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The Inuit Population Across National Borders

Policy and Governance at the Crossroad of Tradition and Modernity

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Introduction

"Boundaries both shape and are shaped by what they contain. Boundaries look inwards as well as outwards; they simultaneously unify and divide, include and exclude." (Paasi, 2011)

The indigenous people of the circumpolar North have inhabited their land for thousands of years, changing the map of the Arctic through their migration and settlement, not knowing borders and living in harmony with nature and the community. With the arrival of European settlers, however, the Arctic climate became more complex, diverse, and intercultural. When foreigners claimed the Arctic land and the richness of the resources inside it, the Arctic people, for the first time, found their illimitable land shaped by borders they did not draw nor knew how to define. Within the borders of Canada, Denmark, Russia, and the U.S.A.,[1] Inuit have been assigned names, passports, and settlement regions, finding themselves in a constant struggle to retain their traditional identity while fully integrating into the national society.[2]

This identity struggle forced onto Inuit by colonialism and assimilation policies has gained importance as the Arctic region progressively matures into a magnet for international attention. Climate change is causing Arctic ice caps to melt, and raw materials become accessible for exploitation and economic gain, transforming the Arctic into a melting pot of geo-political and geo-economic competition. Can cultural integrity trump economic gain? For Inuit to be able to participate in the expansion of mineral resources discovered in their own land, they have gradually raised their voices to advocate for self-determination. This struggle for political recognition has ramifications over control of their land and their cultural heritage. As the structural integrity of Inuit culture rests on the structural integrity of Inuit autonomy, this thesis addresses the question of

[1] Although the Arctic consists of eight countries, this paper considers the Inuit settlement countries of Canada, Denmark, Russia, and the U.S.A., and refers to these four countries when mentioning circumpolar or Arctic states.

[2] This paper will use the term "Inuit" when referring to the Inuit populations of Nunavut (Canada), Greenland (Denmark), Alaska (U.S.A.), and Chukotka(Russia) although locally, they may be described as Iñupiat (Alaska) or Yupik (Alaska and Chukotka), in absence of an internationally recognized generic term.

whether self-determination policies can bridge the gap between tradition and modernity for Inuit.

The central premise of this thesis is that in order for Inuit to live a fulfilling life, they must be fluent in their traditional cultural identity as well as the cultural identity of the country they live in. With the intention of understanding the deep rootedness of the creation of cultural identity and shared Inuit values, the first chapter will provide an awareness of Inuit heritage, colonial period, and contemporary identity creation in each circumpolar country. Giving insight into the identity struggles of transnational Inuit, the second chapter identifies socio-economic struggles Inuit face and raises the question of whether a culture can genuinely find fulfillment without being able to satisfy basic needs. To find an angle of comparison and to determine singularities between existing policies in the circumpolar countries, the following chapter identifies existing self-determination practices and analyses their ability to incorporate culture. This thesis does not assume that full autonomy will automatically enable Inuit to live a fulfilling life; instead, it builds upon the understanding that cultural integrity can only develop from within.

Literature Review

When the circumpolar countries of Canada, Denmark, Russia, and the U.S.A. claimed the Arctic land, traditionally occupied by the Thule people, a long journey for self-determination and cultural appreciation of Inuit began. This thesis's context addresses the impact of national self-determination policies on Inuit culture in the circumpolar countries.

The historical context and Thule migration leading to Inuit settlement over four national borders is unique and leaves room for an identity study among Inuit and national societies. The research of Paasi (2011) in this context gives insight into the study of borders, their socio-political meaning within anthropological studies, and utilization in the process of collective identity construction. Identity construction created through interaction has revealed that a person can not only have one but multiple identities derived from cultural, gender, ethnic, religious, communal and many other impacts (Driedger 1989; Roosens 1989; Castells 1997; Légaré, 2008) so, too, have Inuit adapted to their national surroundings.

The early Arctic expedition journals of 1883-1884 written by Franz Boas[3] reported Inuit culture as barbaric and plain (Boas, 1998), coming a long way to the SLiCA study in 2015 (Poppel) which depicts and contrasts struggles and variables of contemporary Inuit. A shift in the literature in the mid-90s started to portray Inuit as empowered participants rather than passive victims (Southcott et al., 2018), which developed along with an era marked by increased Inuit activism and longing for political participation. This change caused a trend towards exposing an interior perspective of Inuit culture instead of mere outside observations, increasing the degree of Inuit participation in research projects and studies. Another observation in this respect is the fact that increased autonomy leads to a higher degree of Inuit influence and control over Arctic and Inuit research projects. (Southcott et al., 2018) In an effort to draw attention to this inward voice, this theses draws on an anthropological method of research, emphasizing norms and values that can only be transmitted from within the culture. Due to limitations of conducting primary

[3] The Boas journals were some of the first written reports of Inuit lifestyles, although expeditions, such as the 1845 Franklin expedition, were conducted much earlier and paved the way for later voyages and research expeditions.

research posed by availability and challenges (such as conducting research in Russian, Danish, or even Inuit languages), information is primarily drawn from secondary sources and only verified by conducting non-representative short interviews on the perception of culture in education and health care systems (see Appendix). The literature search's linguistic challenges posed notable difficulties in finding appropriate literature, especially comparative circumpolar works.

The Arctic Yearbook Report (2015, 2018), A Comparative Review of Circumpolar Health Systems (Young and Marchildon, 2012), or The Indigenous World 2019 are examples of the few reports comparing Inuit culture among all nations analyzed by this thesis. Secondary research sources that come closest to the anthropological approach are reports and journals published by the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), or research facilities of Arctic Universities such as the University of Alaska with a focus on Arctic studies. Geopolitics of the Arctic and economic influences have been extensively studied by Jessica M. Shadian or Lassi Heininen, who have been influential in Arctic political literature, among others. Journals such as Arctic, Études/Inuit/Studies, and Arctic Anthropology are cited in this thesis extensively, as they are portraying a wide range of opinions and matters around Arctic studies. On the contrary, books have been found to reveal an increased focus on the historical aspect in contrast to a political one and are therefore cited more limited. General literature observations include the recent interest and studies conducted by non-Arctic nations, research published by organizations, governments, and public institutions.

Although many studies aim to compare and categorize Inuit well-being (KonKoV, 2017; Duhaime and Caron, 2008; IWGIA, 2020; Loukacheva, 2007), a broad base of the literature is limited to connecting Inuit (or other indigenous people of the Arctic, for that matter) well-being to external forces of the Arctic, such as colonialism, climate change, increasing exploitation of Arctic resources, and security concerns. (Kraska, 2011; Borgerson, 2008; Kaplan and New, 2006). This thesis, however, aims to portray forces within Inuit communities by assuming that health and education present the basis for communal well-being, as a result of this, limiting the analysis to those sectors. (Young and Marchildon, 2012; Bjerregaard, Dahl-Petersen, and Larsen, 2018; Hamilton, 2011)

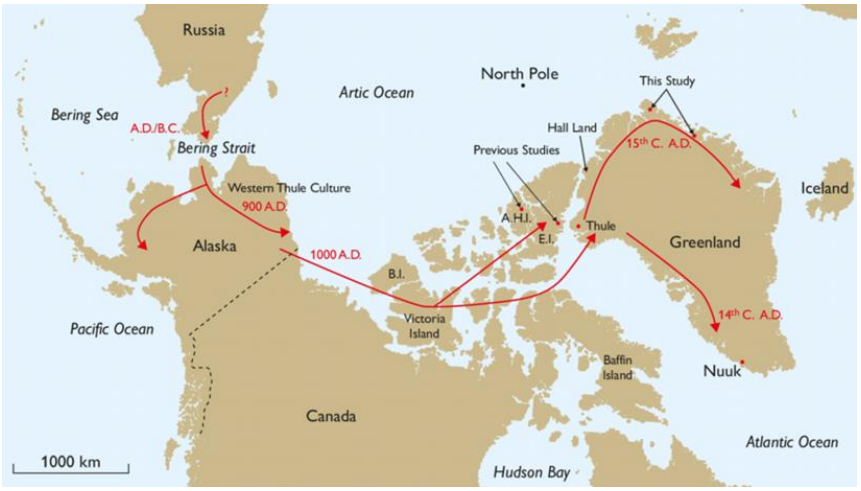
This assumption is supported by the thesis that health and a higher education allow Inuit to sustain their livelihood, compete in the market for housing, and secure an increased standing in the community and job market. (Snodgrass, 2013) Although the concept of competing in the job market or housing is a Southern idea that runs contrary to Inuit tradition, it is necessary to sustain a living in modern times. Literature on circumpolar health and education systems, however, was found to be incomplete, with significant gaps in data availability due to disaggregate data by ethnicity or regional communities. (Snodgrass, 2013) The Arctic health database and the International Journal of Circumpolar Health have been cited extensively in the literature. Education, on the other hand, fails to show a comparative database for the Arctic.

This research aims to draw attention to the connection between the level of autonomy in the respective countries of residence and communal well-being, which is tightly linked to an integrated identity formation of Inuit. Consequently, this thesis is limited to a discussion of the national self-determination and social welfare (represented by the study of health and education) policies among Inuit communities, and will not consider how international organizations or corporations have led to the Arctic governance framework of today. How numerous stakeholders collaborate over Arctic resources, interests, and benefits will remain a challenge for years to come and further research.

Chapter 1: Historical Background – From Thule Migration to the Creation of National Identities

1.1. Early Thule Migration and Settlement

The Inuit are descendants of the Thule people, who progressed out of ancient Siberian tribes of the Bering Strait region that closely connects Alaska and Russia today. The Alaskan and Russian terrain of the Bering Strait revealed a highly competitive and densely populated indigenous region prior to the thirteenth century. (Dallmann, 2008) The Thule tribes were the only reported tribes able to use superior technologies and skills, allowing them to hunt large sea mammals in open water. This ability and the tribal economy's focal characteristics paired with its dependence on a few highly productive but inelastic and localized resources (such as whaling) presented an opportunity for wealth and social advancement. (Morrison, 1999) Pursuing to retain their way of life, climate deterioration and the resulting east migration of the Bowhead whales in the thirteenth century led the Thule people to follow the animals east. (Morrison, 1999)



Migration routes of the early Thule Culture (Kalkreuth et al., 2012)

This migration required traveling thousands of kilometers through uncharted territories, on foot, by dog sled, and in small, open-decked skin boats. An array of hunting techniques and tools allowed the ancestral Thule people to survive the harsh environments and ensured their survival throughout the migration from the Bering Strait region of Alaska to the Canadian Arctic and Greenland in the thirteenth century. (Friesen and Arnold,

2008) The steady series of linked Thule migrations from the Bering Strait region covered the eastern, central, and Northern Arctic. They established a network of interacting communities within only a century (Friesen and Arnold, 2008), making Inuit the dominant occupants of Arctic Canada and Greenland. (Morrison, 1999) After AD 1400, the Beaufort Sea/ Amundsen Gulf region settlement patterns stabilized throughout the region (Sohani, 2004), a crucial time, allowing the development into the Inuit cultures of today.

1.2. The Creation of Traditional Values and Early Adaptation to Modernity

For the next decades, Inuit lived their traditional life, hunting, gathering, and moving from one camp to another following the seasons. This changed when the Vikings arrived in Greenland in 884, followed by British expeditions in the Canadian Arctic more than 600 years later. (Jones, 2020) In 1741, the first explorers traveled the Bering Strait region of Alaska and Siberia. The eighteenth-century is marked by the arrival of whalers followed by fur traders who introduced new materials and technology along with diseases and alcohol (Sohani, 2004) to the indigenous cultures, thereby slowly claiming the land. Trade for the acquisition of newly introduced materials factored ideological and socio-cultural changes for Inuit society, which have been noted as producing adverse effects on Inuit culture. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2010) Commercial whaling began during the late eighteenth century (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2006, pp.1-9) and exceeded the limits of sustainability by the last half of the 1800s. (Sohani, 2004) Succeeding hunting activities of the whaling crews over-exploited many traditional Inuit subsistence resources. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2006, pp.1-9) This forced the economic adaption to the changing environment around the Inuit communities and defined their way of life into the 1990s. (Sohani, 2004) The increased contact with foreign settlers and depleting resources created a growing dependence on foreign trade goods and economic markets. However, throughout the early contact with outsiders, Inuit also experienced a continuity of traditional and cultural norms.

