 2003, Nunavut followed in 2008, and preliminary discussions are underway to transfer the land and resource management responsibilities from the federal government to the Northwest Territories (ibid). In 2011, the agreement between the Canadian Government and Teslin Tlingit Council, a self-governing First Nation in Yukon gave the council the right to "administer, enforce and adjudicate its laws in its traditional way" (ibid). Many such steps have been taken to give Aboriginal communities of the North greater control over their society and governance. In recent years, for example, review and licensing processes have been put in place at local community and regional levels to ensure that northern interests are taken into account before scientific research is conducted in the north (Aurora Research Institute, 2011).

3.5 The International Dimension

Canadian domestic strategy for the Arctic is a reflection, at least in part, of increasing foreign interest in the area. As such, Canadian foreign policy for the Arctic supports Canada's vision for "a stable, rules-based region with clearly defined boundaries, dynamic economic growth and trade, vibrant Northern communities, and healthy and productive ecosystems" (Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy Pamphlet, 2013).

Collectively, the Arctic states have expressed a strong interest in a policy of co-operation. The Arctic Council, which was established in 1996, includes the eight Arctic states: Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States; and the six Arctic Indigenous organizations: The Aleut International Association (AIA); The Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC); Gwich'in Council International (GCI); Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC); Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON); and Saami Council (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada). As illustrated throughout this discussion, the Arctic Council provides a forum for discussion and cooperation among circumpolar nations to address concerns regarding the Arctic ranging from transportation, research, to the environment. For example, the 2011 Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement, which divided the Arctic into areas of responsibility between the Arctic nations and set out basic requirements for action, is an initiative of the Council. A first of its kind table top exercise held in the Yukon in October 2011 allowed member states an opportunity to explore how they could support each other during SAR operations, as all participating nations have limited SAR resources yet large areas of responsibility (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2011). This is the first international agreement that is specific to the concerns of the Arctic Region. The main objective of the agreement is to "further strengthen aeronautical and maritime search and rescue cooperation and coordination in the Arctic" (Arctic Portal, 1999: 1).

In addition to numerous treaties regarding the environment, and Aboriginal land claims, there are multiple international councils and working groups involved in Northern affairs. In 2008, The Illulissat Declaration was signed by five Arctic Ocean coastal states (Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and the U.S.) acknowledging the distinct ecosystems of the Arctic Ocean, extended the laws of the sea and provided a solid foundation for responsible management in the Arctic (Government of Canada, 2011).

International interests in the Arctic are being fuelled by global climate change, the strong perception that "seabed riches may exist" beneath the frozen ice, as well as their ever-increasing accessibility (Potts and Schofield, 2008: 155). Arctic states are not the only ones interested in the resources in the Arctic. Currently, China is in the process of constructing a new research ice-breaker and establishing a base in the Arctic (Addy, 2011). Within this area of change, there is opportunity for conflict as there are several territorial disputes and varying interpretations of existing agreements. Disputed areas that involve Canada include the territorial disputes in the Northwest Passage, areas of the Beaufort Sea, the maritime border between Alaska and Yukon,

Hans Island as well as "conflicting extended continental shelf claims" (Smith, 2011: 119).

Concerns over the increased militarization of the region are growing as the Arctic states' military abilities, whether developing or already developed, are growing substantially" (Huebert, 2010: 22). There is concern that any conflict in the region would result in severe environmental damage. Each state is taking individual measures and developing policies that focus on exercising their sovereignty in the Arctic region as well as building resources to support operations in the northern climate.

Steps are also being taken among Arctic states to encourage military partnerships which "promote interoperability and cooperation" through joint military exercises and training. These joint military ventures range from one time exercises to long standing "mutual defence organizations" (Smith, 2011: 122). Currently, most military partnerships exist in the form of "bilateral and trilateral military-to-military ventures among the Arctic states and other interested states" (ibid). When countries work together successfully, such as in the case of the 2010 military exercise on Hans Island that involved Canada and Denmark, they demonstrate their "willingness to co-operate" and work together to protect the Arctic and those who reside there (Haltendorn, 2010: 817).

The Government of Canada will continue to rely on the activities of the CAF within Canada's North. Increased involvement and presence in the Canadian Arctic is planned through an expansion of the Canadian Ranger program and the volunteer Yukon Field Force, as well as a naval refuelling facility at Nanisivik, Baffin Island and a Canadian Forces Arctic Training Center in Resolute Bay, Nunavut (Wallace, 2012). With the increase in resources invested by the CAF, as well as emphasis on applying a whole of government framework in the Arctic there is greater need to ensure that CAF leaders are prepared to address the complex system of relationships that will continue to influence northern operations.

In doing so, there are numerous hurdles to keep in mind that can complicate operations. A variety of concerns and their interconnectedness are mirrored by the diversity of CAF operations and priorities. Because of the nature of the environment, and the priority areas as identified by the Government of Canada, operations in the North have multiple objectives, often incorporating the various types of activities into one, and integrating aspects from the four priority pillars.

This chapter has established the significant interconnected social, economic, political and environmental complexity of the North. The following sections will further address the context and cultural complexity that influences CAF participation in the North, and suggest key themes that are important to include in training and development initiatives intended to prepare CAF leaders for deployment to the north. In developing awareness and understanding, it is essential to consider the experience of those who live in the north, and how that experience shapes the ways in which they interpret and respond to the world around them, including the many visitors that visit their shores and communities.

4. The View from the North

The Canadian Arctic is a sparsely populated region which makes up 40 percent of Canada's territory. The population is composed of a variation of Aboriginal people, predominantly Dene, Métis, and Inuit, and non-Aboriginal peoples, speaking a multitude of languages and dialects living within distinct communities. The Arctic is culturally and linguistically diverse but is united by the commonality of the struggle to survive in a challenging and cold environment. The information presented in this section attempts to provide a snapshot of who we are talking about when we make assumptions about the residents of the north, along with some of the historical trends and developments that have impacted the experience, status, and lifestyle of those who call the north home.

As illustrated in Table 4.1, there is considerable diversity within and across the northern territories. Although overall the majority of northern residents claim an Aboriginal status – First Nations, Inuit or Métis – in some areas many residents are not Aboriginal peoples; in fact, most of the residents in the Yukon do not claim an Aboriginal identity. Aboriginal people, most of whom are North American Indian, comprise just over 50 percent of the population of the Northwest Territories. In contrast, 84 percent of the residents of Nunavut are Inuit. According to the 2006 Census, over 10,000 residents of the province of Quebec and close to 5,000 residents of Newfoundland and Labrador are also Inuit; almost all Inuit in Quebec reside in Nunavik and over 2,000 reside in Nunatsiavut (Statistics Canada, 2006), the northern self-governed Inuit regions within the provinces of Quebec and Labrador, respectively. The populations described below have increased since 2006; for example, today Nunavut claims a total population of over 34,000 (Government of Nunavut). However, comparable data have not been accessed to indicate whether, or the extent to which, the proportions of different peoples in the northern regions have been changing in recent years.

Table 4.1: Aboriginal Identity of Northern Population by Territory (Statistics Canada 2006a)

	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Nunavut	TOTAL
North American Indian	20.8% (6,220)	30.8% (12,640)	.34% (100)	18.9% (18,960)
Inuit	.85% (255)	10.1% (4,160)	84.0% (24,635)	28.9% (29,050)
Métis	2.6% (800)	8.7% (3,580)	.44% (130)	4.5% (4,510)
Total Aboriginal	24.1% (7,580)	50.3% (20,635)	85.0% (24,915)	52.8% (53,130)
Non-Aboriginal	74.9% (22,615)	49.7% (20,420)	15.0% (4,405)	47.2% (47,440)
TOTAL (N)	30,195	41,060	29,325	100,580

It is also true that Aboriginal peoples maintain a unique place in Canadian society and history and much attention has been given in recent decades to develop their capacity for self-governance and to protect their cultural heritage, including a historical reliance on the land and sea for subsistence. In the North they also play a particularly important role in demonstrating Canada's

sovereignty over the Arctic by "working and even living on the ice" and surrounding land mass year round (CBC News, 2010). Aboriginal cultures of the North are united by their "deep and abiding connection to the land" and continued reliance "on local resources for their physical and spiritual well-being," even though there is great cultural, ethnographic and linguistic diversity from one community to another (Library of Parliament, 2008a). Aboriginal peoples' influence over land, wildlife, and resource decisions has been greatly increased through comprehensive land claims and self-governing agreements. These agreements carry implications for the Canadian government and the CAF in particular, as "nearly eighty percent of Canadian military property assets are located on Aboriginal lands or near reserves and Aboriginal communities" (Lackenbauer, 2008).

There is no one culture or society in Canada's North; the Aboriginal Peoples who live there "have diverse cultural traits that vary across the huge Arctic region" (Alberta Education, 2005: 11). There is also great linguistic diversity. In addition to the official languages of Canada (English, French) there are six variations of Inuktitut spoken. Notwithstanding the significance of Aboriginal languages in the north, English is the mother tongue of over 85 percent of Aboriginal people living in the Yukon and over 70 percent of those in the Northwest Territories (Statistics Canada, 2006). An Athapaskan language such as Gwich'in or Dogrib is the mother tongue of approximately 8.5 percent of Aboriginal residents in the Yukon and 23 percent of those in the Northwest Territories. Although over 80 percent of the population of Nunavut claim Inuit as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2006) a minority of Inuit in Canada - 8.5 percent – and less than one percent of First Nations and Métis in Canada overall, have no knowledge of either English or French (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Sustained contact between the peoples of the North and the rest of Canada began after World War I, and had a profound effect on Inuit culture. The introduction of new diseases such as small pox and influenza had devastating effects on the Northern population who had experienced limited contact up until then and, therefore, had no resistance to Western pathogens. After initial contact, Inuit peoples quickly adopted Euro-Canadian tools, goods, religious ideas, practices and written culture. The government of Canada encouraged permanent settlement with the advantages of a family allowance and senior citizen pension programs that fundamentally altered the semi-nomadic culture of the Dene who began settling in a string of small communities along the Mackenzie River (Aboriginal Awareness Course, 2012).

