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**The Arctic and Nordic
Countries in the World of Economy and Politics**

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**ARCTIC PEOPLES OF CANADA:
RESPONSE TO CHALLENGES**

Recently the Arctic has gained political and economic attention especially due to climate change. Rising temperatures causing a retreat of sea ice and fluctuations to seasonal length have opened access to the Arctic waters and natural resources. Since the beginning of the 21st century also the Canadian's government has moved attention to the Arctic placing it high on its agenda. The "Arctic sovereignty" became a key phrase in the political discourse and the Arctic people of Canada gained in importance as a guardian of Canadian sovereignty in the region.

Over the 20th century and today the northern communities in Canada have confronted political, environmental and economic transformations. In this article I would like to analyse responses to challenges the Arctic people have encountered since 1970s.

1. Arctic peoples of Canada

Canada's Arctic region that consists of the continental territories approximately 'North of 60' and the cluster of islands that run from about 70 degrees North toward the North Pole makes up almost 40 percent of Canada territory. The region spans on a vast geographic area of approximately four million square kilometres. The largest part of Arctic is mainly composed of permanent ice and tundra and is heavily endowed with natural resources.

The region is extremely sparsely populated. The Arctic peoples inhabit mainly three territories: Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut and also northern Quebec and Labrador. In 2013 around 116,000 northern residents lived in three territories and around 12,000 in two provinces: Quebec and Newfoundland and

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Labrador². The Aboriginal peoples: Inuit, Indian and Métis comprise around half of the northern population³.

Nunavut is mainly inhabited by Inuit where they consist of 85 percent of 30 000 residents. As the 2006 Census indicated there were 50,500 Inuit in Canada. Most of them (around 40 000) lived in Inuit Nunaat—the Inuit homeland that is located in Nunavut, in Nunavik (Quebec), in Inuvialuit in Northwest Territories, and in Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador. Around 11 000 Inuit around lived outside the homeland⁴. The Inuit are the largest group of Aboriginal peoples inhabiting the Arctic. They are descendants of the Thule culture, who emerged from western Alaska around 1000 AD and spread across the Arctic. They commuted north of the “Arctic tree line”. In the 14th century they moved south, lived in and semi-nomadic group. They have relied on and lived off the land and wildlife by traditional hunting, fishing and trapping techniques for food, clothing, and shelter.

In Yukon only 8000 out of 30,000 inhabitants are of indigenous origins that mainly belong to Athabaskan family. In the end of 19th century the “Gold Rush” caused massive settlement of 30,000 to 40,000 non-natives who moved to Yukon for a short period of time. At first Census in 1901 the population of Yukon stood at 27,219. Twenty years later due to gold depletion and hostile land it declined to 4000. By 1941 Indians accounted for 40 percent of the Yukon population⁵. Then after II World War development of oil and mineral resources attracted labour force. The Alaska Highway substantially changed the territory. It made it easily accessible, so industry moved there with non-native workers affecting the demography.

In Northwest Territories half of 40,000 population is indigenous mostly Indian and Métis people. The western part is inhabited by Dene. There are also Inuit that resides primarily in Inuvialuit around the Mackenzie River delta⁶. The Arctic Athabaskan peoples that include the Dene, Gwich'in, Kaska have lived in the Yukon, Northwest Territories for 10,000 years. Most of them still live in small settlements scattered throughout the region. The demographic profile of the territory changed after the Nunavut creation.

Data from 2006 Census also revealed that the population of Inuit's has been increasing more rapidly than non-Aboriginal population and is much younger. For example from 1996 to 2006 the Inuit population grew by 26 percent, while the total Canadian population grew by 8 percent. The median age was 22 years compared with 40 years for non-Aboriginal. The fastest growth of Inuit's population was found out in the Nunatsiavut region⁷.

² Statistics Canada, *CANSIM, 2013 table 051-0001*.

³ According to the Canadian Constitution of 1982 Aboriginal peoples of Canada includes the Indian, Inuit and Metis.