Inuit values and belief systems are interconnected with tradition and heritage. Inuit belief asserts that the migration and persistent sustaining of traditions, once developed out of the necessity to survive the harsh natural environment, created a culture able to retain a sense of identity, social coherence, and territorial integrity throughout the various stages of history. (Sohani, 2004) In this sense of connection, a close relationship is drawn to the environment Inuit found themselves in, which has been a source of food and life for the people on their journey and during settlement. Therefore, community and ecological health are closely linked together.[4] Spiritual, physical, and socio-physical relationships are interlinked and, therefore, inseparable. (Tester and Irniq, 2008) Interviews confirmed this powerful connection by reinforcing a strong bond with the environment and within the Inuit socialistic community through sharing and a feeling of unity. The importance of the land remains a focal point of Inuit tradition. (see Appendix) Modern Inuit are told stories of their ancestors who utilized the land for hundreds of years without hurting it, coming in silence and leaving in silence; they are encouraged to mimic that behavior. (Sohani, 2004) Inuit knowledge, handed down by the elders within the culture, is summarized by the holistic framework of Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit*[5], which incorporates all characteristics of traditional Inuit culture such as language, expertise, abilities, and values. (Tester and Irniq, 2008) The concept of *Qaujimajatuqangit* integrates indigenous knowledge, which defines a frame of knowledge practice and beliefs about the relationship between the environment and living beings, that is evolving and widening through cumulative adaptive processes and handed down the generations. (Tester and Irniq, 2008) Therefore, Inuit values are deeply rooted in their ancestral way of life and traditions that are kept alive by passing on wisdom over generations. Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* has implications until today and encompasses, at last, the practice of remembering. (Tester and Irniq, 2008) Nevertheless, Inuit values are by no means obsolete or monolithic. Instead, they are rooted in history while able to adapt to modernity, as Inuit have always been able to adapt to changing environmental conditions. (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006)

Traditionally, Inuit lived in small family groupings that traveled seasonally in pursuit of food. The self-governing law was passed on by example and oral tradition, defining

[4] See also Wenzel, G. (1999) doi.org/10.14430/arctic916 and (2004) doi.org/10.1353/arc.2011.0067
[5] Translated as "traditional Inuit knowledge" in the Inuit language of *Inuktitut*.

expectations and rules. (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006) Within their loosely bound groupings, Inuit did not establish formal legislatures, but tribal councils, selecting leading roles based on kinship and responsibility in the community. (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006) Leadership was transformative and rooted in collective values and traditional equality. Leaders and elders[6] of the community would gather trusted and knowledgeable advisors in case of conflict, and act as the undisputed voice of justice.

Independence, innovation, and patience are the most respected traits of a person within Inuit society, promising the capacity to meet life's challenges, traditionally increasing the chance of survival. In contrary to individualistic traits, high emphasis is placed on communal sharing. (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006) Despite changing social and environmental features, such as the change towards a mixed instead of a full subsistence economy which resulted in the adjustment of traditional practices, Inuit culture persists. (Freeman, 2020) Keeping Inuit cultural identity and maintaining it through the values of language, family, attitudes, behavior, and art forms remains significant. Not only do Inuit maintain close ties with their natural environment, but they continue to adapt to changing environmental conditions, which has ensured their survival until today. Being in balance with the environment is only possible through a system of give and take, affinity, and an established responsibility of culture affecting every member within it. (Williamson, 1992)

1.3. Colonial Period within each Country of Settlement

The Inuit identity of today has manifested itself from a multifaceted development of the rich ancestral past, colonial times, and modernity. Although Inuit of Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Russia are connected by common descent, distinct national policies, along with assimilation and nationalization practices, have affected their identity since colonizers have first regarded them. Recognizing the process of cultural change and external influence in the Northern Arctic regions will provide an understanding of Inuit people as national citizens of the countries they live in.

[6] Traditional Inuit leadership is embodied through elders who fostered the oral and physical dissemination of knowledge and culture.

The Inuit of Canada

Modern Canadian Arctic history began in 1880 when Canada's former colonial power Great Britain ceded the Arctic islands to the newly independent Canada. (Dolata-Kreutzkamp, 2009) Shortly after whalers and traders entered the Arctic region, Canadian missionaries and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police claimed the land by acting as unofficial Inuit administration on Canadian terms. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2010) After 1922, regional administration was transferred to the newly founded Northwest Territories (NWT) Council; however, poorly representing regional Inuit culture. The government's interest in Inuit and the Northern resources grew alike (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2006, pp.1-9), which provoked a Supreme Court decision that classified Inuit as aboriginal citizens, assessing jurisdiction over Inuit and the lands reserved for them to the federal government. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2010) Following this decision, assimilation policies were enforced in an effort to administer and register Inuit, which proved difficult due to lacking infrastructure and their traditional nomadic lifestyle. Inuit were forced to relocate into sedentary communities and, between 1945 and 1970 for identification purposes, were assigned number disks that had to be worn around their necks. The disk was replaced by Project Surname that had every Inuit register a given and family name. In 1955, led by a general shift towards social welfare in Canada, Northern social programs, including health care, education, and housing, were introduced. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2010) Inuit sedentarization[7] left the culture alienated from their traditional way of life, while the dependency on government social services rose. (Légaré, 2008)

This dissatisfaction and a motivation to sustain the natural environment of the Arctic led Inuit to increase their political participation. (Anderson and Bonesteel, 2006, pp.1-9) In an effort to lobby the Canadian government and re-acquire control over their land and traditional self-governing practices, Inuit formed the political association Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (later renamed to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)). (Légaré, 2008) Today, Canadian Inuit are active in using their right of self-determination through the participation in representational organizations of Inuit democracy that stand alongside

[7] U.S. anthropology uses and defines the term sedentarization as the settling of a nomadic population.

federal democracy but are functionally tailored to meet regional needs in areas such as language, education, and land management. (Obed, 2018)

The Inuit of Denmark

Although Inuit colonization in Greenland proceeded peacefully, it did not happen without compromising Inuit culture. (Kolte, 2016) In Greenland, the relocation of Inuit people occurred to establish Danish sovereignty over northeast Greenland in 1925, and, later, to make way for a U.S. military air force in 1953 during the Cold War. (Pelaudeix, 2012) Throughout Danish colonization, Greenland was kept in a low state of development, and Inuit led a traditional way of life. (Kolte, 2016) In 1933, however, the Danish settlement was extended, and the International Court of Justice in Holland declared Greenland to be Danish. A former colony, Greenland became an autonomous territory of Denmark in 1953, adopting the Danish constitution, the rule of law, and citizenship. Since then, Greenland has had two seats in the Danish Parliament. (Kolte, 2016) In an effort to establish similar standards of living to those of Denmark at that time, the Danish government carried out a modernization plan between 1950 and 1960, including the rapid development of social services, housing, and infrastructure. Danish workers were sent to Greenland to realize the plan, which left Inuit feeling isolated and passive in the ongoing changes around them. (Kolte, 2016) The isolation paired with first concerns over the possible Danish exploitation of Greenlandic resources encouraged them to establish the first Greenlandic Inuit party.

In 1973, a joint commission was founded which soon concluded that although Greenland did not have the economic basis for full independence, all parties would benefit from a much more robust and locally-based leadership. In 1979, the findings were decided in the signing of a Home Rule agreement, creating internal independence for Greenland. This agreement gave Greenland the right to establish legislation apart from the common constitution (Kolte, 2016) and settled financial support from Denmark for certain public services. (Pelaudeix, 2012) In 2009, the Greenland Self-Government Act was signed, replacing the Home Rule agreement and granting unprecedented rights to an Inuit government. (Kolte, 2016) The Act affirms Greenland's access to independence; however, economic independence from Denmark remains implausible. (Pelaudeix, 2012)

The Inuit of the U.S.A.

A Russian sponsored charter company incorporated the popular trading post region of Alaska in 1799, marking the beginning of its regulated colonial administration. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014, pp. 127-140) After the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, the administration showed marginal tolerance to Inuit culture, language, and beliefs. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014, pp. 127-140)

At the end of the 19th century, hoping to improve the social situation and encourage assimilation and acculturation of the Inuit, the American government fixated on developing education programs and establishing schools. As an outcome, Inuit children regularly traveled long distances to go to public schools, where they were taught in English, discouraged from learning native languages, and disconnected from their native culture and traditions. To fight the Inuit dependence on trade and depleting resources, the government of the U.S.A. imported reindeer from Siberia in an attempt to encourage the traditional Inuit life through hunting activities. When the strategy proved unsuccessful, and further fur trade activities only lasted a decade throughout the 1930s, the Inuit started seeking an existence beyond a subsistence way of life, which led the government to increase funding and set up infrastructure.

After the Cold War, wage-economies such as oil companies developed in the region, creating jobs for the far North. When Alaska became the forty-ninth state in 1959, U.S. citizenship, entailing all rights and privileges, was extended to the Inuit. By the 1970s, the trend of assimilating the Inuit into the U.S. Western cultural ideal slowed when Inuit demanded and implemented an increasing amount of local autonomy over their land, natural resources, quality education, and living conditions. (Jones, 2020) This movement particularly influenced the development of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971. The Act founded twelve Native regional economic development corporations, each affiliated with an Alaskan region and its inhabitants. (Pelaudeix, 2012) The government of the U.S.A. intended to encourage the natives to engage in the local economy, obtain sufficient money through the corporations, and preserve native culture (Pelaudeix, 2012) by allocating the corporations with a compensatory sum and making Inuit shareholders of their regional corporation.

The Inuit of Russia

The small population of Inuit that lived in the Bering Strait region was subject to assimilation practices when Russians settled in Siberia during the 19th century. (Pelaudeix, 2012) The Inuit kept a close network with Alaska due to their proximity; however, the rising Soviet regime closed the border for 40 years until 1988, leaving the Russian Inuit isolated. (Morgounova, 2007) When the Soviet Administration took power towards the end of the 1920s, Stalinist policies were introduced to eliminate ethnic differences and integrate Inuit and other national groupings into conventional Soviet society, impacting most if not all aspects of Inuit lives. (Dallmann, 2008) The industrialization of the Soviet Union required Northern resources, leading to the destruction of Inuit villages and their inhabitants' relocation to acquire the collectivization of means of production. (Pelaudeix, 2012) In the 1950s and 1960s, large-scale campaigns urged Inuit into "modernization" and settlement; however, the Inuit were unable to support themselves in the new settlements due to a shortage of jobs and the loss of their subsistence activities, creating further dependency. The 1980s launched the introduction of centralization policies, and with the removal of the word "minorities" from law texts, ethnicity was further devalued. (Dallmann, 2008)

With the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, poverty and famine put Soviet values and ethnic boundaries into question and strengthened the Inuit culture and ethnicity internally. (Morgounova, 2007) Economic subsidies and supplies from the Soviet Union disappeared, which led many Inuit back to their traditional way of life to ensure their survival. (Morgounova, 2007) Simultaneously, the Inuit and other minorities organized newfound political activism, establishing the "Yupik" organization in 1989 (Pelaudeix, 2012) and the "First Congress of the Small Peoples of the North" in 1990, which evolved into an official representation of all Northern minorities towards the Russian administration. (Dallmann, 2008) Despite their efforts, today, Inuit do not have formal rights to their resources and land or federal laws that ensure the indigenous representation and participation in the policy-making process.

1.3.1. Common Voices – International Inuit Organizations

A historical understanding of Inuit development within their respective countries of residence displays differences in political participation and activism, as well as outcomes of such in the form of agreements and arrangements between governments and Inuit. Political movements or motivations among Arctic nations are generally rooted within a perception of inequality or weak economic conditions caused by external forces such as the colonial and assimilation actions of the national governments. (Pelaudeix, 2012) This inequality and cruel actions (although with good intensions) of the colonial past provide a position for lobbying and agreement negotiations with the respective governments. It is further noted that Inuit, as major occupants of the land over centuries, aspire separate governing institutions and favor the notion of increased power for their public governments as a vehicle for political aspirations. (Kulchyski, 2017) The right to political participation is embedded in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Pelaudeix, 2012), an international framework establishing the minimum standards for the survival, dignity, and well-being of indigenous people, which, out of the four countries, Russia has not endorsed.[8] Apart from the right to political participation but equally as important is the question of territorial rights, inextricably linked to autonomy and a motivational factor for political movement of Inuit until today. (Pelaudeix, 2012) To strengthen their voice in national as well as international affairs, a movement has developed among Inuit and other indigenous cultures around the Arctic based on shared concerns. After the colonialization period of the 1970s, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) was founded in 1977 to represent Inuit of Greenland, Canada, Alaska, and Chukotka (Russia). (Obed, 2018) The united Inuit voices aim to promote equal rights among Inuit of all regions, environmental concerns, and development. The ICC represents Inuit in the Arctic Council, an intergovernmental alliance including Arctic states, indigenous representations, and observer states. United on shared concerns, Inuit raise their voice on an increasingly international level to increase pressure against national governments.

[8] On its adoption in 2007, only Demark voted in favor, Canada and the U.S.A. voted against but have since endorsed.