In fact, the relationship between the Inuit and the Government of Canada is plagued by mistrust and anger which dates back to the relocation of families that occurred in the mid 1930's and to a larger degree from 1953-1955. At the time, the relocations were presented by the government as a "rehabilitation project" (Domanski, 1996: 40). The government claimed, "it was curbing a growing dependency on social assistance by the Inuit, owing to a scarcity of wildlife" (ibid). However, it is now argued by the Inuit that the relocation was meant to demonstrate Canada's sovereignty over the High Arctic. Families were moved more than 2000 kilometers north, from Northern Quebec. They disembarked in two separate groups at Resolute and Grise Fiord with the understanding that they would be able to return to their home communities in two years if they wished; however, this promise was not upheld for 40 years (ibid). The environment that the Inukjuarmiut were relocated to in the High Arctic was very different from what they had experienced in their home community in Northern Quebec in terms of environment, resources, land formations and most importantly the animals available for hunting. This negative experience of false claims and broken promises has left these Inuit populations with feelings of guilt, remorse, frustration and anger, which have been compounded generation after generation.

The rapid changes that occurred within Inuit culture are attributing factors to the increased social and cultural problems prevalent in the region. The isolated nature of the Arctic environment

resulted in change that was much more rapid and occurred only after increased government interest in the region during the mid to late 20th century. Over the years, a number of these developments have affected men and women differently, including social change brought about by colonization, welfare state policies, economic policies, and urbanization (Morgan 2008). More recently, there has been an increasing disparity between men and women's social outcomes in the Arctic, including: women's unequal participation in and lack of access to traditional economic activities like hunting, fishing and gathering; the increase of violent crimes towards women and children; high rates of sexually transmitted infections, high levels of smoking, and substance abuse among Inuit women (Healey and Meadows, 2008); an increased vulnerability for women to become homeless due to the high costs of living; and a lack of Inuit women's participation in political institutions (Morgan, 2008). Nevertheless, women form the majority of the workforce in Nunavut, mainly in Government of Nunavut jobs, some earning more than other Canadian women. Inuit women also have higher rates of graduation from secondary education (46%) than Inuit men (27%) (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2007). Women play significant roles in Inuit society, but these roles are not always visible in formal institutional structures.

There are severe concerns regarding the quality of life for the populations living in northern Canada. There is ambiguity associated with the unknown effects of climate change on the environment, communities and cultures. There are concerns regarding inadequate health, low levels of education and unemployment as well as severe overcrowding throughout the Arctic region. Rates of unemployment are on average seven percent higher than the rest of Canada, (Statistics Canada, 2006) fifty-three percent of the Northern Inuit population live in crowded housing conditions (Aboriginal Awareness Course, 2012). Numerous health concerns are linked with overcrowded conditions, including a high rate of tuberculosis, 3.6 percent rate of occurrence in the North versus 1.7 percent in the rest of Canada.

Education and low literacy rates remain a concern amongst Aboriginal populations in Canada, and more so within rural Inuit communities (Richards, 2008: 3). The number of Northern residents completing grade school and post-secondary studies is considerably lower than for the rest of Canada; almost thirty-seven percent (36.6%) of the population receive no certificate, degree, or diploma (Statistics Canada, 2006). However, there are positive signs as younger generations are seeking and achieving higher education levels than previous generations. Aboriginal literacy is often seen as more than the basic learned skills of reading, writing and math, but as an integral part of everyday life within Aboriginal communities. Literacy aids with the development of "relationships between the self, community, nation, and creation with a focus on words, language, listening and comprehension" (Anotne, 2003: 9). That is, Aboriginal literacy is essential to cultural preservation.

4.1 Resident and Non-Resident Interactions

The Arctic is comprised of several heterogeneous communities spread across the vast expanse of northern land. There are several diverse groups of individuals who inhabit the Arctic differently over varying periods of time; for example, university researchers studying the impacts of climate change might visit for two months out of the year to collect data on Arctic shrinkage, whereas the north is the homeland of Dene, Métis and Inuit peoples who rely on local resources twelve months out of the year. While the CAF maintains a constant northern presence at CFS Alert in Nunavut and Joint HQ in Yellowknife, CAF personnel as well as permanent residents of the North experience continual changes as new service members arrive and depart on deployment every few months. Similarly, the RCMP is a strong presence year-round in the Arctic, having established ties with northern communities. The Arctic's rich resources and beautiful vistas also draw representatives from industry, politicians, tourists, non-governmental organizations, conservation programs, and other interested groups. The complex interactions between local peoples, established groups, and the transient populations that visit the north help to shape the

social landscapes in the Arctic.

According to the 2011 Canadian census, there are approximately 107,000 people living year-round in Nunavut, N.W.T., and Yukon, the largest population being in the N.W.T. (Statistics Canada, 2013a). The most Northern and sparsely populated islands in the Arctic, referred to as the High Arctic, has a year-round population between 1,500 and 1,700 people. According to the 2011 census data, by comparison, Iqaluit is home to about 6,700 people and Rankin Inlet on Hudson Bay has a population of about 2,300 (ibid). In addition to permanent residents, between 1 million and 3 million people will visit the Canadian Arctic each year. Therefore, the peoples who inhabit the Arctic year-round, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, will have had a range of experiences and interactions with different individuals who have visited the north.

Resident populations can perceive transient populations as wanting something from the Arctic, including resources that are being utilized by Aboriginal groups. For example, industry representatives who monitor the Jericho kimberlite deposit in Nunavut will visit the Arctic several times a year to protect their investment (ibid). Tourists use the Arctic lands to participate in outdoor activities like hunting, fishing, dog sledding, camping, canoeing, and wildlife viewing. They may also come to the Arctic to take a cruise or visit a wilderness lodge. Scientists embark on expeditions for the purpose of collecting seabed data which includes the deployment of seismic sensors. In 2007, the Canadian government began construction on a deep-water seaport at Nanisivik for the purpose of docking and refuelling both Canadian Navy and Canadian Coast Guard vessels. These are examples of non-resident groups who visit the Arctic and use the Arctic for a purpose, whether that purpose is profit-driven, political, scientific, or personal. Most of these activities are promoted and supported by external sources of capital and are therefore also subject to decisions made by outsiders, with very limited influence from local communities or authorities (Rasmussen, 2009).

There are several different historical factors that can underlie interactions between resident Aboriginal peoples and transient non-Aboriginal peoples. As previously mentioned, there is a colonial history of intrusions, destruction of nature and culture, and exploitation of Aboriginal peoples. The resident's perception of non-residents wanting resources coupled with historical interactions can cause feelings of scepticism and distrust for Aboriginal peoples interacting with non-resident groups.

Tensions can also arise between residents and non-residents when transient populations visit the Arctic with a tourist mentality, or a stereotypical and potentially restrictive understanding of a foreign community. The Arctic is a dynamic, diverse, and complex place that requires its visitors to understand its broad cultural complexities. Transient populations are often perceived as coming to the Arctic to take something, without mutual collaboration with the local groups.

This tourist mentality is highlighted in the dearth of academic information about the Arctic written by residents of the Arctic. Literature on the Arctic, often written about from the perspective of non-residents, privileges non-resident voices, reifies cultural stereotypes, and contributes to an over-simplification of cultural complexity. Furthermore, Aboriginal culture relies on oral transmission of knowledge, which means that some traditional knowledge is not captured in print. When visiting the Arctic, it is important to practice willingness to learn, adapt, and listen to resident groups in an effort to get a greater understanding of the Arctic context.

4.2 Urban and Rural Populations in the North

The movement of transient populations has already been discussed in some detail in the previous section; however, there are also patterns of migration of Arctic peoples, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, between rural communities, larger regional centers, and urban areas. Some of the main reasons for migration include: the absence or presence of subsistence opportunities, the quality of life and access to amenities, and income-earning and employment opportunities (Huskey, 2010). However, in the Arctic, the migration trends might also influence: place of birth and length of residence of Arctic populations, the changing urban-rural composition, the role of climate change on Arctic migrations, Indigenous migrations out of the Arctic, and international migration into the Arctic (Heleniak, 2013). The movement of peoples in the Arctic is complex due to the vastness of the region and the heterogeneity of its inhabitants, and there can be several geographical and cultural differences in and between rural and urban Arctic communities.