⁴ Statistics Canada, *Population by selected ethnic origins, by province and territory, 2006 Census*.

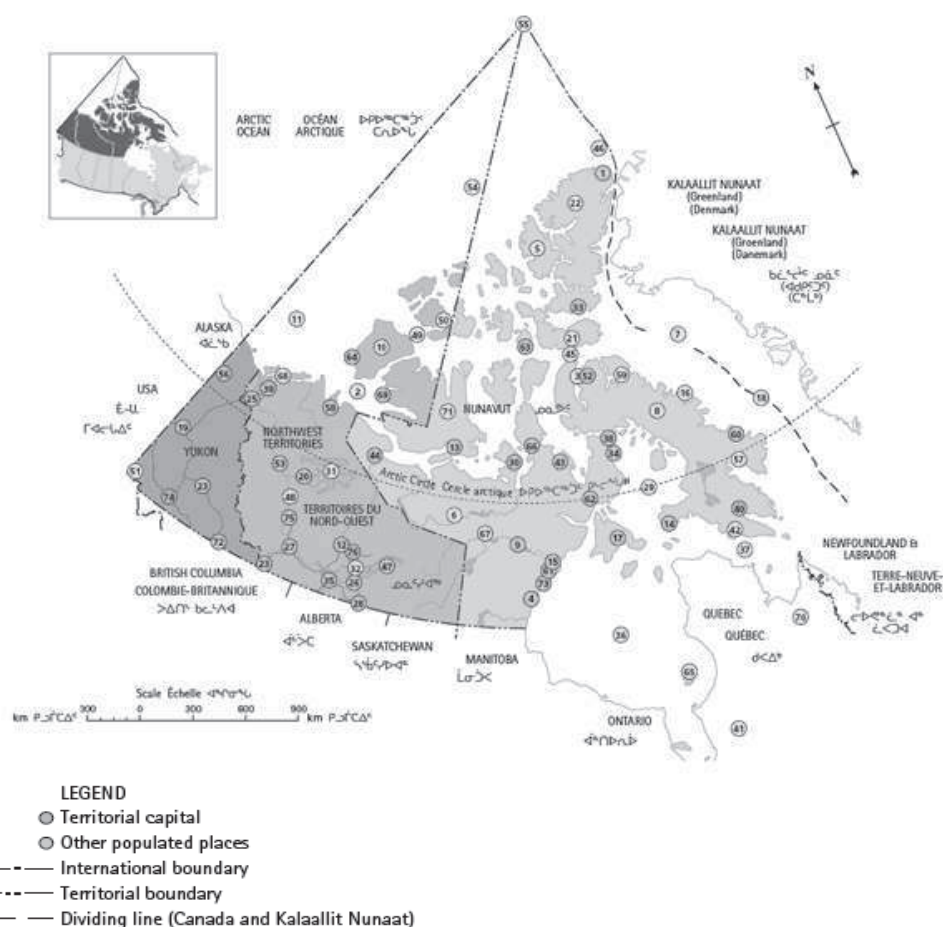
⁵ There were 4914 Yukon inhabitants according to the 1941 Census.

⁶ Statistics Canada, *Population, op.cit.*

⁷ Statistics Canada, *Population, op.cit.*

Generally the Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic live off the land for all or part of the year, hunting, fishing, and gathering berries and plants and they depend on snow and ice to travel to hunting and gathering grounds.

Table 1. Canada's North communities.



Source: *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*, Ottawa 2009, <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/cns/cns-eng.asp>, [04.05.2015].

Table 2. Population of Arctic Canada in 2006⁸.

	Indian	Inuit	Métis	Non-Aboriginal	Total population
Nunavut	380	24 870	100	4 260	29 325
Northwest Territories	14 980	4 575	2 815	20 150	41 055
Yukon	7 070	255	690	22 385	30 195
Nunavik (Quebec)	45	9 565	15	955	10 570
Nunatsiavut (NF and L)*	0	2 160	35	115	2 410
Total	23 375	41 195	3 795	47 865	113 535

*Newfoundland and Labrador. Source: Population by selected ethnic origins, by province and territory Statistics Canada, 2006 Census.