1.4. Identity and Nationality – How Inuit are National Citizen of their Respective Countries of Residence

"*Our Inuit values are the personal reflections of people who successfully live, work, and raise their families in today's modern world through their understanding and reliance on the wisdom of those who have come before them*." (Neaqoq, 1997)[9]

Weber (1968) defines ethnicity as the belief in common descent that is based on customs and memories.[10] Thereby, ethnic groups are not necessarily enclosed by geographical borders or share a nationality. Instead, a presumed identity is founded on the belief of common past descent, central to the formation of groups, communal relations, and social actions. (Jackson, 1982) According to Weber, the concept of nations coincides with that of ethnicity, a nation defining a political community bound together by language, political history, or other formative events. Weber based his concept of social structures on the ideal types of *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* that Tönnies established. (Jackson, 1982) Gemeinschaft, on one side, is based on inter-personal connection, emotions, and sentiments, while Gesellschaft makes use of rationality and efficiency for the ultimate self-benefit. If self-interest prevails, traditional values will be replaced by the rational self-interest of the Gesellschaft. (Bond, 2009) Based on this theory, Weber refers to a stratification system that classifies each societal subgroup according to its power and status. Through this structure, economic exploitation and political oppression of minorities is believed to be legitimate and can only be broken by a charismatic or revolutionary authority above the existing power structure. (Jackson, 1982) In his essay, Taylor (1992) wrote about an overarching authority as being the introduction of democracy within a multicultural society, guiding society towards politics of equal recognition of all ethnic groups. In an effort to grant equal values to all cultures, the Gesellschaft (majority) will force its homogenizing principles onto the society as a whole, thereby suppressing minority identities. The assimilation of society towards majority principles will prevail until the self-driven Gesellschaft realizes the benefit of recognizing minorities and an intercultural society, creating a demand for a differential treatment of

[9] Quote by an Inupiat teacher and magistrate out of northern Alaska who documented Inuit values in a community-wide, and later Arctic-wide, discussion.
[10] Supported by other works sharing Weber's past orientation such as Mitzmann (1970), De Vos (1975), Mindell (1976), or Weed (1973).

cultures that cherishes differences. (Taylor, 1992) By way of assimilation and majority practices, identities can be malformed, whereas reciprocal recognition within minority and majority is found in a society with a common purpose "we."

Inuit share a strong identity among their ethnic group, based on shared traditions and historical events, es explained by Weber in regard to ethnicity. Nevertheless, colonial and post-colonial experiences continue to influence the creation of Inuit identity today severely, leading to a combination of identity and policy which is producing distinct Arctic national identities. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014, pp. 127-140) Not all national governments value the unique cultural facet that the Inuit contribute towards society, as will be demonstrated by the varying degrees of self-determination policies. Within intercultural communication, a new identity can be formed for both sides in connection with each other, benefiting from equal recognition and cultural embeddedness into society. Without equal recognition due, cultures take the risk to be isolated and denial of cultural progress. Democracy has leveled the way and has guided a politics of equal recognition in the form of demands for equal status of cultures and their recognition. (Taylor, 1992) At the same time, however, Arctic institutions have developed based on shared values, beliefs, and ambitions, such as the ICC, to promote a shared Arctic identity, recognizing and valuing Inuit identity. For example, Russian Inuit will find recognition within the international institution rather than through Russian society, which fails to recognize them as equal partners. If further developed, institutions and the shared values of post-colonialism will merge into a unique circumpolar identity that is likely to compensate for the limits of the national identity many Inuit lack. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014, pp. 127-140) Cultural experiences with the majority within the society are especially formative for the individual identity. In his research, the anthropologist Jenkins found that firmly established and reinforced identities early on in life are more resistant to change. (Terpstra, 2015, pp.21-30) Meaning that if an Inuk experienced a minority of "ethnic" Danes, Canadians, Russians, or Americans that had the majority in power and visible boundaries existed, his/her Inuit identity is strengthened.

A clash between identities is most visible when looking at Greenland. The establishment of a Greenlandic flag, a national anthem, a national day, and much more has reinforced the development of a Greenlandic identity. However, residents of Greenland carry a

Danish passport. This all Inuit share: they are citizens of their respective country of residence. Nevertheless, being Greenlandic does not mean being Danish. Inuit choose between various identities; the trend towards a more globalized identity is clearly on the rise. (Terpstra, 2015, pp.21-30) Inuit understand that the formation of an identity does not require them to choose a "modern" or "traditional" identity (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014, pp. 127-140), instead, to find a combination of both.

Chapter 2: The Framework of Basic Needs within Social Perspectives and Current Analysis of Inuit Well-Being

2.1. The Concept of Needs – A Theoretical Framework

Social policies cannot solely exist to cater to the needs of welfare recipients but serve a multitude of stakeholders, such as the private sector that desires to employ educated and healthy individuals. However, human needs reflected in social policy and the needs of the public and private sector as employers do not always coincide. (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70) Needs are universal because every human being shares the desire for the very basis of human existence such as food, shelter, health, and community. The idea that governments should provide basic welfare or the ability for the individual to acquire means to meet their own needs through education, training, and labor market policy became dominant in 20th-century social policies.[11] In addition to the government's basic provision of needs, the mutualist perspective supports the thesis that some needs can possibly be provided through mutual relationships within the community. (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70)

Marx took the concept of basic needs further by suggesting that "human needs" require more than the saturation of physical needs alone, but the enrichment of existence. The provision of "human needs" can conform to different constructions of state and society. (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70) This theory stands in contrast to the popular motivation theory of Maslow (1943), who organized needs in a pyramid and introduced the concept that basic needs must be roughly met before higher needs, such as the enrichment of existence, can be achieved. According to Marx, however, reducing needs to their basis pays little attention to the necessities that constitute to the human mode of existence. The claim for human needs can be met only if basic needs are delivered in a way that allows for aesthetic and cognitively satisfying fulfillment. (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70) Given the deep-rootedness of these needs, Hirst suggests that they are better met by voluntary associations than by the state alone[12], however, under the provision that those organizations are not

[11] Government provision is not a universal concept, but predominantly found in Western societies.
[12] Gray (1997) later called the concept of Hirst's voluntary association "communitarian liberalism", both ideas presented new ways of thinking about human needs.

treated as secondary, but primary means of organizing social life. The state's role, he notes, remains essential as it must raise funds to finance voluntary initiatives and maintain standards in the voluntary sector. (Hirst, 1994, p.24-26) By acting as an enabler and safeguard in case of failed voluntary action, the state remains ultimately responsible, but with the help of civil society able to provide basic – as well as "human needs". (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70) Furthermore, by the voluntary action of citizens, welfare recipients are encouraged to actively engage in the system through mutual relationships, hereby shouldering responsibility by self-determinably acting as the provider of specific needs to society.

2.2. Status quo of Circumpolar Inuit Well-Being

Marx's thesis of human needs, combined with Hirsch's execution theory envisions the provision of human needs through the engagement of a culturally integrated society. However, before being able to analyze to what degree the legislative framework of each circumpolar country allows for the involvement of cultural and civil society organizations in the provision of basic needs in chapter 3, this chapter will identify shortcomings within the social welfare sectors, hereby, the author has classified health care and education as representing the basis of well-being within society. This derives from the assumption that basic need provision embodies a key factor for economic prosperity and the foundation for individual and cultural development. To enable societal well-being through social policies and preventive methods can prove challenging, given Inuit populations' cultural, geographical, and historical challenges. Decades of social and economic transformation within Inuit communities were unable to offset stark differences that persist in crucial health and educational indicators between Inuit and non-indigenous populations of Canada, Denmark, Russia, and the United States as will be outlined below.

Indicators of Health

The transition from tradition to modernity determined an increasing shift towards lifestyle-related diseases among Inuit (Young, and Chatwood, 2011), such as a prevalence of mental disorders, alcohol problems, obesity, and type 2 diabetes. (Bjerregaard, Dahl-Petersen, and Larsen, 2018)

The following brief overview of the Inuit health situation in all four countries verifies the health gap between Inuit and non-Inuit people. Indicators such as life expectancy, which is significantly lower for Inuit in these countries[13], provide an insight of the overall health system, whereas substantial contributors to this disparity are higher mortality rates from unintentional injury, heart disease, and child mortality, the latter caused by a deficit in adequate health nutrition and maternal care, reaching up to three times the national average in Inuit regions. (ITK, 2018, p.11; IHS, 2019; CIA, 2020) Severe illnesses such as Tuberculosis vary by settlement regions, anticipated by access to anti-Tuberculosis services. The Inuit region of Chukotka in Russia registered a steady increase of Tuberculosis case notifications and prevalence during 2008–2016 (Meshkov et al., 2019), whereas Greenland (WHO, 2016), Alaska (Chandler, 2017), and Canada (ITK, 2018, p.14) note a decrease in Tuberculosis cases, although numbers remain significantly higher than the national average. Diabetes represents another medical challenge of the circumpolar regions, non-indigenous living and modern influences on diet, physical activities, and other social habits drastically increased diabetes rates among Inuit. (ITK, 2018, p.16; IHS, 2019) Although diabetes can be treated, the unique challenges of the Arctic present threats to the accessibility of health services. (Ringgaard, 2016) In addition to the disproportionally high occurrence of diseases, extreme living conditions and an increased distance from traditional lifestyles pose challenges to the mental well-being among Inuit, resulting in high suicide rates well beyond the national average in all countries (Ellsworth, and O'Keeffe, 2013) as is illustrated below.

[13] Life expectancy in Canada: Inuit: 72,4 years, non-Inuit 82,9 years as of 2017 (ITK, 2018, p.12); U.S.A.: Alaskan Native: 73 years, U.S.A. average: 78,5 years as of 2011 (IHS, 2019); Greenland: Greenlandic: 71,1 years, Danish: 80 years as of 2013 (Kerrn-Jespersen, 2016); Russia: Chukotka: 64.4 years as of 2016, Russia: 71.9 years, (The Moskow Times, 2017)

Country / Region	Suicide Rate
Canada	11
Nunavut	75,5
Denmark	9,4
Greenland	51,1
U.S.A.	14,5
Alaska	25
Russia	25,1
Chukotka	46,5

Table 1: Annual number of deaths from suicide per 100.000 people in 2017 [14]

Health findings among Inuit are consistent with a global trend of indigenous populations exposing poor health conditions, deriving from a nexus of historical, economic, and environmental factors. (Ellsworth, and O'Keeffe, 2013) Unfortunately, the gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people is not limited to the health sector, but also apparent in various other sectors such as education and socio-economic status, along with most other social determinants of health.

Indicators of Education

Immense disparities within the education sector between Inuit and non-Inuit in their countries of residence persist. The overall Inuit population is less likely to have a high school diploma. (SLiCA, 2015, p.57) The extent of the gap, however, is contingent on the location, among other factors. In Canada, Inuit outside of Nunangat[15] are more likely to have completed high school[16], (Statistics Canada, 2018) which is consistent with findings in the other countries of analysis, supporting the fact that urban Inuit populations are more likely to receive an education than Inuit that live in particularly rural areas or areas that account for a majority of Inuit people. For example, in Greenland, students from small settlements are required to leave their homes to attend one of the four high schools. (Statistics Greenland, 2019) In general, Inuit are less likely to pursue post-secondary

[14] Sources: Canada, Denmark, U.S.A., Russia (OECD, 2020); Chukotka (Aminov, 2020), Nunavut (Gov.nu, 2020); Alaska (AK-IBIS, 2020); Greenland (Our World in Data, 2020)
[15] Nunangat is translated as the "Inuit homeland", a generic term describing all four Inuit land claim regions of Canada.
[16] 45% of Inuit living in Canada reported having a high school diploma compared to 86% Canadian non-Inuit in 2016. (Statistics Canada, 2018)

education[17], and high school graduation rates are low compared to the national average. (ITK, 2018, p.19; Kerrn-Jespersen, 2016; Dudarev, Chupakhin, and Odland, 2013)

However, what the numbers fail to take into account is the Inuit education in traditional occupations and knowledge that is customarily passed down the generations. In Inuit communities, a close connection between employment and education results in an elevated labor force participation for people with higher educational attainment. Therefore, unemployment among Inuit is exceptionally high for unskilled workers, while the unemployment rate among skilled workers remains low. Mentioned, however, must be the often seasonal occupation of Inuit, including subsistence economies such as hunting or fishing and outdoor occupations such as construction work, which is caused by the extreme weather conditions of the Arctic that profoundly limit mobility in the winter months. A further barrier to employment is a shortage of jobs in primarily rural regions of the Arctic, the most commonly experienced concern according to a Canadian Arctic study. (Statistics Canada, 2018) An exception to this observation, however, can be found in Chukotka. Due to the region's exceptional socio-economic underdevelopment and general infrastructure deficit in indigenous villages, a high share of skilled workers (63.3%) are unemployed. (Korchak, 2019)