Traditionally, the Inuit peoples lived off the land for thousands of years, relying on hunting and fishing to provide clothing, food, tools, and other essentials. The furs and skins of animals were used to make warm clothing, waterproof footwear, and shelter; blubber provided oil for fuel; and, bones and teeth were fashioned into weapons, fasteners for clothing, tools, and utensils (Province of British Columbia, 2011). The Inuit utilized resources like copper, pyrite, galena, quartz, and soapstone to make tools, household, and decorative items. During the 1950s, the Canadian government began "providing Inuit with social services, such as healthcare and education, with increased frequency and geographic range" (Bonesteel, 2006). Renewable and non-renewable resource development projects expanded throughout the North during the 1960s, including the construction of Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites and the development of mines. Although these projects were meant to provide employment for the Inuit, they often only created short-term or seasonal work and required English language or other specialized training. As of 1961, "57% of Aboriginal people employed in industries [in the Arctic] continued to hunt and trap as a primary means of subsistence" (ibid). Throughout the 1970s, the Inuit began to found organizations and associations as a means of ensuring self-governance, land claims, and representation in the Canadian government. Although a large proportion of Aboriginal people in the Arctic still rely on the land, with the increasing availability of amenities in the North that require participation in a formal economy (money instead of trades), the Inuit have become increasingly wage-dependent. However, with a large amount of Aboriginal-run hunting and fishing outfitters in the Arctic, some Inuit peoples earn their wages through their ability to live off the land. As will be discussed further in section 3.3.1, there are several differences between traditional and non-traditional Aboriginal peoples, including their temporal orientation (present versus future) and their attitudes towards the accumulation of wealth (sustenance versus ambition), that impact their employment.

Rural communities are often small and scattered across the Arctic. Rural economies focus on subsistence, and may produce "lower incomes, higher unemployment and poverty rates, and higher costs of living" (Huskey, 2010). With limited access to jobs and services, some rural populations migrate to urban centers to find work opportunities and lower living costs. Changes in the economic structure of the north are affecting rural household structures, "especially due to an increase in the general pattern of out-migration of both males and females looking for education and work opportunities outside the villages and smaller towns" (Rasmussen, 2009: 526). Local economies are not determined solely by one-dimensional capital/wage-earner rationalities, the presence of both subsistence and informal economies in the north provides individuals and communities with means of coping with various crises, including: "supporting dwindling pension economies, adjusting anomalies in wage work arrangements, adjusting economic discrepancies in families and among relatives, and providing individuals with survival strategies" (Bonesteel, 2006). During the 1960s and early 1970s, few northern communities had facilities for secondary and vocational education, requiring youths from isolated Arctic

communities seeking higher education to live "in school residences in larger northern communities like Iqaluit and Yellowknife, and in urban centres like Montreal and Churchill, to complete their high school educations" (ibid). However, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, more preparatory programs and vocational course were being offered in smaller communities.

Urban communities are typically more heavily populated than rural communities. Urban centers like Whitehorse, YT advertise themselves as having a "vibrant city lifestyle…a healthy economy, small town values, a safe environment in which to raise a family, and access to the great outdoors" (City of Whitehorse, 2013). Urban centers also have more amenities than rural communities, from hairdressers to airports; furthermore, amenities in urban cities are usually more accessible than in rural communities, with some rural constituents still having to leave their hometown for secondary education or drive long distances to reach health care facilities—schools and nursing stations are often constructed near existing government infrastructure, including military buildings and police posts in urban centers. Both urban and rural communities are continually interacting with the surrounding world through state and local bureaucracies, "local, national, and international politics, the market, family networks, schooling and education, ready access to transport networks, and access to (and input from) the electronic media" (Dybbroe, 2008: 14). However, there are some concerns about the urbanization of Aboriginal peoples, citing the permanent and profound consequences for the preservation and transformation of culture and cultural relations amongst Aboriginal peoples that are more likely to be fostered and nurtured in rural, traditional communities (Nickerson and Kaufman, 2004).

4.3 Aboriginal Worldview

Notwithstanding the diversity in the North, in general, Aboriginal cultures embrace the idea that a person is made up of four parts: spirit, heart, mind and body and therefore a person must engage with all four parts in order to facilitate learning (Anotne, 2003). As stated by Preston et al. (2011), Aboriginal learning styles and assessment techniques differ from those employed and accepted within mainstream culture and educational institutions. Within Aboriginal culture, "learning is a lived experience best absorbed through activities such as storytelling, group discussions, cooperative learning, demonstrations, role modeling, personal reflection, peer tutoring, learning circles and hands on experiences" (ibid: 8). In terms of assessment, Aboriginal peoples' learning is not measured through "formalized practices or written results" but is evaluated through self-reflection and personal growth (ibid: 9). However, in formal learning institutions, Aboriginal children are still expected to follow grade-based curriculum that is provided by the province; for example, the Nunavut Department of Education provides "the overall direction, coordination and administration for K-12 curriculum and program development, production and implementation, and teaching and learning material development" (Nunavut Department of Education, 2013: 1).

Furthermore, traditional Aboriginal culture relies on oral transmission of knowledge. Within North Baffin Inuit communities, observation and imitation are embedded "in daily family and community activities," and is the way through which knowledge is passed on from one generation to the next (Olson, 1994: 390). Learning is seen as a holistic, lifelong process, thereby drawing on various sources of knowledge and contributing to the development and wellbeing of the individual as well as the community.

Notwithstanding significant diversity, there are common elements of the Aboriginal worldview that can function as a starting point for understanding and working with individuals of Aboriginal descent. Digital technologies—like computers, the Internet, satellite, and mobile phones—can be used to facilitate cultural transfer while preserving traditions. For example, in Iqaluit, a former school teacher "translated popular English children's songs to Inuktitut and recorded them on compact discs (CDs) to be used as tools to reach Inuktitut as a second language" (Nickerson and Kaufman, 2004: 4). In this way, technology was employed to reintroduce the cultural tradition of

ayaya singing (a tradition of recounting stories about the past in entertaining and engaging ways). The Internet is also used as a forum to communicate in Aboriginal languages; organizations like the Atlantic First Nation Help Desk offer interactive language lessons and several Aboriginal dictionaries, books, songs, and prayers. Even Microsoft has been developed software Windows software in Inuktitut (Government of Nunavut, 2010). Another example of the impact of technology on Arctic peoples is the partnership between The National Research Council and the school board in Kangirsualujjuaq, QC that facilitated "videoconferencing schools from across the north, allowing children to, among other things, hone the traditional skills of throat singing and drum playing" (Nickerson and Kaufman, 2004: 6). In this way, technology has served to enhance and share the Aboriginal worldview through cultural transmissions over various technologies.

Throughout Northern Aboriginal cultures there are similar strands that emerge which include: sharing as an intrinsic component of community life which includes the extended family and greater community; elders as role models within the community; decision-making as a group activity which includes all members of the community; an intricate relationship between language and culture, where knowledge of Aboriginal languages is an essential component of fully understanding Aboriginal culture (Kulchyski et al., 1999). Furthermore, in Inuit societies, gender is not a fixed man/woman binary. Gender in the Arctic is contextual and situational, which facilitates more flexible gender roles than in other Western societies. Although traditional gender roles exist in the Arctic, like women being responsible for child-rearing activities and men being responsible for economic activities, these roles are pliable. Populations in the Arctic have to be adaptable, due to the harsh and variable ecological conditions in the north. For example, if a family has no male children, the father will impart hunting skills to one of his daughters. In Inuit societies, individuals are allowed to move freely between gender categories.

4.4 Differences Between Mainstream and Traditional Aboriginal Culture

An essential difference between Aboriginal and non-aboriginal culture is the way in which power is recognized. In non-Aboriginal cultures, power is usually created in a hierarchy with those at the top holding "power over" those below them, whereas in Aboriginal culture, "all living things are viewed as equal" and therefore power is viewed as a circle (Alberta Education, 2005). This leads to the differences in power structures and decision making with Aboriginal culture relying on co-operation and mutual sharing within the decision making process. This integrated perspective extends to all living things including animals and the environment around us. Traditional aboriginal culture emphasizes the power of nature which is demonstrated through harmony with, and respect for nature. The co-operative nature of traditional Aboriginal culture also slows the pace within Aboriginal communities, as time is taken to "contemplate various options, collect information and weigh options" before making a collective decision (Lackenbauer, 2007: 111). Further cultural differences are identified in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Comparing values between traditional Aboriginal and mainstream culture

Mainstream/Non-Traditional	Aboriginal/Traditional
Gifts are associated with holidays	Gifts are regarded as social glue
Ownership is reward for hard work	Ownership is often communal
Aging is decay and loss	Aging is a source of wisdom
Time (precision) 1pm, 1300hrs	Time (imprecision) e.g., in the afternoon
Motivated by ambition	Motivated by need e.g., stay employed to meet immediate needs
Individualism (self well-being)	Collectivism (group well-being) e.g., concern about the work team
Competition (individual achievement)	Co-operation (group harmony) e.g., I must not stand out from the group
Future orientation	Present orientation e.g., spend income now, not save it
Possessiveness	Sharing e.g., give freely to others
Scientific explanation	Mythic explanation e.g., the Creator will provide good weather in good time. No need to worry or take action

The sharing of power and co-operation therefore leads to dramatic differences in communication between Aboriginal and non-aboriginal culture, as above all, importance is placed on mutual respect, building of relationships and preserving trust. This variation is represented in the way those from Aboriginal communities would interact in particular situations. Aboriginal groups do not depend for structure in their activities, on time as measured by minutes and hours in our 24 hour/day clock, and emphasis is placed on task completion building trust and relationships. Honour is of paramount importance within traditional Aboriginal cultures, such that Aboriginal people will avoid confrontation and situations with the potential to embarrass themselves or another individual regardless of community status. Individuals from smaller communities, especially in the North also tend to be more timid and quiet, taking a longer time to warm up to strangers (MacFarlane and Moses, 2005). These initial social and cultural notions lead to further differences in communication norms and expectations which are reflected in what non-aboriginals would perceive as differences. Communication is an essential tool to develop strong relationships with populations in the North. "Effective early and ongoing communication is essential in developing strong" relationships within the community and CAF members must utilise both formal and informal approaches to engage with the community (Pearce et al., 2009: 16-7).