2. Arctic peoples in federal politics

The Canadian North gained its strategic value with arrival of European fur traders. European explorers started to discover Arctic in the 18th and 19th centuries. When they entered the North they met natives, trade with them and used their skills to do trapping or pelt preparation. Established in 1670 the Hudson Bay Company controlled the fur trade for several centuries. It set up a network of trading posts. The Hudson Bay Company transferred all its land to Canada in 1869. Since then Canada has slowly affirmed its rights to Arctic. Most of the Canadian North came under the control of the federal government through territorial administration.

For natives the contact with the European civilisation had far reaching implications. On the one hand they could face and use the achievement of it but on the other the civilisation brought them disease and disruption of the culture. Many anthropologists predicted the extinction of Aboriginal culture⁹.

Prior to the Second World War Canadian involvement in Arctic was minimal except for posts of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. During and after the war the Arctic gained strategic value against the Axis alliance and Soviet pressures that led to the creation of the Distant Early Warning line of radar installations stretching along 70th parallel from Alaska to Greenland.

Depending on the priority the federal government exercised various policies toward indigenous people. In the 1950s to strengthen Canadian position in the Arctic the government introduced the Inuit family relocation program to High Arctic. Several Inuit families from Pond Inlet and Inukjuak (Port Harrison) on the Hudson coast of northern Quebec were moved and formed the communities

⁸ Latest data on ethnic origins, by province and territory comes from the 2006 Census. There are the sum of single and multiple responses for each ethnic origin so the sum of ethnic groups is not equal to total population due to multiple counts.

⁹ For example Diamond Jenness who authored more than 100 works on Canada's Aboriginals.

of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. The Liberal government returned to the relocation policy but it chose different direction: from the North to the South. The purpose of this program was to encourage and assist Inuit families that are willing and sufficiently adaptable to relocate in geographic areas of economic opportunity where continuous wage employment is available¹⁰. In other words the government tried to assimilate Inuit with southern inhabitants of Canada. This policy failed.

The international competition for raw materials and new trade passages in the Arctic has been visible since the climate change has opened the access to the region. Subsequently the North has become an important part of Canadian politics. Today Canada firmly confirms its sovereignty over Arctic lands that is challenged by some Arctic countries. The presence of Inuit is especially significant because they provided the government reports to illustrate use and occupancy of lands in Northwest Territories and Yukon and in northern Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador. These reports helped Canada to claim historic title to the area.

The Aboriginal continuous presence in the Arctic is one of the main arguments to support claims for Canadian Arctic sovereignty, so the Canadian government has turned more attention to the Far North. Especially Prime Minister of Canada S. Harper has recognised political and economic value of the region and allocated more funds for the development. His government has launched a *Northern Strategy* that designs a new approach towards Arctic. One of the pillar of this strategy is an improvement and devolution of Northern governance¹¹.

3. Arctic Peopleschallenges

- Rights to land

Land is a very important concept for Aboriginal peoples culture that highlights spiritual connection between the land which provides livelihood to them. As M.S. Whittington noticed the concept of common land is very important for native people. "Perhaps the most significant difference between white and native values and attitudes is that the natives place a far higher value on the collectivity and the community. The notion of private property is underdeveloped, and the principle of community sharing of the wealth of the band, settlement, or extended family is very important"¹². Especially in the Northern Communities the only resource left for economic survival is the land, which they protect and profit from when the use of it is not destructive or overly exploitative. That might be one of the reason why the indigenous people question an extraction of non-renewable resources. It is not only foreign to their culture to permanently hurt the land but they are also afraid of

¹⁰ University of Saskatchewan Archives, *Committee minutes on plans for the relocation of Eskimo Families*, 5. Eskimo Relocation in Canada (Research). Eskimo Relocation - Ottawa Files Xerox. - 1968-1972.