Causal Factors of Social Determinants

The unique geographical location of the Arctic is a crucial factor for the apparent disparities in health and education between Inuit and non-Inuit. The remote and isolated Arctic sites create challenges to the health care system, including long journeys and high costs to obtain health care. (UNPFII, 2015, pp.58-77) Further, the fact that the overwhelming majority of health care providers in Northern indigenous communities are non-Inuit creates additional gaps such as language and cultural understanding. Interviews (see Appendix) have revealed personal experiences of Inuit with the health care system in their respective communities. Although the interviewed seemed to agree that the health care system (in Alaska and Nunavut) is generally functioning, health care delivery is poorly executed. Long waiting periods associated with a shortage of staff and long distances are mentioned alongside an apparent cultural barrier between patient and

[17] For example, 42% of U.S. Native Alaskans between 16- to 24-years are enrolled in high school or college in 2016–18, compared to the national average of 53 %. (ITK, 2018, p.19)

practitioner, resulting in inadequate care for non-English speakers. A factor that the literature has failed to display[18] but became prevalent in conducted interviews is race and perceived white privilege. While past actions of assimilation and colonialization were mentioned, racial tensions seem to prevail until today visible by condescending and oppressing treatment of Inuit by culturally insensitive service workers, which the interviewed used as one explanation for poor treatment by education and health staff.[19]

Poor access impacts not only the actual health treatment in the Arctic but also the ability of patients to take care of their own health and well-being. Harsh weather conditions endure, especially during the winter months, and reduce the accessibility of patients and health care workers in remote areas to care, medicine, and equipment. Consequently, high costs of health providers to service remote communities can threaten the sustainability of health care. These challenging conditions lead to staff shortages and high staff turnover. The combination of high costs and staff turnover often causes a lack of training possibilities on how to cater to the need of specific Arctic medical conditions. (Huot et al., 2019) Thus, linguistic and cultural barriers between patients and practitioners persist and create a deficit of understanding and trust, leaving the staff unfamiliar with Inuit culture and traditions. The cultural aspect of the access to social services is further emphasized within the educational sector. Throughout history, Inuit communities were taught by non-indigenous education pedagogy[20], which planted the idea that Inuit culture and traditions are less meaningful than those of the majority culture. How this has affected the fluency of Inuit in their local indigenous language is illustrated in the graph below. Disparities can be explained by insufficient government support of indigenous languages and culturally integrated programs which will be further elaborated on in the following chapters.

[18] The literature did not give insight into race and racial inequality, which presumably adds to the observation that research is overwhelmingly conducted by non-Inuit researchers.
[19] It must hereby be noted that the Interviews took place prior to the international "Black lives matter" outcry in relation to the effects of white privelage in society.
[20] Education is the primary tool of assimilation during the colonization period among all circumpolar countries.

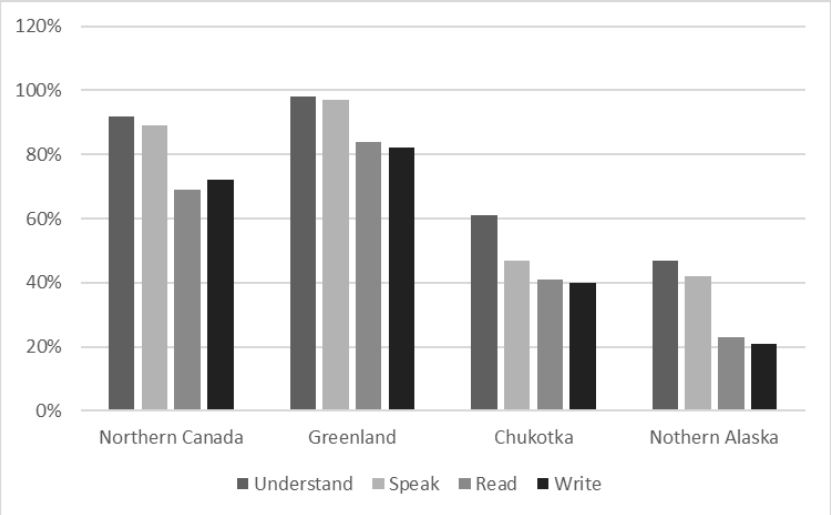


Table 2: Self-reported fluency (well or relatively well) of Inuit in the local indigenous language (Poppel, 2015, pp.58-59)

Access to education demonstrates similar barriers than the accessibility of health care. The access to and quality of primary, secondary, and tertiary education (Williamson and Vizina, 2017) and Inuit participation in the supply of such represents the prevailing claim of Inuit within the educational sector. (Williamson and Vizina, 2017) Inuit children are often taught in a second language, the number of teachers is insufficient, and the curriculum culturally irrelevant. (Statistics Canada, 2018) Education is fundamentally linked to the purpose, worldview, and cultural foundation of the people being educated; however, these concepts widely differ between traditional Inuit education and formal *Qallunaat*[21] education. (McGregor, 2010)

External Influences

The significant social challenges that have been identified above and the link between economic and social disparities within Inuit communities can best be understood when looked at in connection to each other. An external challenge that Inuit identify as threatening their livelihood is climate change, which is starting to severely affect the physical environment of Inuit and Arctic geopolitics as a whole. (Klimenko, 2019) Climate change amplifies already complex security challenges and intertwines with social, political, and economic processes. The recent oil spill accident in the Russian

[21] Translated as "non-Inuit education" in the Inuit language of *Inuktitut*.

Arctic starting on the 29th of May 2020 is a prime example of those challenges. The accident caused 21.000 tons of oil from a major mining company to leak into the Ambarnaya River in the city of Norilsk, most likely caused by thawing permafrost. (Shapovalova, 2020) As effects of the leakage are yet to be determined, a clash between social impacts for the indigenous peoples (a major disruption of subsistence economies), the company responsible for the damage, and the governments eager to clean up the damage (and with it international attention) is likely to happen. This accident signifies a "wake-up call" (Shapovalova, 2020) for Arctic stakeholders that climate change can have significant impacts on the livelihood of Arctic peoples, industries, and shareholders alike. The Arctic mining industry, responsible for a large part of economic development in the region, carries risks for Inuit population in the form of pollution from oil spills, potentially affecting ecosystems, wildlife, and local communities. This threat to traditional livelihoods of the Arctic communities, however, is also capable of providing economic and job security, and more significant opportunities for businesses and local populations. (Klimenko, 2019) Although climate change and its challenge for Inuit communities are not the focus of this paper, it is essential to show that Inuit continue to be influenced by external forces that create a host of threats to their livelihood, as was the case with colonialization. Further, the interconnection of challenges disguised as opportunities, such as natural resource extraction, have a trickle-down effect on socio-economic factors, and, therefore, lack a straightforward solution. (Poppel, 2015, pp.88-90) Consequently, only the direct influence of Inuit on the decision making framework of a particular region will guarantee that their livelihood is taken into account.

External influences such as climate change and the challenging provision of basic needs promote the emergence of social problems in the North. In the absence of such fundamental factors as health and education, Inuit well-being suffers substantially. Mental health remains a factor whose consequences become visible in social problems such as alcohol abuse, drug abuse, suicide, family violence, and sexual abuse (Poppel, 2015, pp.88-90), all constituents affecting the general well-being of Inuit communities.

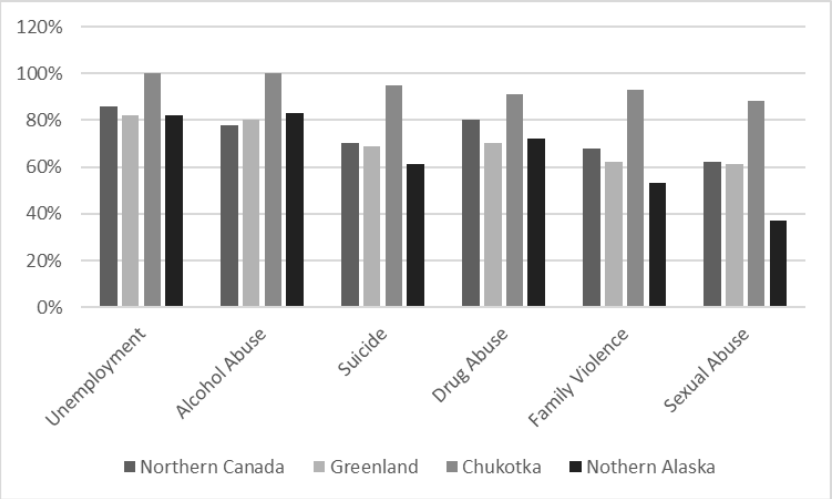


Table 3: Inuit adults perceiving social problems in their community (Poppel, 2015, p.61)

Because well-being and mental health are closely related, improved well-being will likely lead to improved mental health, and, therefore, reduce social problems in the Arctic. (Poppel, 2015, pp.88-90)

The preceding brief overview of Inuit well-being concerning basic needs has shed light on quality and access deficits and an overall insufficiency of the education and health sector compared to the national averages of the respective countries of analysis. This lies in the core understanding that only if the basic needs are catered to, can well-being be achieved.

Chapter 3: National Portrayal of Inuit Autonomy on the Basis of Legal Self-Determination and Social Principles

3.1. The Concept of Autonomy – A Theoretical Framework

The disparities between Inuit and non-Inuit in health care and socio-economic conditions the preceding chapter has drawn attention to can be explained and understood only when considering a nexus of factors such as the historical context, geographical, cultural, and socio-economic conditions. A biased conclusion drawn from a single factor can be reached quickly when, for example, Russia's poor health status paired with low health expenditures is mentioned. Nevertheless, as stated in the previous chapter, Alaska fails to realize improved outcomes despite high expenditures on the health sector. Consequently, this chapter establishes the basis for analyzing socio-economic factors and disparities by drawing attention to the legal basis of self-governance within each circumpolar country, followed by a study of the health and education systems representing basic needs.

In recent years a trend has emerged whereby central authorities increasingly assert policy authority to subnational governments by granting them political power in an effort to flatten the existing gap between mainstream and peripheral needs. (Davidson, 2015) In this respect, regionalization is frequently observed to indicate enhanced autonomy, enacted through land claim or self-government agreements that transfer areas of responsibility to indigenous governments or organizations.

Autonomy and self-governance enable Inuit communities to have a direct influence over the well-being of their community through the control of external interventions. William Kymlicka (1995, p.43) suggested, "*History has shown that the most effective way to protect Indigenous communities from this external power [political and economic] is to establish reserves where the land is held in common and/or in trust, and cannot be alienated without the consent of the community as a whole.*" In alignment with this concept, the following chapter analyzes the system of political autonomy, often defined by the degree of self-rule within minority studies. In this paper's context, autonomy is viewed as the resolution to self-determination on the basis that self-determination is a development toward sovereignty, whereas autonomy is a way to accommodate limited

regional autonomy. Autonomous rights do not grant states the status to be acknowledged internationally; instead, internal power structures are created to preserve culture and identity within national borders. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20) Hence, autonomy transfers powers to a particular territory suitable for their purposes, granting it self-government that leaves only residual duties to the state. Territorial autonomy requires a locally elected, minimum power legislative assembly and an elected executive in charge of implementing the legislation in autonomous territory. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20) Territorial rights are fundamental for creating a political system that enables direct participation of minorities and represent the opportunity for economic development. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.154-160) The fact that Arctic territories are rich in natural resources can create economic leverage for Inuit communities if they possess the territorial rights to their land. The economic growth that can result in the exploitation of those resources is a trigger for infrastructure and increased communal well-being. (Duhaime and Caron, 2008) The benefit, however, will only be reaped if Inuit communities govern the power over those resources.

The central critique of Inuit participation in modern politics is whether minorities want to participate in the central government or strive for economic leverage as mining and resource extraction are not part of their culture. Nor is money for that matter. Answering the question if it is cultural genocide to force Inuit into a system of governance that is not culturally relevant for them will go beyond this paper's scope. However, the central premise is that because of the mere fact that Inuit are citizens of their respective country of residency, their identity is not strictly Inuit anymore, but a combination of majority and Inuit culture. Therefore, true happiness stems from the combination of keeping traditional values alive while being active in non-traditional forms of government to create a bridge between tradition and modernity. Inuit participation creates the possibility to influence how culture matters for future Inuit generations.

3.2. Alaska

When the U.S.A. purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, native Alaskans occupied the state as the majority. Today, approximately 15 percent of the population (Young and Chatwood, 2011) are members of one of 229 federally recognized tribes. (NCSL, 2020) According to the 2010 U.S.A. Census, 33.889 Inuit live in Alaska. (Norris, Vines, and Hoeffel, 2012) The status of Alaskan natives is unique in the U.S., attributable to regional and village corporations that were established in 1971 and occupy 98% of Alaska's private property. Since their foundation, the corporations that operate over various industries have grown to be the state's largest private employer and contribute to 25% of the state's GDP while diversifying Alaska's economy. (ANCSA, 2020b) As a result, just as dividend distribution has risen to $3.700 (per 100 shares) in 2018 (ANCSA, 2020b), so has the number of enrolled Alaska Native shareholders since 1991.