4.4.1 Verbal Communication

There are significant differences in communication styles between traditional Aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups in Canada that can be negatively perceived by those conducting operations in the North.

- Aboriginal individuals are not likely to engage in small talk or volunteer information.

- Aboriginal people are likely to believe that it is "proper to hold back information from a stranger until feeling a measure of ease and comfort" (McDonald, 1989: 20). There is a tendency for answers to be short and to the point without added details. Individuals from Aboriginal communities may not volunteer information or expand upon when responding and in fact use short and direct answers to questions which include those of a personal nature. Honesty is paramount, and answers reflect that.

- The common use of non-verbal communication to express sentiments may be new to non-aboriginals who are used to a culture of expressed politeness. Furthermore, English is a language of request; speakers commonly using expressions such as may and can in a permissive tone. An Aboriginal person may express the same idea with a direct statement that might be interpreted by outsiders as an inappropriate command (ibid).

4.4.2 Non-Verbal Communication

One of the most difficult things about communication is that what one says is only part of the equation, as meaning is derived from how it is said, as well as other forms of non-verbal communication. Interpretations and expectations of non-verbal communication differ from one society and culture to another and being aware of these differences assists individuals in understanding and communicating with individuals. Aboriginal societies in Canada have different cultural norms which are represented in differences in non-verbal communication. These norms can be more pronounced in isolated areas of the North. Some of these differences include:

- Gestures associated with agreement in non-Aboriginal culture such as the nodding of the head, are seen as a symbol for understanding only, and not necessarily agreement (ibid: 29-30).

- Lack of eye contact is seen as a sign of respect for those in authority.

- Use of non-verbal forms of appreciation such as gift exchange.

- Amongst individuals from Aboriginal groups there is a tendency to not express emotion in public; they may therefore appear stoic or uninterested, which may not reflect personal sentiments.

- Soft hand shake and a soft voice, as a sign of respect.

Though these cultural differences have been identified it would be wrong to assume that all Aboriginal communities share these characteristics. There is no set Aboriginal culture, and as previously mentioned, cultural norms vary from one community to the next, and are often impacted by the extent of contact with non-Aboriginal people, education, as well as other forces.

CAF leaders in the North must be prepared to work within an increasingly diverse environment, and be able to communicate, and interact effectively with military, civilian and international partners. Many of those involved have a worldview that is significantly different from that of the CAF, and have been socialized according to non-mainstream values. An individual's intercultural strength lies not in their competence regarding the differences between cultures, which may inadvertently lead to generalizations and oversimplification, but in their ability to work through difference and find common ground through communication, respect, cooperation, accommodation, adaptation, as well as an openness to learning and trying different methods. There are some general expectations such as gift giving. Gifts, for example, are an important part of Aboriginal traditions, often used to communicate an agreement. There are certain general guidelines for gift exchange, especially when one is dealing with Elders. Tobacco, the preferred gift within Aboriginal cultures in Canada, was an important element in First Nations communities and traditions well before contact with Europeans, and spread north to become a part of Inuit culture during the 18th century (McCue, 2000).

Perhaps one of the most striking challenges for military members is accepting that they are not prepared for everything they need to know in order to operate in the north, and therefore will need

to be open-minded and attentive to the attitudes and opinions expressed by members of Aboriginal communities and Rangers. In order to be able to connect with those in the North, openness to different ideas and contributions, expressed through direct and indirect communication, is critical. Whether the challenge is to coordinate successful Ranger training, gain the cooperation and trust of representatives from other government departments, or integrate civilian contractors and apprentice trainees into an operation, leadership in the Arctic will depend upon appropriate individual expression as well as the motivation to be attentive to the different styles of direct and indirect communication that is employed by others. For all intents and purposes, CAF members who deploy to the north bring a range of challenges, attitudes and perceptions that are similar to other visitors to the north. However, as discussed in the following chapter, there is also a history of experience between the CAF and Aboriginal people that can have a particular influence on the quality of CAF communication and relationships with Aboriginal people in the north.

5. The CAF and Aboriginal People

Aboriginal people have a significant history of participation in the CAF, as does the CAF in the Canadian Arctic. Regardless, the representation of Aboriginal people in the Canadian military is low in proportion to their representation in the country's population (MacLaurin, 2003). There are several agreements which call for increasing Aboriginal representation within the Canadian government, particularly in the north, one of which is the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. The agreement outlines the basic need to increase and maintain Inuit employment throughout all government organizations including the "establishment and maintenance of support measures to enhance the potential for success" (Government of Canada, 1993). Among other things this means removing barriers to Inuit employment such as inflated educational requirements, using a variety of testing procedures to avoid cultural biases and the removal of "experience requirements not based on essential consideration of proficiency and skill" (ibid). The 1993 Land Claim Agreement identified further initiatives that support Inuit employment within the Canadian government, including the distribution of recruitment posters in Inuktitut, training opportunities, cross-cultural training, as well as a promotion of on-the-job training programs such as apprenticeships and internships.

Also, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Canadian Arctic is vitally important to Canadian interests and the CAF and other government, non-government, and international stakeholders have a substantive and developing presence in the north. As such, the historical and developing relationship between the CAF and Aboriginal peoples and in the northern regions of Canada in particular, is discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Recruitment and Training Initiatives

In 1971, the CAF had initiated the Native Peoples Development Program (NPDP) to enrol and train Aboriginal People from the Yukon and North West Territories and employed them in existing Regular Force units in the north. For a number of cultural and socioeconomic reasons, it was not possible to employ the recruits only in the north and they began to be employed in units throughout Canada (Davis, 1996).

In 1985, the NPDP evolved to become the Northern Native Entry Program (NNEP) and include a pre-recruit training course for northern candidates, a Canadian Forces Recruiting Centre detachment in Yellowknife, and a one week Native Cultural Awareness course for recruiters, recruit training staff, administrators and personnel providing support to the NNEP (Davis, 1995). However, such initiatives focused solely on participants from the North were not successful. It was determined that although it provided northerners an opportunity to "adjust to military and southern lifestyles," the success of the program was not in proportion to the incurred costs of recruiting in "remote and thinly populated communities" (McCue, 2000: 28). Therefore to continue and increase northern recruitment, the CAF turned to alternative methods.

Today, CF programs such as *Bold Eagle*, *Raven*, *Black Bear*, the *Canadian Forces Aboriginal Entry Program* (CFAEP), and the *Aboriginal Leadership Opportunity Year* (ALOY) offer Aboriginal people an opportunity to experience living and working within a defence environment with no obligation to continue. These programs include cross-cultural and military awareness training designed to help Aboriginal candidates adapt to the culture of the CAF. In order to participate, individuals must meet the basic educational and medical requirements. The programs, which range in duration from a few weeks to an entire year, include *Bold Eagle* in Alberta with an army focus, *Raven* in British Columbia for potential naval recruits, the *Black Bear* program in Ontario which introduces participants to potential careers across the CAF and the DND, and the ALOY program at the Royal Military College of Canada which is designed to encourage

Aboriginal participation in the officer corps. The CFAEP recruiting program offers three week pre-recruit training courses in British Columbia and Ontario (Canadian Forces, 2010).

These programs are designed to expose individuals to the culture, values and ideals expected within the Canadian military, but also include Aboriginal cultural elements, and provide a blueprint on how to incorporate Aboriginal values and traditions within the military as a whole; that is, provide tools for Aboriginal people to adapt and offer support. The programs recognize, for example, that many Aboriginal candidates have been socialized within a horizontal structure, where a consensual, egalitarian approach is preferred and non-assertiveness is respected. This is in sharp contrast with to the military culture which features a top-down structure driven by assertive leadership. This can present a difficult and profound adjustment for a cultural newcomer who has learned to act and respond in very different ways (McCue, 2000: 33).

In order to increase and maintain employment it is important to continue to meet the expectations of those interested in joining the CAF. Communicating the benefits of joining the CAF, particularly for Aboriginal People in the north such as education and career advancement is also important. Aboriginal members of the CAF identified career motivations as "being the main reason for joining," as well as the value of the education and training they received (MacFarlane and Moses, 2005: 30). The *Defence Strategy 2020* and other strategic documents have stressed that the CAF must be a visible national institution reflecting the country's geographic and cultural diversity (Lackenbauer, 2005-2006: 50). Cultural training, support for current members, and an increased appreciation for diversity and multiculturalism across the CAF are important contributors to the geographic and cultural development of the CAF.

The CAF, just as any employer in Canada is bound by the *Employment Equity Act* to take action and ensure "the full representation of members of the four designated groups within their organizations" (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2011). Aboriginal representation within the military is low in proportion to the Aboriginal population in Canada. Examining the relationship between the CAF and Aboriginal populations in Canada is one important way to enhance CAF efforts to increase Aboriginal representation and remove barriers to employment. It is also important to look at the possible barriers that exist due to educational, training and cultural differences. This is particularly important for the military in the North where they work closely, and rely on Aboriginal participation in operations.

As recently noted in a CAF study, *Attracting and Recruiting Aboriginal Peoples*, it is important to re-build trust between the CAF and Aboriginal communities, through constant interaction and long term involvement, including greater flow of information in order to strengthen the relationship between the CAF and Aboriginal communities (Fronséca and Dunn, 2012). Maintaining current protocols for contact and permits, particularly when it comes to utilising "aboriginal settlement lands or land under claim" is important as it demonstrates continued respect and acknowledgment of previous agreements (Lackenbauer, 2008). Continued CAF involvement in and responsiveness to Aboriginal issues and the ability to adequately determine their effect on CAF operations and ascertain an effective response will support the presentation of the DND and CAF as team players rather than "an aloof group who are not concerned with land claims and Aboriginal rights" (Lackenbauer, 2008).