¹¹ Government of Canada, *Northern Strategy*, [online] <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/index-eng.asp>, [15.05.2014].

¹² M.S. Whittington, Canada's North in the 1990s, [in:] *Canadians politics in the 1990s*, ed. M. Whittington, G. Williams, Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1990, p. 27.

waste and destruction that the industry brings. Since the early 1970's they have begun to emerge as a political force and have formulated comprehensive land claims.

- Rights to self-determination¹³

The Aboriginal peoples' position within the Canadian federation is founded on a unique legal constitutional framework. The Canadian Constitution of 1982 gave constitutional protection of "aboriginal and treaty rights" so treaties signed with Britain and Canada are recognized¹⁴. The Canadian government also acknowledged the inherent right of aboriginal to self-government. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples put it this way: "The terms of the Canadian federation are found not only in formal constitutional documents governing relations between the federal and provincial governments but also in treaties and other instruments establishing the basic links between Aboriginals, the Crown and the people"¹⁵.

Following the recommendation endorsed by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples the Aboriginal peoples tried to accommodate their local governments within existing constitutional order through the development of new federal-type relationship: treaty federalism. As J. Y. Henderson describes treaty federalism is an existing concept and constitutional mechanism to allow Aboriginals to take over their affairs and destiny¹⁶. So the Arctic peoples have been also looking not only for land claims settlement but also asserting their rights to self-determination based on the assumption of prior occupancy and territorial sovereignty¹⁷.

- Climate change

The Arctic is warming very rapidly since the late 1970s. In 2011 annual near surface air temperatures over much of the Arctic Ocean was 1.5°C higher than the 1981-2010 baseline¹⁸. Generally all across the Arctic summers have come earlier and lasted longer. We can also notice the major reduction in the extent of summer sea ice. In September 2011 ice coverage fell to a low of 4, 33 million square kilometres about 2 million less than the 1979-2000 average¹⁹. It means that over the past 30 years Arctic sea ice declined by 30 percent. Additionally ice is thinner

¹³ Self-determination can be understood as a combination of political self-government and economic self-sufficiency.

¹⁴ *Constitution Act, 1982*, art. 35.

¹⁵ Government of Canada, *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Report*, Ottawa; Supply and Service Canada, 1996, II, p. 194.

¹⁶ J. Y. Henderson, *Empowering Treaty Federalism*, „Saskatchewan Law Review”, 58 (1994), p.32.

¹⁷ Self-determination can be understood as a combination of political self-government and economic self-sufficiency.

¹⁸ Government of Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*, Ottawa 2009, <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/cns/cns-eng.asp>, [04.05.2015].

¹⁹ Government of Canada *Federal Support to Provinces and territories*, Department of Finance Canada, <http://www.fin.gc.ca/fedprov/>, [10.05.2014].

and younger. Ice extent, age and thickness are the major factor that influence the future of the Arctic.

Climate change affects vegetation, It is expected that northward expansion of forests into the Arctic tundra and tundra into polar deserts. It may also influence on number and type of species. They might migrate to the north and new species might appear. There are visible changes in the ecosystem: Arctic land became greener, fish stock move northward, new species appeared

Arctic Report Card 2013 that tracks recent environmental changes indicates snow extent in May 2013 reached a new record low, Arctic tundra vegetation greenness and growing season length have continued to increase, changes in fish and bottom dwelling organism continued northward migration of species not previously seen in the Arctic²⁰. Consequently, the Northwest Passage will be soon open for navigation for much of the year and international battle over access to natural resources and shipping rights might intensify.