Legal Framework

Due to oil being an important resource in the U.S. economy (Young and Chatwood, 2011) and in an effort to settle indigenous land claims and obstacles to resource exploitation, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was signed in 1971. The Act provided compensation for all land lost and entitled Inuit to rights on 44 million acres (about 10% is the state's surface) through shares that generate annual dividends. (Hardin and Rowland-Shea, 2018) The entitlements are channeled through twelve regional and two hundred village corporations created by The Act that hold the land claims, instituted under U.S. legislation, and authorized by state laws. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20) Inuit of one-quarter Native blood are entitled to enroll as shareholders and receive 100 shares of their regional and village corporation per person, the shares cannot be sold but only passed down to family members. (Hardin and Rowland-Shea, 2018) However, voting rights are detached from residence, which can lead to a conflict of interest if shareholders live outside the region. In 2018, a total of $217.121.681 in dividends were distributed to shareholders. (ANCSA, 2020a) Surface right titles are vested in village corporations, while the regional corporations hold subsurface rights. (Dahl, 1993) However, ANCSA did not assign preferential land rights to the Inuit themselves and also extinguished any further land claims or hunting and fishing rights despite the ongoing Inuit dependence on a supplementary subsistence economy. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20)

Out of the deep-rooted Inuit belief that the land's resources are critical to their communities' cultural survival, the Inuit maintained their efforts for self-government, the acknowledgment of fishing and hunting rights, and land ownership. (BIA, 2010, pp.32-37) In a further attempt to resolve the land claims, the 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) was passed, which enlarged land protection in Alaska to an additional 157.000.000 acres of land and varying degrees of special protection, however, continues to dismiss private Inuit land claims. (BIA, 2010, pp.32-37) In this period of Inuit activism after the establishment of the ANCSA act, the Alaska Inter-Tribal Council (AITC) was organized in 1993, whose efforts helped to establish the Millennium Agreement in 2001. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20) The agreement acknowledges that Native Alaskan autonomous sovereign governments predated the federal government of the U.S.A. and established a framework for a government-to-government relationship between tribal governments and the federal government based on reciprocally acknowledged sovereignty. (Millennium Agreement, 2001) Thereby, the Agreement instituted tribal rights to self-governance and self-determination, including political structures to elect representatives following tribal constitutions, customs, traditions, and laws. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.18-20) However, Alaskan tribes attain sovereign authority only if they are federally recognized, which is achieved by a prove of them being successors of a tribe that was self-governed prior to the first contact with non-natives. If a tribe is federally recognized, it enjoys a government-to-government relationship, whereby the U.S. Constitution recognizes tribes as distinct governments and on equal footing with state administrations. (BIA, 2010, pp.32-37)

Social Perspective

Within their special status, tribal governments are responsible for the health, safety, and welfare of their tribal citizens, including the responsibilities to form governments, formulate and enforce civil and criminal laws, collect taxes, and determine membership regulations for tribal lands. (NCSL, 2020) Limitations of tribal autonomy are the same limitations that apply to states, e.g., to start a war, engage in foreign relations, or issue a monetary policy. In this context, while not all citizens of Alaska are members of a tribe, all Inuit Alaskans are citizens of the state, which implies that state regulators provide essential services and are responsible for tribal members' well-being. (NCSL, 2020) This

can lead to a conflict of interest, questionable authority, and disputed division of labor (Dahl, 1993), especially in rural settings where city councils, native village corporations, and tribal council exist within the same community.

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA), signed in 1975, significantly diminished the role of the federal government in Alaska in education and social welfare programs while further rejecting previous paternalistic policies and transferred the right to operate their schools and control educational activities to tribal communities:

"*(…) the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from Federal domination of programs for and services to Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct and administration of these programs and services(..).*" (Sec.3. (b).)

Following this transition, the self-governance legislation in 1994 amended The Act of 1975 by administering the ability for recurring agreements between the U.S. Department of Health and Inuit tribes (Strommer and Osborne, 2014), which was previously left to an intermediary organization.

The federally-funded Indian Health Service is a division of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and supports Alaskan tribes in their work to provide comprehensive health services throughout Alaska. Alaskan native organizations provide statewide native health care since 1998; consequently, approximately 99% of the Alaska Area budget is allocated to tribes and organizations under ISDEAA. (IHS, 2020) The Alaska Tribal Health Compact is the umbrella organization negotiating provisions of government-to-government relations between Alaskan tribes and the Indian Health Service. (IHS, 2020) Since ANCSA was passed, the path to self-determination led Inuit and other Alaskan natives to be increasingly concerned with developing health care organizations which slowly replaced previously federal programs in Alaska. (ICC, 2011, pp.6-7) Today, almost all health care programs are managed by tribes and native organizations serving Alaskans regardless of race. (ANHB, 2020) Tribes increasingly gather in voluntary affiliations, such as the Alaska Native Tribal Health Consortium, to effectively manage statewide tribal health services, set standards in the industry, and support tribal health

organizations and communities. (ICC, 2011, pp.6-7) Regardless, Alaskan Health care relies on federal aid and private insurance payments to supplement the annual health expenditure budget due to inadequate federal funding of the IHS.

The ISDEAA in 1975 started the movement of Inuit organizations toward independence in education policy, continued by the Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988 (TCSA) (Strommer and Osborne, 2014), which introduced a process for tribes to operate federal Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) funded schools and negotiate contracts and funding activities directly with the BIE, signaling a movement against federal authority over local education programs. (The Office of Management and Budget, 2006) The BIE is a division of the U.S.A. Department of the Interior and responsible for the formation of education policies and procedures and the supervision and allocation of funds. (Strommer and Osborne, 2014) Today, most educational services are supported by ISDEAA agreements and TCSA endowments, especially in tribal communities. (Strommer and Osborne, 2014)

Tribally controlled schools are supported by the umbrella organization Alaska Council of School Administrators, which advocates for public education and, simultaneously, recognizes the cultural distinctiveness of each organization's curriculum. (Alaskaacsa, 2020) However, few issues remain that hinder educational performance within tribal education facilities. Funding was found to be the major obstacle within Alaskan tribal education programs to support administrative functions as well as the construction and maintenance of educational facilities. (Strommer and Osborne, 2014) Resource deficits and increasingly centralized BIE bureaucracy prevent tribes from being able to fully embrace the ISDEAA objective to transfer control to tribes over education policy choices.

By concluding the preceding, it can be noted that the commercialization of Alaskan land has supplied Inuit with the ability to participate in decision-making activities and the autonomy of their tribal communities. Nevertheless, the Alaskan self-determination model of indigenous people comes at the cost of economic growth being the leading factor for development. Federally recognized Inuit tribes remain dependent on federal and state benefits to supply welfare, infrastructure, and employment. Although the ISDAA has proven that the federal government acknowledges and values the indigenous culture, funding is a significant obstacle towards independence and the implementation of cultural values into social services.

3.3. Nunavut

Nunangat, the place where Inuit live, spans across two Canadian territories and two provinces, encompassing all traditional Inuit lands now shielded by different regional land claim agreements, each contributing to regional autonomy. (ICC, 2011, pp.8-10) The majority of Canadian Inuit (about 78%) live within the regions of Nunangat; Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, Inuvialuit, and Nunatsiavut, where they make up the ethnical majority. (ICC, 2011, pp.8-10) Canada documents the highest number of Inuit citizens among all circumpolar countries, the most recent census recorded 65.030 Inuit. (Statistics Canada, 2019) Nunavut will be the primary focus of this analysis, as it is the largest Canadian territory with a majority of Inuit inhabitants equaling 20% of Canada's landmass and inhabited by more than 38,000 people, of which 85% are indigenous Inuit. (IWGIA, 2019a, pp.31-34) The Canadian federation integrates ten provinces and three territories, including the territory of Nunavut. The main difference between territories and provinces is the execution of power. While provincial governments have constitutional powers in their own right, territorial governments receive delegated powers under the federal government, resulting in reduced control of their affairs. (Government of Canada, 2019) In the last 40 years, a pivotal component to Northern Canada's development process has been devolution, whereby the federal government transfers powers to territories to promote self-sufficiency and to increase participation in the Canadian federation. (AMAP, 2017, pp.50-61)

Legal Framework

Since 1993, 25 comprehensive land claims agreements came into effect in Canada, while 25 continue to be in the negotiation process just for the Canadian North. Existing agreements are similar in their purpose to negotiate frameworks of autonomy for the indigenous people of Canada, although specifies might differ. One of them is the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, codified as The Nunavut Act (hereby referred to as "The Act"), which was created after 20 years of negotiation in 1993 and came into effect in 1999, establishing a public territorial governance system, legislature, and a territorial justice system for all inhabitants of the area. (Sidorova, 2018) Ten remote communities administer the vast territory and the central government is located in the capital Iqaluit. Although the government structure is of public nature, the regional majority of Inuit is

reflected in the regional government, implying Inuit self-governance. (Dahl, 1993) Unable to foresee the future of the region's ethnic markup, Inuit reserved the right to negotiate self-government within the land claim agreement. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.126-132) Under The Act, which is protected by the Canadian constitution and labeled as the cornerstone of Nunavut's autonomy, a substantial part of the Northwest Territories was assigned to Nunavut, creating an Inuit homeland. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) Nunavut enjoys similar rights to Canadian provinces with culturally integrated provisions such as one elected member of Parliament (MP) for Nunavut in the House of Commons (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147), but remains a territory mainly due to its small population, insufficient economy, financial dependence on the federal government, and colonial past.[22]

The Nunavut Land Claim Agreement transferred a substantial amount of autonomy to its newly established government; nevertheless, the federal government retains control over various aspects of governance while inhabitants of Nunavut continue to possess the same constitutional rights as other Canadian citizens (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147), including the right to acquire remedy and legal protection from the Canadian court system. Areas that have not been assigned to Nunavut's authority and remain federal are defense and foreign relations, monetary policy, the taxation system, and the supreme court system. In general, Nunavut's autonomy is funded by the federal government through annual monetary payments (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147); however, property taxes can be collected from Nunavut lands to fund local administration and public services.

Although the federal government is currently the largest contributor to Nunavut's GDP, the region is rich in mineral resources promising growth prospects for Nunavut's economy in the long run. Growth prospects, however, depend on the region's ability to develop infrastructure and its labor market. The agreement in itself provides Inuit with land surface ownership of approximately 18% of Nunavut land, of which approximately 10% includes subsurface rights (IWGIA, 2019a, pp.31-34), vested by regional Inuit associations and Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. to the advantage of Inuit. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. is legally representing Inuit of Nunavut in native

[22] The creation of Nunavut was presumably not justifiable by population, but certainly by landmass, creating a financial dependence. Grasping the vastness of the land is difficult, Nunavut is six times the size of Germany, but with a population of 40.000.

treaty rights and negotiation processes, negotiating financial benefits and royalty payments for the commercialized use of Inuit subsurface land. (Bernauer, 2019) The Canadian government retains mineral rights titles for the remaining land (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147); however, companies are obliged to negotiate Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements for any mining projects, usually including monetary payments, Inuit employment quotas, or procurement contract for Inuit businesses. (Bernauer, 2019) This is stated in The Act in the form of an economic opportunity clause that guarantees the sharing of royalties from natural resource developments, the creation of national parks to secure Inuit land, and the right to negotiate resource development contracts of Inuit owned subsurface rights. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) In addition to land rights Inuit hold exclusive hunting and fishing rights that reach across the entire Nunavut region. (IWGIA, 2019a, pp.31-34) Politically, Inuit participate in the central government's decisions on water and land management, such as environmental and natural resource matters within the Nunavut territory. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) Nunavut legislative powers can determine who is Inuit for the implementation of The Act and its benefits. Citizenship, however, remains the responsibility of the federal government. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) Finally, The Act mentions cultural self-determination in from of the freedom for cultural development and well-being (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147), which was enhanced in 2008 by Nunavut's Official Languages Act establishing the Inuit language of *Inuktitut* as an official language along with English and French, (Nunavut, 2012) thereby recognizing culture as an important part of the creation of Nunavut.