5.2 The Canadian Rangers

Since 1947, Canadian Rangers have been tasked with providing "…a military presence in sparsely settled northern, coastal and isolated areas of Canada" (Lackenbauer, 2013: xix). Today, Canadian Ranger patrols represent more than 90 percent of CAF presence north of the 55th parallel, and as such they are relied upon to conduct sovereignty patrols, emergency response,

community development, and assist on operations when required. Made up of lightly equipped volunteers who are members of the CAF Reserve Force, the Rangers draw upon indigenous knowledge which is supported by compulsory basic training and optional specialist training. Among other things the CAF teaches Rangers communication and navigation skills such as the use of maps, compasses and Global Positioning Satellites to supplement the Ranger's traditional ability to "navigate through memory" (Lackenbauer, 2007: 113). The Rangers have significant value as a Northern force, and also work to preserve and pass on Inuit Arctic survival skills and knowledge.

Ranger instructors are members of the Reserve Force with mainstream army training and experience, but do not receive specialized instructor training to work with the Rangers. Regardless, they are responsible for making connections with the Aboriginal community, teaching the Rangers, and carrying out military-related training in the North. Technical skills alone are not enough to ensure successful operations in the North. These instructors, and other CAF members operating in the north, must possess a broad range of skills that not only help them adjust to the harsh and unpredictable environment of the North but also guide them in accessing and utilizing the expertise and community knowledge of Northern residents.

Ranger instructors must also be self-sufficient, well organized and possess strong communication skills. As there is very little outside support in the North, they are called upon to perform multiple roles. Listening and communication skills are essential components of building trust within northern communities. It is important that instructors take the time to get to know the local members of the Ranger patrols as well as other community members to ensure co-operation, respect and mutual learning. They need to be flexible and patient, as they cannot rush through explanations or expect a similar level of knowledge from each individual member. There is a great range of education levels and learning styles within Northern communities, and instructors need to adapt, and adjust their teaching methods to suit particular groups. Ranger patrols work as a community and although each individual may not have all of the required skills, together as a community they have everything needed to succeed (Lackenbauer, 2007).

5.2.1 Learning from Past Experiences

Based on the CAF experience with Rangers, several unique planning considerations, critical to meeting the challenges of operations in the North have been identified. Operations in the North are executed at a slower pace than those in temperate climates, therefore when planning operations and training exercises in the North, time estimates must accommodate the slowed pace as "one cannot force the operational pace of the south onto the Arctic" (Lackenbauer, 2011: 111). Much of the equipment in use is not meant for the frigid temperatures of the north and the simplest things may not work, as even the ink in pens freezes, therefore, careful contingency planning is required to compensate for the higher equipment failure rates in the cold climate (Kokan, 2011: 29). Ensuring that there are adequate supplies for the entire operation is essential as there is no option of driving "to stores if something failed to arrive" as there is very little support out in the north" (Lackenbauer, 2007: 105). Deployment to the North must occur "with all of your interval assets," thereby making pre-deployment planning and organization increasingly complex and important (Kokan, 2011: 27). Adequate supplies and careful contingency planning are essential to ensure that those operating in the North have access to necessary resources.

Operations in the North also experience their own unique human factors which contribute to the complexity of operations. The cold environment is an enemy in itself, and it is important to be aware of the dangers associated with the crippling cold. Casualties in the cold environment of the North increase when individuals are overworked. It is imperative that everyone dress for the

worst when leaving the immediate camp area, especially in the High Arctic (Lackenbauer, 2007: 111). Ensuring that there are adequate supplies also means taking into account that in cold temperatures, personnel carrying survival gear "would burn off calories at an accelerated rate" and would require compensatory meals (ibid).

All of these considerations underscore the extent to which CAF operations are reliant upon expertise and experience that comes from living in the North. For this reason, members of Aboriginal Patrols are frequently engaged as guides. Northern outsiders must recognize this expertise and be willing to trust and learn from Rangers. However, doing so also means that CAF members must be willing to adapt to authority structures, group dynamics, and a pace of operations that does not mirror CAF practices. Under undue pressure, Rangers may act against their better judgement to satisfy what they perceive as a person of authority. At the same time, Rangers recognize that most CAF members may not be adept within, or well accustomed to the environment of the Arctic, and therefore have much to learn. In spite of this awareness, northern residents such as the members of the Ranger Patrols will not force unwilling outsiders to adapt and learn (ibid).

5.3 Youth Programs

The CAF also supports northern communities through various youth programs, such as the Junior Ranger Program and the Cadet program, which are among a small number, if not the only youth programs offered in northern communities (Canada Command, 2012). These programs incorporate "traditional cultures and lifestyles" and "elements as varied as public speaking; drug and alcohol education; environmental protection; local languages; and traditional music, singing and dancing" (ibid). The Junior Rangers and the Cadet programs in Canada's north provide participants an opportunity to learn about the CAF and the Canadian Government. Also, the emphasis on incorporating Aboriginal and Inuit culture into these programs helps to preserve traditional culture and knowledge.

5.4 The CAF and Aboriginal Culture: Similarities in a Sea of Difference

One of the challenges involved in working in the Arctic is the difficulty in gauging a response from Aboriginal communities in terms of their perspectives on the CAF, its programs, operations, and exercises. The inherent social and cultural traditions within Aboriginal culture of a reluctance to be critical of outsiders, a tendency to avoid conflict and confrontation, as well as expressing sentiments indirectly make it difficult for outsiders to understand the perspectives within aboriginal communities

Nevertheless, initiatives must be made to eliminate the barrier and increase communication between the military and Aboriginal communities of the Arctic. To further improve relations between the CAF and Aboriginal communities, it is important to reduce "discrimination through education of non-Aboriginal members" as well as extensive and thorough cultural training which would help with CAF members' adaptation to, and understanding of diverse cultures and societies (McCue, 2000: 30).

Though the culture, values and beliefs within the CAF and mainstream (Western) culture differ significantly from those embraced by traditional Aboriginal cultures, areas exist where similarities can be found. These areas of similarity include:

- The parallels in values created by the belief in a higher being held by members of the

CAF and Aboriginal people. Though spiritual orientation may be different, the values instilled are none the less harmonious (MacLaurin, 2002: 18).

- The CAF is structured as a self-sufficient entity with its own teachers and medical personnel, which is comparable to the construction of traditional Aboriginal communities within which members had different tasks that contributed to the sufficiency of the community. Within the military community, members have access to all of the necessary resources which supports the socialization of CAF members.

- Group effort and teamwork are upheld and celebrated by both Aboriginal communities and the military.

- Storytelling has been identified as "an important part of military life" with the stories holding "hidden meanings, underlying messages about correct and incorrect behaviour" (MacLaurin, 2002: 18). This is very similar to the significance that story telling plays within traditional Aboriginal culture as a way to pass down traditions and knowledge.

- Though the outward display of honour and respect are very different between military and traditional Aboriginal cultures, these concepts are nonetheless an integral part of the community traditions and shape the day to day interaction between community members.

These areas of similarity between the CAF and Aboriginal cultures provide a starting point or focus on which future policy development and programs can be built. By identifying similarities and using them as starting points, the tension between CAF and Aboriginal cultures can be mediated. It is also important to challenge assumptions that are at best inaccurate and at worst will have a negative impact on cross-cultural relationships and military effectiveness in the North.

5.4.1 CAF Perceptions of Aboriginal Communities

Perceptions of Aboriginal Peoples and traditional culture in Canada are clouded by a sustained practice of silence, omission and ignorance. For example, as identified by Anne Godlewska et al., topics on Canada's Aboriginal Peoples are not thoroughly taught in Ontario schools which has led to a vast majority of students having little or no knowledge of Aboriginal culture, history, or geography; what is included in the curriculum simply represents Aboriginal experience as "a mere adjunct to the main stream of history" in Canada (Godlewska et al., 2010: 427). This lack of knowledge has affected individual awareness within mainstream society of Aboriginal Peoples history, contribution and struggles, and frequently results in a lack of understanding and respect for Aboriginal cultures (ibid: 422). Misperceptions, generalizations and stereotypes can fuel misunderstanding among members of the CAF, as well as the general mainstream public in Canada.

5.4.2 Aboriginal Perceptions of the CAF

There is no consensus on how the CAF is perceived by Aboriginal groups, in fact, there is great variety of opinions amongst communities, often dependent upon their previous experiences or lack thereof with the CAF. In general, individuals from larger, less isolated communities have greater knowledge of the Canadian military, while smaller isolated communities have relatively limited knowledge. Furthermore, the perception of many is that the CAF and the Canadian government are one and the same. Frequently, when discussing Aboriginal-military relations, the "initial thought that comes to mind" is the conflict at Oka, although as Whitney Lackenbauer argues, "the incident is not representative of normal relations" (2008). The crisis at Oka "was the product of two distinct cultures converging over 300 years to clash in the microcosm that was the spring and summer of 1990," on the basis of legitimate grievances over land rights at

Kanesatake" (Winegard, 2008: v). Oka remains an emotional topic across Aboriginal communities in Canada, which continues to invoke negative images of the CAF as they were employed as a security force during the conflict (McCue, 2000: 13). Aboriginal issues, and in particular land claims remain a rallying point for Aboriginal communities throughout North America. A local land dispute can be a trigger for demonstrations of support or a resurgence of unresolved issues miles away. This raises possibilities such as the concern voiced by the Canadian government during the summer of 1990, "that the violence of Oka could spread to other Native communities across Canada" (Winegard, 2008: 148). Land claims and comprehensive agreements are still ongoing and include more than a discussion of land rights; negotiations often contain "complex provisions for self-government, the establishment of economic opportunities and the maintenance of traditional lifestyles, languages and culture" (Department of National Defence, 2012b). Though there are numerous examples of positive working relationships between the CAF and Aboriginal communities, the policies and practices of past governments such as assimilation have had lasting negative results and "the process of alienation and mutual distrust continue to plague Native-government (federal) relations" in Canada (Winegard, 2008: 208).