The melting of polar ice strongly influences not only indigenous people and wild life, economic development, environmental protection but also induces international competition among the states to access natural resources and shipping routes. Reduced sea ice extent may also increase marine traffic and make region's resources more accessible. The resource potential of oil and gas has sparked the interest. Wildlife is also a major concern. Many species might disappear and environment polluted when the industry enters the region

- Social problems

The traditional way of life is of fundamental importance to the Aboriginal peoples who still depend on hunting and fishing, but civilization has reached far North. Inuit, Indian and Metis moved to into the world of communities. A combination of traditional activities and employment is the prevailing lifestyle of Arctic indigenous peoples. As Nunavut Premier P. Okalik noticed that: "Inuit are currently in a transition stage from a land-based (traditional hunting) economy to a modern or wage-based economy"²¹.

As the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) indicates the Arctic people experience social problems such as a high rate of unemployment, alcohol abuse, family violence and sexual abuse²². They also have higher mortality and suicide rate. The suicide rate among Inuit is 11 times the national average and there is a life expectancy gap between Inuit and the average Canadian is out 15

²⁰ Government of Canada, *Arctic Report Card*, [online] <http://www.arctic.noaa.gov/reportcard/about.html>, [15.05.2014].

²¹ T.R. Berger, *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Implementation Contract Negotiations for the Second Planning Period 2003-2013*, 6 Conciliator's Final Report: „The Nunavut Project“, Vancouver, 1.03. 2006, p. 17.

²² The Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic is an international joint effort of research and indigenous people to measure and understand living conditions in the Arctic. Findings were based on 7,200 interviews in the Arctic region. J. Kruse et al., *Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic*, „Social Indicators Research Series“, vol. 33 2008. p. 107-134.

years²³. A report released in 2012 by the Centre for the Study of Living Standards on human development in Canada confirmed SLiCA findings. It demonstrated that 49 percent of Nunavut population needs welfare payments and too many people of Nunavut area are also deprived of quality education, social services and health care, including mental health services of all kinds²⁴.

4. Arctic People responses

Since the early 1970's Aboriginal people have started to question their position in Canada and demanded right to the land they lived for generations. They formed new politically active associations and pushed for restoration of autonomy over their traditional land and resources through the settlement of comprehensive land claims agreements²⁵. As a result a majority of Aboriginal people signed not only land claims agreements but also self-government agreements. Since 1973 the Canadian Government have signed overall 26 comprehensive land claim agreements, 21 of them with the indigenous peoples from the North²⁶. As Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development department indicates as of March 2014 there are about 100 active self-government land claim negotiation tables across the country²⁷.

Comprehensive land claim agreements (CLCA) are negotiated in areas of the country where Aboriginal rights and title have not been addressed. The CLCA are constitutionally protected settlements that define a wide range of Aboriginal rights and benefits and regulate ownership, use, management of lands and natural resources. Through the agreements Aboriginal peoples secure jurisdiction over a defined land and resource base, receive cash transfers, and participate in land management so they are able to control local economies and to become important players in resource development activities.

The first land claims agreements in the North were settled in Northern Quebec. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Northeastern Quebec Agreement were signed in the 1970s. They reserved 14 000 square kilometres exclusively for the use of native Quebecers, but also reserved additional lands for specific hunting and harvesting. The accords also established a system of environmental evaluation for new development project and provided northern

²³ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *2008 Inuit Statistical Profile*, Ottawa, August 2007, p.4-5.

²⁴ J. Bell, *Nunavut no longer Canada's colony. It needs to end its own deprivation*, „The Globe and Mail”, 20.01. 2014

²⁵ For example Tapirisat of Canada, today Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Makivik Corporation, Labrador Inuit Association.

²⁶ In Northern Quebec: James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975); Northeastern Quebec Agreement (1978); Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement (2007), in Northwest Territories: Inuvialuit Agreement (1984); Gwich'in Agreement (1992); Sahtu Dene and Métis Agreement (1994); Tlicho Agreement (2005) in Nunavut: Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993); in Newfoundland and Labrador: Labrador Inuit Agreement (2005); in Yukon: the Umbrella Final Agreement 1993 that provides common template for agreements negotiation.

²⁷ Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, Government of Canada.

natives with direct financial compensation to be used for native development²⁸. The last accord Nunavut Inuit Land Claims Agreement of 2006 applies to the offshore region around Quebec and northern Labrador.