Social Perspective

The Nunavut land claim agreement of 1999 provided Inuit with the legal jurisdiction and political responsibility to confront social inequalities and the general welfare system within the territory of Nunavut. Twenty years later, development efforts are frequently limited due to its fiscal dependency on the federal government, and Nunavut's not fully expanded economy. (Benedikter, 2009, pp.143-147) The Act transferred responsibility to Nunavut's authorities to supply centralized health care and education services for all residents as well as specific programs geared towards Inuit. (ICC, 2011, pp.8-10) Nunavut, such as any territorial government within Canada, is accountable for access to, and the quality of health care services, however, the administration of health services is

held in combined responsibility with the government. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.41-51) The federal government holds a mainly administrative role but also provides financial support and direct delivery of primary and supplementary services. Provinces and territories deliver services and administer health care at a local level. (ICC, 2011, pp.8-10) Under the Canada Health Act, territorial governments must ensure the five criteria of public administration; universality, accessibility, portability, comprehensiveness of health services, and free execution for all of Nunavut's inhabitants. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.41-51) This system of universal health care is essentially government-funded, (ICC, 2011, pp.8-10) since the federal government holds fiduciary responsibility for indigenous people, services not carried by the insurance such as dental care, medical travel, and culturally specific health programs are subsidized and administered by government programs for First Nations and Inuit people in Canada. Those programs paired with the common circumpolar health challenges such as the geography and staff shortages contribute to the uncommonly high health expenditure in Nunavut. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.41-51)

The Nunavut Education Act of 2008 lays out the fundamental principles of education within Nunavut, based on the foundation that "*The public education system in Nunavut shall be based on Inuit societal values and the principles and concepts of Inuit Qaujimajauqangit*" (Nunavut Government, 2008, Chapter 15, 1). The Education Act went in line with The Nunavut Act to change the federal school system in place before the establishment of Nunavut and to restructure the system based on Inuit values and culture. The territorial Department of Education received funds for the implementation of The Act, with the responsibility to equip District Education Authorities with the necessary resources and qualifications. Nunavut remains the only territory in Canada that bases its public education system on the educational needs and desires of Inuit children; consequently, the curriculum reflects the values and principles of Indigenous knowledge. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, p.362-363) Full bilingualism in the Inuit language and English is desired for students coming out of the Nunavut education system, as stated by a Nunavut Tunngavik policy, leading to an increased effort to employ Inuit teachers. (ITK, 2014, pp.26-28) However, higher education possibilities are limited; the Nunavut Arctic College remains the only institution of higher education.

Nunavut, the Inuit homeland, represents a territory where Inuit can live according to their own culture, values, and traditions. Although participation rights in federal, territorial, and local frameworks exist, the public government of Nunavut remains under superior control of the Canadian federal government and also proves to be heavily reliant on government funds and administrative support. Nevertheless, this system allows Nunavut to develop infrastructure and culturally sensitive programs in an effort to increase self-determination and autonomy.

3.4. Greenland

Greenland, the autonomous territory within the Kingdom of Denmark, is the world's largest island and, for the most part, covered by an ice cap, which results in its 57.691 inhabitants living in communities along the coastline. Approximately 90% of the population is descended from the Thule culture and self-identifies as Inuit. (IWGIA, 2019b) Greenland's economic activity relies on a few industries that the government plans to enlarge in order to establish a sustainable economy and, with it, greater independence. (IWGIA, 2019b) Currently, one-third of Greenland's GDP is created by commercial fisheries, while efforts are currently emerging to develop the oil and mining industries. (Vahl and Kleemann, 2019)

Legal Framework

In 2008, Greenlanders voted for a new governance structure of self-government and gradual autonomy from Denmark. Limited self-government came into effect in 2009, replacing the Home Rule agreement, which had been in place for 30 years. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184) Due to the fact that not all Greenlandic people are Inuit but also of other ethnic origins, primarily Danish, the self-governing principle is not based on ethnicity, but rather on the territory. The public government, however, reflects the Inuit majority in the makeup of the governing cabinet. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184)

The home rule agreement of 1979 formerly recognized Greenland's ability to gradually establish self-government in several areas of domestic affairs previously governed by Denmark, including taxation, trade, education, health care, and management of the

environment, among others. (Dahl, 1993) Within the Self-Governing Act, 33 supplementary fields of responsibility are established and specified. Areas of responsibility are classified according to their time of adoption, stating that a field can either be assumed at any point when internal processes allow or at fixed points previously agreed upon between Greenland and Denmark. Once Greenland assumes responsibility over a field, the government is held accountable for legislative and executive power, along with financial and administrative obligations. Consequently, under the Self-Government Act, Greenland's internal self-determination is limited to the domains of influence it has assumed responsibility for, while Denmark retains formal powers over unassumed fields. Nonetheless, the agreement holds a statement that Denmark can not enact significant changes without consulting Greenlandic authorities. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184) As of today, Greenland has taken responsibility over the mineral resource area, and the working environment, alongside areas previously embedded into the context of the home rule agreement. (IWGIA, 2019b) Areas that cannot be transferred under the Self-Government Act and must remain under Danish authority are the constitution, defense and security policy, the Supreme Court, nationality, currency, and monetary policy. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184) According to the agreement, foreign affairs must also remain under Danish governance; however, Greenland has the freedom to negotiate international agreements on many levels (IWGIA, 2019a, pp.34-37), for example, wildlife and fisheries management.

Greenland continues to depend heavily on financial support from Denmark; approximately 50% of the national budget is financed through a block grant. (IWGIA, 2019b) The framework for the grant was established under the Home Rule Agreement; the Self-Government Act, however, includes new provisions on how Greenland's self-determination can be financed through the Danish block grant. The block grant is agreed to be adjusted once Greenland receives substantial revenues from promising mineral activities, corresponding to 50% of annual revenues. Once resource-revenues are equivalent to the amount of the block grant, it will be phased out. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184) Greenland is rich in natural resources, including hydrocarbons, metals, and precious gemstones. The economy has increasingly benefited from resource exploration over the years since the Self-Government Act came into action, receiving international attention. However, Greenland keeps exploitation activities under tight government

control through the Mineral Resource Act. (Berger, 2019, pp.26-34) Licenses are distributed only to selected companies; the environmental consequences and disruption of traditional land use are in stark contrast with economic development benefits.

It will take an substantial amount of time before Greenland is able to assume responsibility over all fields negotiated by the Self-Governing Act; financial abilities play a crucial role in determining the speed of action. Authorities are struggling to build the necessary infrastructure, while the educational capacity limits the ability to carry out and implement infrastructure and duties for independence sectors. Nevertheless, The Act strengthened a feeling of Greenlandic self-esteem and provided the possibility of independence[23] at the pace of Greenland's own capacities and control. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.171-184)

Social Perspective

The areas of health care and education were assumed by the Home Rule act of 1979 and have been under the responsibility of Greenland ever since. Greenland's welfare system is aligned with the Nordic model, which is based on universal and free education, health care, and social services. Although this model values universal equity and opportunity, Greenland's vast landmass combined with a small, decentralized population challenges the principle of equal access to both education and health services. (IWGIA, 2019, pp.28-33) Being aware of these unique challenges, authorities are keen to develop socially-oriented programs continuously. (IWGIA, 2019a, pp.28-33) Greenland is divided into five municipalities, which were assigned the responsibility for domestic welfare according to the Home Rule Act, including social services and education, but not limited to. A structural reform in 2009 decreased the number of municipalities from former 18 to only 4, the biggest municipality was later split into two, which was meant to increase their efficiency and quality, and decentralize tasks such as labor market, family policies, or pension programs. The health reform that followed in 2011 reduced the number of hospitals, created health centers, and promoted the use of telemedicine in an effort to transfer additional tasks such as the treatment of alcohol and drug abuse and services to

[23] The question of how realistic independence is for Greenland extends this paper's scope. Worth mentioning, however, is that the nearest big island, Newfoundland, was a country but went bankrupt and is now a Canadian province.

the disabled to the municipalities. (Ulfbeck, Mollmann, and Mortensen, 2016, pp. 23-29) While the government provides the funding, infrastructure, and facilities to carry out health care and education, municipalities are responsible for operating institutions and secure funding for local activities.

The Greenlandic ministry of health is responsible for regulating the health care system and its overall management, along with the National Board of Health, which sets standards and guidelines. Municipalities carry out the system and guidelines within their operating responsibilities for health care facilities. (ICC, 2011, pp.4-5) The Greenlandic health system is a Danish legacy, however, slowly transforming towards a regionally oriented system staffed with Inuit professionals. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.53-60) In an effort to increase the overall well-being in Greenland and reform the existing health system from all angles, the public health program *Inuuneritta* provided a framework for an integrated health policy approach that encompasses all public health focus areas in a single program. This program and the regionalization approach, however, lacks qualified Inuit health workers and is continuously reliant on professionals from abroad, especially Denmark. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.53-60) Greenland also relies on Denmark for tertiary care and specialized treatment of patients who are transferred to Denmark.

The educations system in Greenland was established by Danish colonizers and inherited by Greenland in 1980. The School Act of 2002 mentions education as the "*basis for the pupil's development of his/her own social identity, culture, and values*" (Greenland Government, Chapter 2, §5), reforming the educational system towards a culturally compatible model to strengthen cultural identity in Greenland. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.360-364) This education model is intended to be used as a tool to secure sustainability and a self-supplying labor market. (Lennert, 2018, pp.198-217) To achieve this, Greenland has opened a teacher training college and specialized educational facilities with a local focus in an effort to employing staff able to teach the local language and culture. (Lennert, 2018, pp.198-217) However, the central school system that caters to the needs of a relatively small population does not offer advanced higher and specialized professional education, which can only be achieved through studying abroad, mainly in Denmark. (Lennert, 2018, pp.198-217) Political efforts towards the education system

confirm the common notion that education is essential in the future societal development of Greenland.

In summary, while Greenland can achieve full self-determination, the one factor holding it back on the path towards autonomy is its ability to establish infrastructure and the necessary means to assume responsibility for all governance areas. Currently, Greenland remains dependent on Denmark in many aspects; unless it can foster economic growth and development that will reach all aspects of society, it will remain closely tied to Denmark for financial aids.

3.5. Chukotka

The Russian Federation is home to many distinct indigenous groups, mostly populated in Russia's North, Siberia, and the Far East. The government recognizes "numerically small nationalities of the Russian North" (alias indigenous people) through a highly bureaucratic process whereby proof must be shown that the indigenous person inhabits traditional territories while preserving a traditional occupation and way of life. In addition, an ethnicity must be fewer than 50 thousand people. (Garipov, 2019) Less than 1,750 Inuit reside at the very east of Russia in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (District) (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.221-230), where nine percent of the population was officially classified as indigenous in 2011. (Dudarev, Chupakhin, and Odland, 2013) The Chukotka region is rich in natural resources, and, therefore, part of the Russian Arctic strategy which regards the region as a "strategic resource base," expected to bring a significant contribution to solving the social and economic challenges the region is facing (Humrich and Wolf, 2012) if the political climate allows.

Legal Framework

The traditional lifestyle the Inuit led under the Russian empire was severely disrupted at the beginning of the Soviet period, with forced collectivization, the diminishing of rights, and demolition of traditional self-management. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.221-230) The collapse of the Soviet Union's centralized governance system in 1991 caused a national social and economic crisis, which also shook Chukotka and Inuit communities that were

reliant on the central government. (Wilson, and Kormos, 2015, pp.158-173) In the construction of the USSR, the state built industries that simultaneously served as safety nets for society, creating jobs and infrastructure. The dismantling of the USSR, territorial reorganization, and missing interest in the industries and their supporting roles in society later caused the privatization of public state structures. No new institutional designs and power structures were established to replace the old ones, which left regional and local authorities struggling to administer public services. (Duhaime and Caron, 2008) By 1997, a decentralizing law was passed that enacted shared responsibility between federal and regional administrations, including protection minority rights, land use, development of natural resources, environmental protection, housing, families, health care, and education. (Wilson and Kormos, 2015) The transformation period after the communist era encouraged Chukotka's indigenous communities to become active in founding local organizations and initiatives to raise awareness of their struggles concentrating on obtaining property and self-government rights. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.221-230) The various regional, local, and interregional organizations coming out of this period are embodied by the non-governmental umbrella organization of the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), which operates under tight federal control. (IWGIA, 2020) RAIPON frequently serves as the primary source of information for Russia's indigenous peoples about their rights and has been active in promoting dialogue about indigenous rights nationally and internationally. (Koch and Tomaselli, 2015) Chukotka's indigenous movement, however, was marginalized by the end of the 1990s due to Russia taking the direction leading to equality, instead of to minority self-determination, (Wilson, and Kormos, 2015, pp.158-173) which is observed along with a recent force led by President Vladimir Putin towards a return to centralized state control, limiting indigenous organizations across Russia.