Never the less, many Aboriginal people in the North, some of whom are members of the Ranger Force, are eager to work with the CAF during various training exercises and other operations. For them, interaction with the CAF provides an opportunity to learn how to use new technology as well as an opportunity to support efforts to protect the North and those who reside there (Kokan, 2011: 27). Overall, "the military is held in high regard" in the Arctic and efforts must be made to ensure that the positive relationship is not damaged (Canadian Defence Academy, 2012). Aboriginal People in the North are also more exposed to members of the CAF than Aboriginal people from large urban centers elsewhere in Canada where the military population is relatively small and has less visibility. In small northern communities, the Rangers are a representation of the Government of Canada and the CAF, and are known by all as they are an integral part of the community. While there are existing positive relationships that are invaluable to CAF community relationships in the north, it is important to consider how such relationships can be sustained and further developed.

5.5 Building Relationships

Though mission success remains at the foreground of concerns for CAF leaders in the North, it is nonetheless important to ensure that operations meet the obligations outlined by the Canadian Forces Defence Strategy (CFDS) and the four pillars as identified by the Canadian government. The indirect outcomes of CAF operations in the North need to include the development of relationships with Aboriginal communities, environmental protection as well as social and economic development to support the overall development of Canada's North. The imperative of appropriate consultation and communication with Aboriginal communities is addressed in part by an on-line DND course, "Aboriginal Consultations in DND/CF," which is available to all members of DND and the CAF as a way to increase the knowledge base of requirements for Aboriginal consultations, the legal obligations for consultation, best practices for developing consultation plans, and the resources available for assistance in making these determinations (Department of National Defence, 2013).

There are many reasons that such consultation is important. For example, the linear planning processes utilised by the CAF can come into conflict with the different planning processes employed by other government departments and among Aboriginal communities. Conflict resolution, flexibility and patience thereby become important skills and attributes for CAF leaders as they work through problems within the co-operative environment of the Arctic. It is therefore necessary to identify inclusive processes or framework for interaction to employ when planning whole-of-government operations.

One of the ways to learn about Aboriginal cultures and gain acceptance within communities is through Elders. CAF contact with Aboriginal communities and community Elders enhances the credibility of the CAF among communities, provides reliable "access to cultural awareness and knowledge," and fosters "closer links with the First Nations and Aboriginal peoples" (McCue, 2000: 22). By initiating and maintaining connections and relationships with Aboriginal communities and Elders, the CAF are able to build relationships and communicate in a more effective way. Knowledge of Aboriginal culture alone is not enough to communicate effectively and to build relationships with those who know the north best. Northern communities share many common experiences and understandings; however, they are also culturally diverse and integrate a variety of cultures, beliefs and traditions into their day-to-day life. Relationship building within unique local communities is an indispensable aspect of effective operations in the north.

Respect for the climate is an important first step in developing effective working relationships in the Arctic. The unpredictable and shifting weather in a region the size of Europe complicates operations and CAF members must be adept at understanding weather patterns using satellite images and be able to use "local knowledge about the geography and weather patterns" to successfully carry out operations. The weather causes havoc with equipment, new technologies and products must therefore be put through tests in the region to ensure they are operable in the low temperatures. As noted by Whitney Lackenbauer, outsiders must first "learn to live there; secondly they must learn how to work there" (2007: 111-112). That is, to be successful, soldiers need to experience living, working and even simply moving in the cold environment. The chance to experience living and working in the Arctic is a crucial reason why annual operations and training are carried out – training that cannot be successful without building important relationships.

Being aware of, understanding and working to mitigate the implications of cultural differences is an important part of operations in the North, involving not only other government departments and non-government organizations but also international partners. Working effectively to ensure mission success in the Canadian Arctic also requires respect for the cultural heritage and sustainable interests of the Inuit and Aboriginal people who have called the north home long before it gained such strategic prominence and visibility. Mission success within the cultural complexity of the north demands an integrated range of cultural skills, competencies, and knowledge such as those encompassed by a model of cultural intelligence and discussed in the following chapter.

6. Cultural Complexity – an integrated approach for CAF Leaders

As evident from the discussion thus far, there are numerous stakeholders and contributors to life in the North. The four pillars provide a context for identifying the priorities that Canada has identified for the North, however, all stakeholders, including those who call the North home and the Canadian Forces, will exercise their own priorities in various ways. The operational challenges of the North are made unique by a variety of factors including community culture and the environment, but the North also offers challenges that have been faced in other environments. For example, the analysis of strategic efforts in Afghanistan in 2006 offered by Andy Tamas, provides insights that can be adapted to new challenges. In spite of the immense differences between Canada's North and Afghanistan, the desired outcomes and approach are similar as in both cases a comprehensive, whole-of-government approach is essential. Tamas identified the need to manage a web of complex relationships between departments and agencies as well as local communities, as especially important in order to understand the relationship between the various agents, and to ensure that work is not being duplicated or in conflict with other initiatives and priorities.

According to Tamas, the derived outcomes must also be compatible with the region's history, norms, and knowledge and skills. Furthermore, within a whole-of-government approach it is important to go through various stages of planning, as well as re-examination of progress, goals, changing needs, and attitudes. Although short-term visible impact initiatives might provide some immediate rewards, they do not always result in long term sustainable development, including the development and maintenance of important relationships. In ensuring an inclusive systems approach, which considers a range of potential short and longer term impacts of initiatives, it is important to be aware of the relevant stakeholders with both complementary and conflicting objectives and perceptions. Such objectives and perceptions derive from a myriad of cultural influences that shape decision-making and response at individual, community, organization and regional levels.

Understanding difference and complexity creates an inherent demand for cultural knowledge and the ability to adapt within unfamiliar cultural environments. The development of cultural knowledge and skills among military leaders is not new; however, as noted by Kok Yee Ng et al. (2005) in their review of the potential relationship between cultural intelligence and leadership in military organizations, related efforts have been ad hoc and largely focused on culture-specific training for identified operations. Typically, such cultural training imparts knowledge to military leaders, in preparation for tactical and operational level missions, including: the history of the local area; origins of conflict; components of culture, values, traditions and beliefs (religion, education, economic activity); language; physical geography, climate, topography, and economic patterns; cultural personality including education, family size, ethics and values; anthropological studies of specific countries; and in some cases, culture-general type training related to understanding cultural differences (ibid). While such knowledge is important in preparing to operate in unfamiliar cultural milieu, knowledge constitutes only one dimension of a range of competencies, skills and attributes which contribute to cultural competence. Furthermore, the frameworks that are used to shape knowledge creation and access should be carefully considered within the context of mission objectives and the unique cultural situations which play host to the mission. In other words, the knowledge and competency frameworks used to structure access to information and guide behavioural responses in Afghanistan will in some ways be transferable to the Arctic, but in other ways will demand a different set of priorities, such as the four pillars and the unique cultural landscape in the North, to shape the creation of knowledge and awareness for operations in the north of Canada. As noted by cultural intelligence expert David Livermore,

"…beware thinking that the same negotiating skills, sense of humor, and motivational techniques can be used indiscriminately with everyone and everywhere" (2010: 21).

Cultural awareness, typically offered as culture specific training immediately prior to a deployment, is an important contributor to deployment specific knowledge; however, it can be optimized if specific cultural knowledge and awareness is understood within a broader framework of cultural dynamics. This includes acquiring knowledge, but importantly it also means developing an understanding of the role and impact of culture generally, and thus an ability to learn, understand, adapt, and integrate various experiences and knowledge within different and dynamic cultural contexts. This process includes appropriate frameworks for understanding the government priorities for the north, knowledge and understanding of the cultural dynamics of the North, and conscious awareness of how the values and perspectives which shape leaders and military professional identity in the CAF will influence cultural interpretation as well as "outsider" interpretation of CAF motivations and objectives. These unique attributes which shape military identity are frequently highly visible and salient to "outsiders" in ways that are taken for granted and much less visible to military "insiders." A model of cultural intelligence, as described below, incorporates a range of knowledge, skills, and attributes within the domain of five key competencies: Motivation, Cognition, Knowledge, Behaviour and Mindfulness. Each is discussed below within the context of cultural complexity.

6.1 Culture: a complex human system

Culture can be defined in numerous ways, and definitions are often influenced by academic perspectives. In terms of organization and group culture, social psychologist Edgar H. Schein claims that the most useful way to think about culture is,

> …to view it as the accumulated shared learning of a given group, covering behavioural, emotional, and cognitive elements of the group members' total psychological functioning. For shared learning to occur, there must be a history of shared experience, which in turn implies some stability of membership in the group. Given such stability and a shared history, the human need for parsimony, consistency, and meaning will cause the various shared elements to form into patterns that eventually can be called a culture (1997: 10).

From this perspective, the notion of shared meaning developed over time has an important influence on the patterns of understanding and behaviour that will develop within the organization or group.