The first agreement signed in Northwest Territories created Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) in western Arctic in 1984, spanning 906,430 square kilometres. Under the agreement the Inuvialuit agreed to give up their exclusive use of their ancestral lands in exchange for certain rights such as: land, wildlife management and money. The Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Act of 1992 delineated approximately 22,330 km² of land in the Northwest Territories, and 1,554 km² in the Yukon as the Gwich'in Settlement Area and transfers ownership of specific land to the Gwich'in people. The agreement also established fundamentals for self-government. The Tlicho Land Claims and Self-government Agreement signed in 2005 covers an area of 39,000 square kilometres. Is a combined land and self-government agreement. The Sahtu Dene and Métis agreement recognizes the Aboriginal ownership of 41,437 square kilometres and also recognizes their rights to self-government. The Aboriginal community in Yukon consist of 14 small First Nations used the Umbrella Final Agreement of 1993 to negotiate final agreements. Most of the settled the claims are settled..

The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement signed in 1993 the largest land claim in North America established the new territory in 1999. Nunavut was carved out from the Northwest Territories along the ethnic line. The Inuit made up 85 percent of the population. By that they obtained a unique opportunity to regain control over their identity and destiny.

In 2004 the Inuit people of Labrador settled a land claim agreement and received the right to self-government. The settlement area consists of 72,520 square kilometres of land in northern Labrador. As a result of the act, the Nunatsiavut Government was established, representing around 5000 Inuit. The Nunatsiavut Government has the power to establish its own justice system and pass laws concerning land and resource management, education, health, culture, and language

Each of agreement is unique but usually include land ownership, management, money, wildlife harvesting rights, water participation in land, wildlife and environment management and measures to support economic development and protect Aboriginal culture. It also allows to set up resource development corporations to be involved in ventures with various industries that operate in the North. Some aboriginal groups operate their own corporations which are involved in such field as forestry road construction, housing corporation, oilfield maintenance agriculture and fisheries.

The various Arctic peoples organizations have managed to be a prominent players in a variety of co-management arrangements designed to share decision-making. They are active in the Canadian Arctic Council Advisory Committee

²⁸ James Nay and Northern Quebec Agreement and complementary agreements, Sainte-Foy, Quebec 1998.

where together with territorial and federal governments have the opportunity to discuss Arctic issues, exchange information and design action plan.

The Canadian Arctic peoples have also organised themselves on the international level to better defend the rights and interests in the region. Three organisations represent them: the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), the Gwich'in Council International (GCI), and the Athabaskan Council (AAS). These organisations have been granted Permanent Participants status in the Arctic Council. By that they gained consultation rights during the negotiation and decision making process in the Council. They actively participate in various mainly environmental and sustainable development projects designed by the Arctic Council such as the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, the Arctic on Biodiversity Assessment, which addressed the impact of climate change on harvested wildlife and wildlife habitat or Arctic Peoples Culture, Resilience and Caribou (ACRC) which was approved as an International Polar Year project in 2008, to promote community resilience and adaptability in the face of climate change. The ICC tries to work collaboratively with the eight Arctic countries on a variety of environmental and sustainable development issues. Canadian Inuit are active in the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, Conservation of Arctic Climate Flora and Fauna, Arctic Climate Assessment.

Although these organizations are primarily active in Arctic Council they also undertake numerous activities related to natives languages, trade, environment, human rights or property rights. One of the main project of the Tlicho self-government was a remediation plan for the former Colmac Gold Mine Site that was polluted with cyanide. The Sahtu and Metis of Tulita District collaborated with the Canadian Government to establish Nááts'ihch'oh National Park Reserve in 2012 to preserve wildlife habitat and the South Nahanni River, one of the greatest wilderness rivers within the Sahtu Settlement Area. The Impact and Benefit Plan signed with the federal government ensures their role in the conservation of the Park. Recently, the Arctic Athabaskan People filled a petition with the Inter American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) seeking relief from violations of their rights resulting from rapid Arctic warming and melting caused by emissions of black carbon for which Canada has international responsibility. The claim of the AAC is based on the argument that Canada did not implement black carbon emission reduction measures that could slow the warming and melting²⁹.