Russia's indigenous people hold rights secured by the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1995) and following international norms, but the rights are not adequately defined:

"*The Constitution of the Russian Federation] guarantees the rights of indigenous peoples in compliance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law and treaties concluded with the Russian Federation*." (Article 69)

Article 69 is embedded into three statutes of the federal government: Guarantees of the Rights of Small-Numbered Indigenous Peoples (1999), the General Principles for the Organization of Obshchiny[24] (2001), and the Territories of Traditional Nature Use (2001). (Wilson, and Kormos, 2015, pp.158-173) These law bodies provide the right for recognized indigenous people to use the land of their traditionally occupied territories, to establish self-governing bodies, to adapt educational institutions in line with their traditional way of life, to obtain compensation in case industrial activities damage their traditional environment, and for customary law to be considered in court proceedings. (Wilson, and Kormos, 2015, pp.158-173) Although the legal basis for indigenous rights is extensive, it fails to be executed or is opposed by new federal laws. The statue on the Territories of Traditional Nature Use, for example, establishes the regulatory framework for the free use of land by indigenous people, but is trumped by the federal Land and Forest Code, which states that the use of land is allowed solely upon purchase of licenses. Large businesses will prevail over indigenous communities in auctions for such licenses. (Koch and Tomaselli, 2015) The increasing importance of resource extradition and ownership of Chukotkan land for industrial purposes caused a weakening of the federal law assessing local authorities' right to control and allocate land for construction plans in indigenous territories in 2015, (Berger, 2019, pp.43-52) signaling the growing importance of economic growth and the marginalization of indigenous rights.

Russian constitutional statutes establish equality and the prohibition of discrimination based on race, language, and religion and go as far as mentioning indigenous culture, language, and lifestyle as valued and fundamental for native well-being. However, terms of autonomy and protection are defined broadly and misaligned between the provincial and federal statutes (Wilson, and Kormos, 2015, pp.158-173), leading to weak implementation on the national and local level. (Xanthaki, 2004)

Social Perspective

The end of the Soviet era, characterized by privatization and the creation of a powerful economic and political oligarchy, caused the marginalization of the social safety net and worsening social condition in the rural North. (Duhaime and Caron, 2008) The 1993

[24] The regulations about the Obshchinas refer to the community-owned landholding in which a vast amount of the Inuit populations of Russia live.

Russian Constitution declares the country a welfare state (KonKoV, 2017); however, poverty and unemployment among indigenous remains prominent causing inadequate social and health conditions. (Dudarev, Chupakhin, and Odland, 2013) Underdevelopment of infrastructure and public health services is especially prominent in indigenous villages.

Since 1996 indigenous people of Russia have been entitled to free health care provided by the federal Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund and controlled by the Ministry of Health. However, funding deficits and poorly equipped health facilities in rural areas are aggravating factors for medical care in often remote Inuit communities. (UNPFII, 2015, pp.58-77) Since 2007, the Russian health care system has been decentralized and divided into federal, regional, and municipal administrative structures (Dudarev, Chupakhin, and Odland, 2013) under a single-payer model and obligatory medical insurance. Despite high per capita health care spending compared to other parts of the Russian federation (Dudarev, Chupakhin, and Odland, 2013), a large portion of the annual health spending is funded through regional tax payments, creating wide disparities of standards and health indicators across the federation. (AMAP, 2017, pp.50-61) Chukotka has recognized education as an important driver of desirable regional change by increasing funds for specialized professional secondary education, responding to the high unemployment rate (AMAP, 2017, pp.50-61), and increasing dependence on government subsidies.[25]

The Russian Federation's centralized education system provides a core legal framework for regional authorities to regulate education within their jurisdiction. The Federal Ministry of Education is responsible for the creation, implementation, and execution of education at all levels of policy. (Potapova and Trines, 2017) Russia's expenditure on education has increased over the last decade but remains below the OECD average of 5.2% of GDP. (OECD, 2016) This can be accredited to the fact that education is financed through the federal and municipal budget, due to the system's centralized nature; however, municipalities are challenged to use tax revenues to fund the local education system, while being unable to contribute in the decision making process or influence centralized decisions to fit socio-economic conditions.

[25] See chapter 2.2. Status quo of Circumpolar Inuit Well-Being – Indicators of Education

It can be summarized that the legislative framework for the registered indigenous people is extensive in scope but remains ineffective unless it is implemented into governance at all levels. Inuit represent a small number of all recognized indigenous people of the Russian North, limiting their ability to effectively put pressure on the federal government to be granted autonomy. Unless Inuit are able to participate in decision making on the local level, their voices will not be heard or will be overridden by the central authorities, lack of education and information about their rights is a significant obstacle for a further self-determination movement.

Chapter 4: An Assessment of Conditions for Self-Determination on the Basis of Identified National Factors of Autonomy

4.1. The Factor of Self-Determination Principles

Self-determination does not follow one single definition for the circumpolar nations; instead, it is defined according to individual qualities of governance. Consequently, many different forms of self-determination exist, each showing limitations and benefits for Inuit communities and the federal governments.[26] The question remains if higher Inuit self-determination automatically leads to a higher degree of culture within social and economic policies? This section will critically analyze the self-determination policies that have been presented in the previous chapter and aim to classify them in their level of culture.

A trend in Arctic governance has emerged to promote regionalization and decentralization of power structures to sub-national governments within national borders, Russia and its centralizing model stand in contrast to this trend. The devolving of political authority has been granted to territories in Canada in the case of Nunavut, to States in Alaska represented by the government-to-government relationship of tribes, and non-federal states in the case of Greenland. Thus, Inuit communities have made their voices heard and land settlement and regional agreements have evolved in reaction to devolution and claims for regional autonomy. Within regionalization demands, indigenous land claims mainly assert a monetary transfer, the rights to land, and at times regional resource titles. In contrast, indigenous self-government agreements transfer the authority over social policies and regional resources to indigenous or public local governments. (Davidson, 2015) This trend of strengthened political units through the decentralization of power can be seen as an effort to flatten the existing gap between the mainland and peripheral needs. (Davidson, 2015) In Russia, however, a counter-movement led by

[26] Although the IWGIA defines self-determination as "(…) the right for all peoples to determine their own economic, social and cultural development" (http://www.iwgia.org/sw228.asp, accessed 30.06.2020), the execution remains country-specific.

president Vladimir Putin favors the return to centralized state control (Wilson and Kormos, 2015), limiting the influence of indigenous organizations across Russia.

Claims for Inuit self-determination paired with a new-found legal status and perception (Loukacheva, 2010, p.135) evolved out of movements against colonial and assimilation policies that Inuit experienced in every circumpolar country. (Pelaudeix, 2012) This inequality and cruel actions of the colonial past provide a platform for lobbying and agreement negotiations with the governments; however, as is Russia's case, both sides of the negotiation table must generally be willing to change existing policies. Because of their small number, the Russian Inuit rely on the power of national and international organizations, such as the RAIPON organization, to make their voices heard. Nevertheless, a missing dialogue between the authorities and the indigenous people of Russia persists. Despite their efforts, today, Inuit do not have formal rights to their resources, land, or federal laws that ensure the indigenous representation and participation in the policy-making process.

Although every governance structure is unique, patterns can be identified and compared. While Inuit stand in the forefront of the Arctic governance system, not all forms of government represent the Inuit community by itself, territorial governance systems prevail in Canada and Greenland, representing all members within the agreement's territory. Despite their public nature, the strong indigenous majority can be characterized as de facto indigenous governance. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) Within all circumpolar countries of this analysis, Inuit continue to enjoy the same rights as other national citizens, implying that they can make a conscious decision about their involvement in indigenous practices or tribal government. Furthermore, the state does retain paternalistic policies by providing basic social services in Alaska and Nunavut, thereby ultimately remaining responsible for its citizens' well-being. As an enabler of the freedom for self-determination in certain areas and extensive financial contribution to this process, the government holds responsibility over subjects such as foreign relations and monetary policy in all countries, no claims have yet been made from Inuit calling for foreign or monetary policy control. Similarly, but more controversial, limitations extend to the approval of citizenship. Central government regulation of this factor can be drawn to the

principle that all Inuit are citizens of the national countries, however, in Russia, the federal government also holds the right to approve who is Inuit and thereby gains access to the cultural benefits. Nunavut legislative powers, on the other hand, can determine who is Inuit for the implementation of The Act and the benefits derived from it. A similarity of all circumpolar countries is the ability to gain profit from their traditionally inherited land. This right extends to the ownership of shares and dividends in the case of Alaska, the ownership of the land by Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland, and the right to receive compensation for the corporate use of land in the case of Chukotka. Only in Nunavut and Greenland is the land actually owned by Inuit and not by an organizational or corporate representation.

As governance arrangements become more complex and involve an increasing number of stakeholders at many levels, integration of interests and coordination becomes an essential aspect of Arctic governance. Resembling the diverse and multicultural makeup of the countries, the Arctic also increasingly attracts foreign players and investors with diverse interests and agendas. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) As can be seen in Alaska, since shareholders of the regional corporations do not always reside within the Arctic, decisions can prove challenging. Shared interests among Arctic interest groups are vital and start with actors' ability to take part in power-sharing and decision-making processes. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) Implementing the comprehensive arrangements and negotiations between Inuit communities and the central government, in particular those related to resource management, requires a strong engagement and conformity of regional actors, with their participation being vital for sustaining traditional cultures. Local players include regional governments, organizations, councils, and other regional actors. Furthermore, if local citizens directly affected by a political decision are not engaged in the decision-making progress, it might lead to non-compliance and nonenforcement of rules by regional actors. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) The indigenous knowledge is a key resource that increases in importance along with Inuit power in Arctic governance.

4.2. The Factor of Human Needs

Within the general welfare systems of circumpolar countries, a high degree of autonomy is inevitably linked with higher control of Inuit over social policies. Greenland is reforming the health and education system and has taken responsibility for both fields, while in Alaska and Nunavut, federal governments retain administrative functions and the provision of basic services. In Russia, however, the federal government controls all welfare services. In addition to the question of responsibility, the federal governments provide culturally sensitive programs geared towards Inuit to supplement or add to the existing, standardized health care system within self-determination agreements that are of territorial instead of ethnical nature.[27] These programs, such as the Greenlandic *Inuuneritta* program of 2007, go beyond the urgent needs of primary and secondary health care and establish goals to tackle the root problem by proposing, as is the case in Greenland, action-oriented sports or dietary programs. Russia remains the only nation where federal authority is the executive body responsible for the formulation and implementation of social policies. Without the local engagement of Inuit, their cultural demands for recognition will remain unheard.

When analyzing the national social systems, it becomes obvious that Inuit or tribal responsibility for the social structure and the implementation of an ethical equity principle does not happen simultaneously. The equity principle has been identified as recognizing disparities between social groups and cultural aspects within a general system, and would allow for Inuit culture to be integrated into social structures of the existing system. For example, although Greenland has had responsibility for its school system since 1979, the School Act of 2002, 23 years after, finally acknowledged the value of culture in a pupil's development. A similar occurrence, although with a slightly smaller time span, can be observed in Alaska and Nunavut. This shows that although responsibility for social systems was transferred early, funding and administrative capacities were insufficient to shift towards a principle of cultural acknowledgment. (Davidson, 2015; Jones, Cunsolo, and Harper, 2018; Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.351-378) Russia stands in stark contrast to the development of its circumpolar neighbors. Contrary to the move toward an equity

[27] Interviews (see Appendix) in Alaska and Nunavut have confirmed that while culturally sensitive programs are available, they merely supplement prevailing standardized systems.

system and culturally integrated structures, Russia's Inuit culture continues to struggle with autonomy. Although they were given equity rights, Inuit lack a force for the implementation of those rights without self-determination rules. This makes a strong point for the necessity of self-determination policies in order to implement equity.