In reference to society more generally, sociologist Robert Merton claimed that social patterns have manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions have consequences that are familiar, planned, and generally recognized. Latent functions are unfamiliar, unplanned, and overlooked (1967, 1968). Similarly, complexity theorists have claimed that complex systems can be defined, in part, by unplanned and unexpected responses. Although there are debates within the fields of sociology and anthropology regarding the relationship between social systems and culture, when there are multiple organizations, networks and cultural perspectives, it is useful to think about culture as a complex human activity system. Complex systems feature,

- large numbers of elements which interact dynamically
- any element in the system can influence or be influenced by any other
- interactions are typically short-range

- non-linear interactions in which minor change can produce disproportionate and unanticipated results
- open systems which are fluid and subject to constant change in response to external conditions
- individual elements are typically unaware of the behaviour of the whole system within which they are embedded
- have histories which are integrated with the present

These characteristics, adapted from the work of Cilliers (1998), emphasize the potential influence of multiple cultures, sub-cultures, and stakeholders on the behaviours and outcomes of those cultural systems which co-exist. In addition, this model of complex systems underscores the role of historical understanding and experience on current perceptions and behaviours.

The model of cultural intelligence presented below suggests a holistic framework of competencies that can be applied to the development of the knowledge, skills and attributes for effectively working and leading in culturally unfamiliar and complex environments.

6.2 Cultural Intelligence (CQ)

CQ experts have invariably constructed CQ as a multi-dimensional model that focuses on the relationship among such factors as mental (cognitive and meta-cognitive), behavioural and motivational dimensions (Earley and Ang 2003); attitude, skills and knowledge (Johnson et al. 2006); or knowledge, mindfulness and skills (Thomas and Inkson 2003). The concept of CQ is rooted in theoretical frameworks from the fields of intelligence and cultural competence and, in fact, reaches back to the early model of Harry Triandis, which considers the relationship amongst environment, social environment, values and psychological processes (Earley and Ang, 2003).

Considering its various potential dimensions and contributors, and as illustrated in Figure 6.1, CQ can be described as a meta-competency that integrates knowledge, cognition, motivation, behaviour and mindfulness. As a meta-competency, CQ provides a framework for developing the capacity to understand and act in complex cultural milieu beyond accessing factual knowledge and applying prescriptive behaviours. Within the CAF context, the development and application of CQ are inextricably related to military culture, military ethos, and military leadership, all which interact to form the learning environment within the CAF. Each of the dimensions of CQ are discussed in greater detail below.

6.2.1 Motivation - Why is it important?

The motivational dimension refers to both internal individual motivators and external motivators. In the North, operations are driven by three key parts: mission success, contribution to the goals set out by the Government of Canada, and personal motivations. A motivated individual would be, for example, someone who strives toward self-awareness and self-development to enhance their effectiveness in different cultural situations. In a profile of an inter-culturally effective person developed for the Canadian Foreign Service Institute Centre for Intercultural Learning (CFSI CIL), Vulpe et al. (2000) identify personal and professional commitment as one of nine major competencies. Personal and cultural values, including the emphasis and priority placed on developing particular attributes and competencies within an organization such as the military, will also have an impact on the motivational dimension. The motivational dimension of CQ also incorporates a variety of skills that include: flexibility, empathy, openness, and goal setting which contribute to the creation of a motivated individual (Davis and Wright, 2009: 14).

Motivation is important because the emphasis or priority placed at different levels – personal, organizational, etc. – on developing cultural capacity in any given context will have a direct impact on what is treated as a priority and the extent of the effort that will be committed by individuals and organizations in developing the capacity for cultural adaptability. Importantly, the level and direction of effort also signals the extent to which there is awareness of the need to develop cultural competence to optimize success.

Figure 6.1: Cultural Intelligence, Concepts and Relationships
(Davis, 2012)

6.2.2 Cognition - How do I know, learn and do and how do others know, learn and do?

The cognitive dimension includes *how* you think about thinking, and how you gain new cultural knowledge, recognizing that different strategies might be required to learn about and adapt within different cultures. Cultural psychologist Harry Triandis (2006) notes, for example, that members of different cultures will differ in the way that they sample, and give weight to, information from different cultures. Social perception, within the cognitive sphere, includes such things as perceptions of events and attributions of their causes; that is, perceptions of what actually took place and why or what led directly to a particular outcome.

Cognition guides our behaviour, and is "informed by cultural values which are stored in memory through gradual internalization of prevailing cultural patterns" (Davis and Wright, 2009: 14). Cognition therefore incorporates learned assumptions about: who I am, how I learn and communicate, and most importantly how perceptions differ between members of the CAF, residents of the north, other government departments and various other stakeholders. Enhanced awareness of our own cultural assumptions, both as individuals and as members of the CAF, allow us to better understand how these perceptions might influence the assumptions that we make about the motivations and behaviours of others.

6.2.3 Knowledge - What do I need to know?

The knowledge domain includes *what* you know about culture including an understanding of the concept of culture and its pervasive influence on people and societies. In their CFSI CIL profile, Vulpe et al. emphasize the importance of understanding the concept of culture as a universal concept, as well as knowledge of the 'host' country (or region) and its culture(s) (2000). Cultural awareness or culture-specific knowledge, such as social and family structure and notions of masculinity and femininity, fall within but do not wholly comprise the knowledge dimension or fully constitute CQ. Strategic culture, also within the knowledge domain, includes much of what has been commonly understood as military intelligence and is sometimes referred to as cultural intelligence in military communities. This includes the "analyzed social, political, economic and other demographic information that provides understanding of a people or nation's history, institutions, psychology, beliefs (such as religion), and behaviours" (Davis and Wright, 2009: 12-13).

In the north, this would include information on cultural aspects that impact relationships between those residing in the North and those visiting and conducting operations there. One of the difficulties regarding knowledge of the cultural tapestry of the north is the collective diversity that exists in the north and the disadvantages and misconceptions brought forth by generalizations. Within the north, knowledge of other government departments and past interactions with them is also essential as there is an inherent need for government departments to work together in a whole-of-government approach to the Arctic.

6.2.4 Behaviour - What are the important behavioural outcomes?

The behaviour/skills dimension of CQ is the performance of integrated motivation, cognition, knowledge and mindfulness; that is, the application of CQ reflecting the capacity to apply appropriate skills and behaviours, and adapting behaviour in response to various and dynamic cultural contexts (Davis and Wright, 2009). Behaviour or self-presentation includes everything that is said or done in an unfamiliar cultural environment, including speaking another language, expressing interest in understanding another language by using a few key words, conveying respect for the concerns and perspectives of another organization or culture, and adjusting body language to the context of the situation. The behaviour dimension also encompasses skills identified by Vulpe et al. such as relationship building, intercultural communication and organizational skills (2000).

In the north, as in most unfamiliar cultural milieu, effective communication is essential to build and maintain relationships with those residing in the North as well as other participating partners. In order to succeed, behaviour needs to be directed towards increasing communication, building relationships within northern communities and effectively managing conflict. An important dimension of this is the perceptual acuity and capacity to first recognize when behaviours are ineffective, and then adjust to build effective relationships with different cultural stakeholders. Perceptual acuity is captured within the capacity to be "mindful" of what is happening and how we are impacting the response of those around us.

6.2.5 Mindfulness

The CQ model formulated by David Thomas (2006) "places particular confidence in the role of mindfulness, as a meta-cognitive strategy that functions as a key mediating link between cognition and behaviour" and unites the four predominant competencies of CQ: knowledge, behaviour, cognition, and motivation (qtd. in Davis and Wright, 2009: 11). According to Thomas, mindfulness includes being aware of our own assumptions, ideas and emotions; noticing what is apparent about others and tuning in on their assumptions; using all of the senses to perceive situations; viewing situations from several perspectives (with an open mind); attending to context to help understand what is happening; creating new mental maps of other peoples' personality and cultural background to respond to them; seeking out fresh information to confirm or negate the mental maps; and using empathy to understand the situation from another's cultural background. Importantly, mindfulness also places a focus on challenging assumptions, re-framing perspectives, and creating alternative constructions and analyses of cultural phenomena to re-interpret and discover the unfamiliar and the unknown.

6.3 Preparing CAF Members to Operate in Canada's Arctic

The knowledge or awareness dimension of CQ, as it applies to Aboriginal people across Canada, is addressed within CAF training courses. An Aboriginal Awareness Course (AAC) offered by the Canadian Defence Academy provides a thorough overview of Aboriginal culture throughout Canada as well as significant events in Aboriginal history and relationships between traditional and mainstream culture. The AAC course is a pre-requisite for participants on the Northern Aboriginal Awareness course (NAAC) which is conducted over two days and focuses specifically on the issues, people, and territory north of the 55^{th} parallel. This course provides participants with an understanding of the historical causes for the existing trends in relations between the people living in the Canadian Arctic and those who are there as representatives of the government of Canada. Additionally, it introduces a plurality of cultural and social traditions which are unique in some ways, while at the same time sharing common underlying traditions that have been driven by the struggle to survive. The course includes speakers of Aboriginal descent and in particular Inuit; thus providing students with a firsthand experience of cultural differences in communication and worldviews.

As illustrated in Figure 6.2, as well as throughout previous chapters, it is important to further develop pre-deployment training for the Arctic within a holistic CQ framework which is substantively shaped by the various priorities and processes identified throughout this paper including other government departments, local and territorial government and community organizations, non-government organizations including industry, and international stakeholders. In addition, when considered within a whole-of-government perspective, the four pillars take on particular significance in clarifying the knowledge and competencies required for conducting military operations in the North.