It seems that solving social issues is the major challenge the Arctic communities face today. The Aboriginal self-governments have been in the process of learning how to respond to crime, alcohol and drug abuse and family crises. Today they control health, education, social services but struggle to solve widespread deprivation. On one hand, the North Aboriginal peoples have achieved the most in terms of political influence and institutions appropriate to their cultures

²⁹ Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights seeking relief from violations of the rights of Arctic Athabaskan Peoples resulting from rapid Arctic warming and melting caused by emissions of black carbon by Canada. [online] http://www.ecojustice.ca/files/aac-petition-april-2013/at_download/file, [10.05.2014].

and needs but on the other they are not able to reduce the social problems and be financially viable. The territorial government are heavily dependent upon subsidies from federal government. Especially the Government of Nunavut relies deeply on federal transfers. In 2013-2014 the Government of Nunavut received \$1.4 billion in major transfers, accounting for 83 percent of its revenues in this fiscal year.

Table 3. Federal Support to the territories in 2013//2014.

Territory	Total Federal Support (million dollars)	Support Per Capita (dollars)
Yukon	860	23,566
Northwest-Territories	1,163	26,773
Nunavut	1,396	39,773

Source: Federal Support to Provinces and territories, Department of Finance Canada for 2013/2014.

Conclusion

Today the northern communities in Canada would like to play a pivotal role in responding to challenges that they face. In the last fifty years all of them have undergone substantial changes due to climate impact, state policies, quest for natural resources and new transport routes. The Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements opened prospects for self-determination. As a result claims mandated joint territorial governments and Aboriginal boards manage wildlife and environmental protection, land use planning and budgets. These arrangements considerably increased Northern people' influence over land, wildlife, environment and resource decisions. It also gave them a mandate to represent their people in the international bodies such as the Arctic Council. As it was highlighted in a report by the World Economic Forum: community based approaches are a critical part of development in order to secure sustainable change in the Arctic. The Arctic people need new collaborative approaches to development that give them real partnership with global corporations and national governments³⁰.

The Arctic people are aware of social, political, economic challenges. They respond to them by successfully regaining control over their lands and resources but so far they fail to address social issues. As J. Bell highlighted the region's quality of life depends as never before on the quality of its own leadership today³¹.

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³⁰ S. McCarthy, *Look to other northern nations for solutions, Aglukkaq urges Arctic as new council set up*, „The Globe and Mail”, 28.01.2014.

³¹ J.Bell, *op.cit.*

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Abstract

Recently the Arctic has gained political and economic attention especially due to climate change. Since the beginning of the 21st century also the Canadian's government has moved attention to this region placing it high on its agenda. The "Arctic sovereignty" became a key phrase in the political discourse and the Arctic people of Canada gained in importance as a guardian of Canadian sovereignty in the region. Since 1970s the northern communities in Canada have confronted political, social, environmental and economic transformations. This article analyses responses to challenges the Arctic Aboriginal people have encountered.

Ludność kanadyjskiej Arktyki: w poszukiwaniu odpowiedzi na wyzwania

W związku z ociepleniem się klimatu, w ostatnich latach, wzrosło znaczenie polityczne i ekonomiczne Arktyki. Także rząd Kanady traktuje ten region priorytetowo, podkreślając znaczenie ludności rdzennej w utrzymaniu suwerennej władzy nad tym terytorium. Od lat siedemdziesiątych mieszkańcy Arktyki przechodzą polityczne, społeczne i ekonomiczne przemiany w zmieniającym się środowisku naturalnym. Artykuł ten analizuje działania podejmowane przez ludność rdzenną Arktyki w odpowiedzi na wyzwania, których współcześnie doświadczają.

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