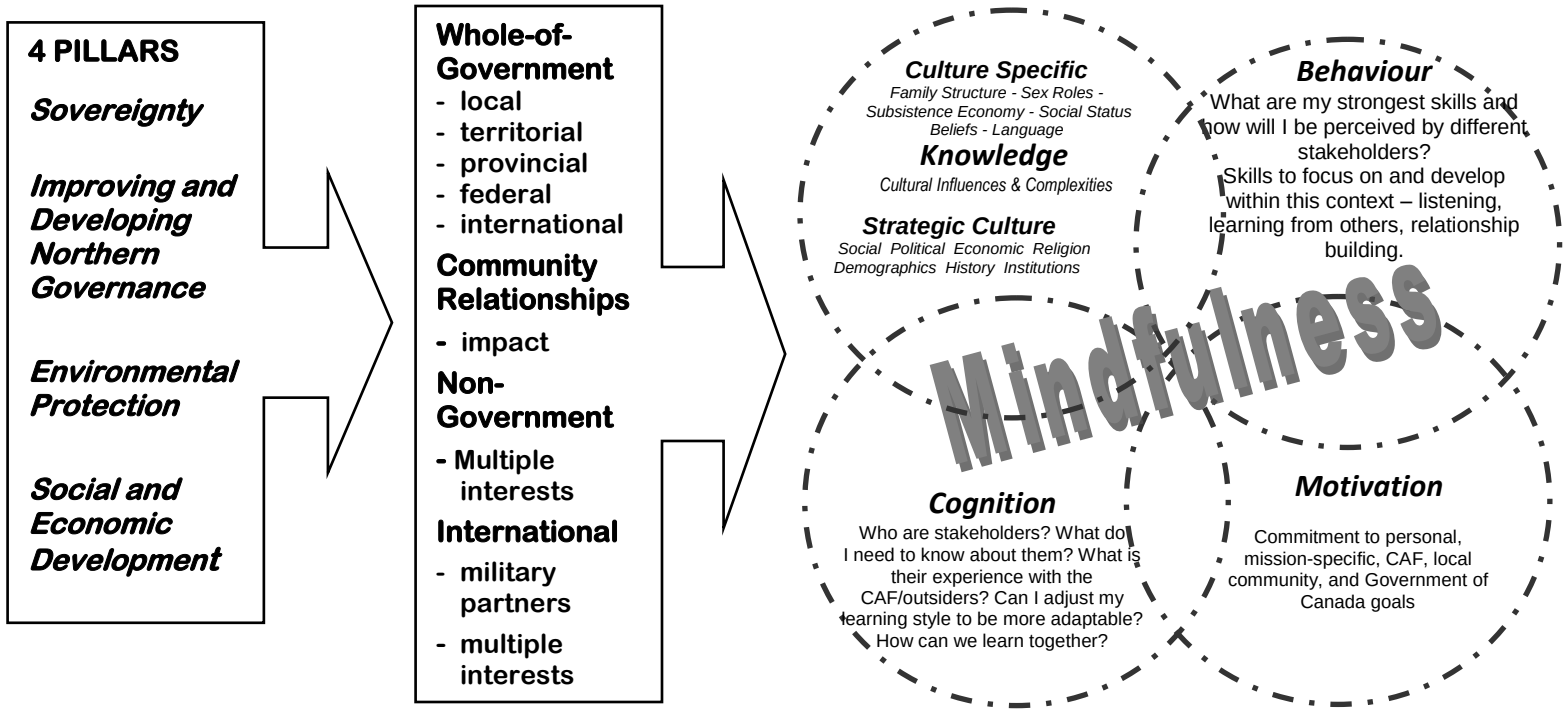

Figure 6.2: Cultural Complexity and CQ in the Canadian Arctic

7. Discussion and Recommendations

The Arctic is an integral part of Canada and recent international and national developments have driven it to become an increasingly important issue. For the CAF the primary focus is Arctic sovereignty, which infers more than a capacity to demonstrate a physical presence and implies the capability to respond, protect and support the needs and development of northern communities.

Supporting northern communities becomes an integral part of Arctic Sovereignty as the CAF strives to meet established priorities, commitments and expectations. In order to meet the challenges, operations in the North require a comprehensive approach that integrates resources from government departments, non-government organizations, and community partners. Working within such a diverse environment creates its own issues and challenges and CAF leaders need to be aware of them in order to develop and hone their capacity to adapt effectively within the dynamic and complex cultural milieu of the north. Effective adaptation includes the development of informed strategy for consultation with key stakeholders at community and territorial levels to ensure northern priorities and impacts are recognized, respected and addressed.

The analysis presented in this report suggests that pre-deployment training, for those in leadership positions in particular, should introduce the cultural complexity of operating in the north in terms of the multiple stakeholder priorities and interactions that impact northern communities and military operations. Furthermore, training should introduce a model or road map, such as the cultural intelligence model, that each individual can customize to identify their own strengths, weaknesses, and goals for adapting once employed in the north. An experiential approach, which emphasizes engagement with different cultures, reflection, analysis and application of past lessons learned to current and developing cultural contexts is particularly relevant, as it allows participants to engage with their learning and to reflect on their individual actions and perceptions (MacNab, 2012: 70).

As noted by Whitney Lackenbauer, in the Arctic, military activity cannot be separated from the "domestic socio-economic, cultural, and environmental health issues" (2006: 51). This report provides an introduction to the myriad of cultural challenges and issues that impact CAF operations in the Canadian north today, along with a hint of those that will develop in the future. Arctic sovereignty is likely to remain a high priority issue for the CAF, and other federal government priorities, including environmental protection, promotion of social and economic development, and northern governance will also continue to be critically related to the contributions and well-being of northern communities and the effectiveness of CAF operations.

7.1 Recommendations

In preparing CAF leaders for deployment in the Arctic and northern regions of Canada it is recommended that pre-deployment cultural training, which includes established Aboriginal Awareness Courses, also include:

- a framework that considers the relationship between the four priority pillars of the Government of Canada – sovereignty, improving and developing northern governance, environmental protection, and social and economic development;

- overview of the interests of multiple stakeholders with interest in the Arctic, including government at federal, provincial, territorial and local levels; non-government interest and industry based stakeholders; and international interests;

- introduction to culture and its impacts in cross-cultural interactions, including the significance of relationship building, power, military identity, stereotypes and prejudice, and trust;

- introduction to cultural complexity and how it impacts relationships in the north, including impact of CAF operations on local communities;

- introduction to the cultural interests, values, priorities, and the current status and concerns of northern residents with a particular focus on Aboriginal culture (current Aboriginal Awareness Course content); and

- introduction to a model or cultural development model or roadmap, such as the CQ, that can be used to develop individual learning strategies for cultural adaptability.

It is further recommended that future research pay particular attention to processes and methodologies, including community consultation, for identifying the potential impacts of military operations on the social and economic status of northern residents, including their ability to sustain their cultural relationship with the land and sea.

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List of symbols/abbreviations/acronyms

AAC	Aboriginal Awareness Course
AAC	Arctic Athabaskan Council
ASWG	Arctic Security Working Group
AIA	Aleut International Association
ALOY	Aboriginal Leadership Opportunity Year
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CAFF	Conservation of Flora and Fauna
CBM	Community-based monitoring
CBMP	Circumpolar Biodiversity Monitoring Program
CBSA	Canadian Border Services Agency
CCG	Canadian Coast Guard
CFAEP	Canadian Forces Aboriginal Entry Program
CFDS	Canadian Forces Defence Strategy
CFS	Canadian Forces Station
CFSI	Canadian Foreign Service Institute
CIL	Centre for Intercultural Learning
CQ	Cultural Intelligence
DEW	Distant Early Warning
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DMIS	Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity
DND	Department of National Defence
DRDC	Defence Research & Development Canada
GCI	Gwich'in Council International
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Council
IDI	Intercultural Development Index
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
JIMP	Joint, Interagency, Multinational, Public
JTFN	Joint Task Force North
NAAC	Northern Aboriginal Awareness Course
NASP	National Aerial Surveillance Program

NNEP	Northern Native Entry Program
NPDP	Northern Peoples Development Program
NPDP	Native Peoples Development Program
R&D	Research & Development
RADARSAT	Acronym used to refer to the pair of Canadian Remote Sensing satellites
RAIPON	Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SAR	Search and Rescue
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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In recent years, the activities of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) in the Canadian Arctic and northern regions have taken on increasing significance. In response, this paper considers the cultural dimensions of whole-of-government operations in a culturally complex environment as well as the potential impact of CAF operations in the north. The analysis suggests that an integrated strategy for preparing CAF leaders for Arctic operations, developed within the context of broader Canadian priorities for the Arctic, is important in building a robust foundation upon which to build cultural adaptability for military success. In doing so, the report provides an overview of: the four pillars of Canada's *Northern Strategy* - sovereignty, social and economic development, protection of the environment, and northern governance; the roles and relationships of the CAF within the Arctic; the treaties, organizations, and international stakeholders that represent various interests in the Arctic; the residents of the north, their lifestyle and experience with a focus on the Aboriginal and Inuit populations; the current and historical relationship between the CAF and northern peoples; and, the various federal government stakeholders which contribute to a myriad of potentially complex cultural relationships in Canada's Arctic. The analysis recommends the development of holistic and inclusive pre-deployment training for CAF leaders that considers the impact of CF operations on northern communities and integrates the cultural complexity represented by multiple stakeholders, the four priority pillars of the Canadian government for the Arctic, and the key dimensions of cultural intelligence – motivation, cognition, knowledge, behaviour, and mindfulness.

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Culture in Canada's Arctic/northern Canada

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Cross-cultural relationships in the Arctic/northern Canada

Sovereignty and Canada's Arctic/northern Canada

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