The federal government essentially funds the basic system of health care and education in all four countries. However, regional spending often supplements the systems, creating a additional disparity between regions. Further, the system relies not only on financial aid but also human and administrative resources from outside the territories. Although health care is free and universal for all Inuit communities within the circumpolar region, larger issues prevail, such as staff shortages and decentralized communities. Unfortunately, a lack of professional studies on Inuit health reveals data insufficiency to identify drivers of Inuit health outcomes. (Ford-Gilboe et al., 2018) In addition, evidence has been found of a lack of Inuit participation within research, which holds against the movement towards recognition of Inuit knowledge. (Jones, Cunsolo, and Harper, 2018) This points towards the conclusion that without Inuit determination of the research context, drivers of the unsatisfying health outcomes will not be uncovered. Nevertheless, similarities can be drawn between the systems, such as government funding in each country. Government-funded health programs vary in extent, from complete funding in Greenland, to partial funding in the U.S.A. and Russia. (Ford-Gilboe et al., 2018) The United States record the highest per capita health expenditure (beyond 15% of GDP) and a strong role of the private sector in funding it, followed by Canada and Greenland spending roughly 10% of their GDP on health care with a predominantly public-funded system. Russia's health expenditures are comparatively low with 5% of GDP, whereas public funding settles in the middle between the U.S.A. and Canada/ Greenland. (Young and Chatwood, 2011) Nevertheless, Russia and Canada denote per capita health expenditures for their Northern regions that are more than several times the national average. (Young and Marchildon, 2012, pp.23-26)

Country / Region	Health Expenditure per Capita
Canada	$ 4.759
Nunavut	$ 13.251
Denmark	$ 5.299
Greenland	$ 3.829
U.S.A.	$ 11.172
Alaska	$ 15.417
Russia	$ 585
Chukotka	$ 986

Table 4: Health Expenditure per Capita for the year 2018 in each country and region of analysis in USD[28]

This data can lead to the conclusion that comparatively high health expenditure does not correlate with improved health systems, (Ford-Gilboe et al., 2018) neither do levels of self-government and control, (Haeley, 2017) as can be seen in Greenland and Canada when compared to Russia and the U.SA.. (Young and Chatwood, 2011) Nevertheless, system changes remain recent and in order to implement change, Inuit must have control of systemic and administrative systems. Determining the relation between local control over health services, equity principles, and self-government proves to be challenging due to the multitude of political, social, and economic determinants. (Young and Chatwood, 2011)

The effects of colonialization are recent; only one generation ago Inuit were exposed to assimilation practices, language, and cultural barriers. (Snodgrass, 2013) Throughout Inuit colonization across all circumpolar countries, a national social system was forced into Inuit communities to assimilate the people towards western values and knowledge. These obsolete practices and systems within the education and health sectors are slowly being transformed by new policies and replaced by or carried alongside Inuit epistemologies and knowledge sharing. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.351-378) Self-determination hereby plays a key role in the ability to create changes in the existing systems. By observing the circumpolar education structures, it becomes obvious that although chapter 1 has outlined that Inuit are masters in surviving harsh and unexpected circumstances while continuously developing new skills of survival, success in a

[28] Sources: Canada and Nunavut (CIHI, 2019); Denmark and Greenland (Nordic Statistics, 2020); the U.S.A. and Alaska (CMS.gov, 2020) due to limited data availability, Alaska health expenditure is based on Author's calculations; Chukotka (CEIC, 2020); Russia (The Global Economy, 2020)

standardized school system and formal education has been limited. Consequently, Arctic regions confirm substantial gaps in the development of local human capital. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.351-378) Education is identified as a key factor for the development of human capital, which, in turn, has a major influence on the well-being of the individual and the community at large. Although maintaining an accumulation of human capital is necessary for a stable and growing economic base, without adequate education as an investment in human capital, knowledge creation and transfer of the "modern" way of life lag behind. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.351-378) This leads to the observation that only because Inuit communities are in control of a territories' policy area or make up the ethnical majority, does not automatically lead to a transformation of the system. Effective change must aim to transform old and standardized structures towards an equity-oriented approach. A study by Ford-Gilboe et al. (2018) was among the first to demonstrate that equity-oriented health care will help develop better health outcomes in the long run. Culturally safe and contextually tailored care can begin to shift inequalities on health outcomes leading to higher levels of confidence in treating and preventing health problems (Ford-Gilboe et al., 2018), eventually improving the quality of life in the long run.

Few Arctic nations are on a sustainable path towards integrating systems of equity into education and health frameworks by considering cultural needs and indigenous knowledge to develop further and strengthen the power of human capital. Greenland is a forerunner, having been able to experience the standardized model under the Home Rule agreement and now developing towards an equity-oriented approach for the longest time among the circumpolar nations. (Jones, Cunsolo, and Harper, 2018) Limitations, however, remain to be the decentralized location of Inuit communities and the access to social services, posing unique challenges to the Arctic environment. Change, as this section has shown, is embedded in the ability of Inuit to participate in the initiating of change, which highlights the importance of self-determination.

4.3. The Factor of Economy and Well-Being

Originating in their cultural heritage, Inuit have a close relationship with their environment as a source of food and life (Tester and Irniq, 2008). However, significant dependence on subsistence-based activities and the natural environment creates a distinct economic vulnerability.[29] Through their settlement and the beginning of the deterioration of resources and reduction of reserves around them, Inuit adapted to the changing environment by supplementing traditional subsistence economy with wage economy activities, creating a mixed economy dependent on a balance of traditional, wage, and transfer activities[30]. (Southcott et al., 2018) The magnitude of the transfer economy, mainly present in remote areas that lack infrastructure, attributes to significant public administration and care needs that come at a high cost.[31] (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) However, the degree of participation within both the subsistence and wage economy differs vastly within the circumpolar countries, one reason for this being the access of Inuit to their traditional lands. Greenlandic Inuit enjoy full autonomy over their land and resources, whereas Nunavut Inuit are compensated for resource exploitation within their territory, while Inuit themselves, represented by an organization, own a small part of the territory's subsurface. Although the Nunavut structure does not provide land entitlements to the individual, they hold exclusive hunting and fishing rights. In Alaska, however, all surface and subsurface rights are vested in corporations, with no preferential land rights to Inuit themselves. The importance of land use for corporate purposes trumping minority rights is most evident in the case of Chukotka, where the federal law assessing the right of local authorities to control land use was weakened to facilitate commercial land use, owing to the fact that Inuit do not have formal rights to their resources and land.

The benefit derived from economic production, especially in the field of resource extraction, depends on Inuit's participation in the economy through labor, and possession of resources or financial assets. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.151-176) Privatization has been a tool to control local resource development if combined with Inuit self-

[29] Silas Arngna'naaq (see Appendix) went as far as stating that "people have become too dependent on government handouts ", calling for his people to strive for higher education.
[30] The transfer economy includes direct payments and the provision of housing and other social services by the government.
[31] During colonization, Canada's government moved entire communities to lower-cost areas.

determination and ownership. The scale and technology needed in the industry, however, often result in imported labor and the outflow of capital outside of the region. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.151-176) This is especially damaging for the local market economy, which can be destroyed without control over the resources and activities. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) Although the wage economies and resource industries contribute to significant economic growth within the circumpolar countries, economic development is more than a simple rise in GDP and does not automatically lead to an increase in well-being and living conditions. Significant industrial development, resource extradition, and energy production can hinder human development when forces seek to impose their exclusive interest. (Duhaime and Caron, 2008) Resource development is highly capital intensive , especially the primary natural resource sector that contributes to exports and trade in external markets. Thus, resources that immediately leave the Arctic do not contribute to the local economy as value-added sector linkages. The local economic multiplier effects[32] which calculate the economic activity generated after an initial capital investment into the regional economy (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97), are avoided.

Where governance is weak and land claim settlements do not exist, development in Inuit communities takes place slowly due to the fact that Inuit are the critical drivers of social and political change in their communities. Resource projects often require only a small but well-trained labor force, which limits Inuit participation. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) Education systems are failing to equip locals with the credentials needed to compete in the labor market and, therefore, company owners increasingly employ staff from outside the region. Resource extraction companies face a large amount of initial investment along with high operating costs, denotation that resource extradition is mostly carried out by large corporations with non-local capital interests in industrial development and, therefore, do not make decisions according to local circumstances. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) In Alaska, however, the system through which Inuit hold shares in Alaskan corporations causes them to be beneficiaries of the profits from resource exploitation, thus benefiting from economic development. A consequence of the profit-sharing model is that the budget of regional governments becomes closely linked to exploitation (Duhaime and Caron, 2008), as is the case in Russia. Within the circumpolar

[32] Positive spin-off effects are linked to infrastructure advancement, expansion of transportation systems, and employment and income generation resulting from a sustainable growth effect.

region, Russia shows the greatest interest in the Arctic economy, as 20% of the country's GDP and 22% of exports are sourced from the North, (Keil, 2014) linked with a strategy that strongly favors corporate action. Regional Russian authorities hold power to allocate the land; however, revenues for infrastructure and the provision of social services regional governments must supplement depend on corporate tax payments. Consequently, revenues from large-scale resource extradition projects are chosen over the maintenance of traditional Inuit subsistence activities. (Duhaime and Caron, 2008) The underdevelopment of the legislative system protecting indigenous rights and land has resulted in varying regional benefit-sharing agreements between businesses and indigenous communities. Most negotiations result in compensation payments for Inuit. This system merges into the direction of cooperative land ownership, as seen in Alaska, however, without policies leading to substantial and compelling recognition of minority rights and benefit-sharing guarantees.

Without regulations on foreign investment, a strong regional negotiating position, and policies that regulate standards and requirements in the resource extradition industry, large corporations are likely to suppress the local industry and drive out local competitors. (Loukacheva, 2010, pp.81-97) Increased local ownership and control can overcome these challenges. A good example is Greenland's Mineral Resource Act, which established a framework for mineral resource activities, strictly administering safety, environment, and social sustainability principles, launched by the government. This is in line with an emerging trend within the circumpolar regions that the redistribution of mineral resource activities is strongly related to the capacity of Inuit involvement in decision-making mechanisms. Only if the communities have achieved a degree of power and self-determination within decision-making will they benefit from the economic growth by corporate extraction and usage of their resources. However, this capacity differs widely within the Arctic. While Inuit do profit from the industry through their corporate shares in Alaska, apart from that, they are unable to be involved in the decision-making. In Nunavut, Inuit receive financial compensation for the corporate use of their land, as is the case in Russia, although, in Russia, it is not enacted by a legal framework. In Greenland, the government carries the responsibility for the distribution of land and the regulatory powers to ensure a share of the revenues.

In conclusion, there is no direct link between socio-economic development and economic growth since growth can come in many different forms. However, socio-economic development can be linked to Inuit's capacity to express their position and make their voices heard (Duhaime and Caron, 2008), which will only grow in importance as the Arctic ice melts and the circumpolar North gains momentum in the global market.

4.4. The Factor of Identity Creation

The question of how to integrate traditional identity into the newfound freedom of self-determination in many sectors of daily life seems far-reaching for Russian Inuit; however, it has been on the agenda of Greenland, Nunavut, and Alaska for many years. This thesis has shown the degree of change, slowly overtaking every aspect of indigenous living within the Arctic. Although regions have progressed differently, their path to where they stand today is similar in many aspects. The differences, however, represent an array of political settings, standards of living, and well-being. (Poppel, 2017) The interconnection not only between societies of the Arctic but between global citizens has introduced modernity to Inuit communities, yet, globalization has also seemed to drive a waft between tradition and modernity. As mentioned before, Inuit do not wish to merge back into the traditional life of their ancestor. Instead, the key to well-being is the balance between tradition and modernity. The federal governments of the respective countries have first introduced western health systems, education, modern diets, and goods; however, at the same time, they pushed Inuit into assimilation and standardized systems.

In 1741, when the first explorers traveled the Bering Strait region of Alaska and Siberia, already did it seem as if Inuit traditional living was "interrupted" by the introduction of new materials and technology. Rather, the first dependence on these materials was created, a dependence that persists until today, although in new forms. The breaking out of these established systems and building structures that nurture the needs and traditional knowledge of the Inuit will be the challenge for many generations to come. Choosing to take on the challenge of fitting into two worlds will be rewarded with the ability to merge freely from one to the other. However, Taylor took this concept further, as mentioned in chapter 1, by describing that only if the majority culture truly integrates the minority

culture can it genuinely value it. This is based on the concept of reciprocity through which the majority culture does not only value but also benefits from the minority because of the understating that identities are created through interaction. If Inuit culture can increase well-being by finding the bridge between tradition and modernity, thereby claiming two cultures as their own, so can a national citizen of the circumpolar countries learn and integrate Inuit values through interaction. The understanding and value of the Arctic as a territory for each nation can give insight into its importance. Due to the remoteness of Arctic Inuit communities, it can prove difficult to fully integrate the Arctic into a national concept. For example, U.S. citizens do not identify with being "Northern" because of the distant location of Alaska from the rest of the country.[33] (Keil, 2014) A similar situation is found in Greenland and Denmark; however, in Greenland, this has developed into a Greenlandic nationalism, away from Danish-Greenlandic unity. In Canada, the North is firmly integrated into national identity, occupying much of the country itself. The same is true for Russia, given the size of the Northern part of Russia and its importance for the economic standing of the country. (Keil, 2014) Much growth for Russia as a country is expected to come out of the Northern industries, increasing its importance for Russia and Russians.

If, however, an identity creation through reciprocal interaction of the national, multicultural society as a whole is unattainable, Weber suggests that his stratification system falls into place, classifying each societal subgroup according to its power and status. Through this structure, economic exploitation and political oppression of minorities are believed to be legitimate. Russian Inuit, for example, will find recognition within the international institution rather than through Russian society, which fails to recognize them as an equal part of society. If further developed, institutions and the shared values of post-colonialism will merge into a unique circumpolar identity that is likely to compensate for the limits of the national identity that many Inuit lack. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2014) Apart from the Siberian experience of marginalizing culture, a strong circumpolar focus on the value of indigenous culture can be observed on a national level as well as internationally. Inuit culture has come to be a resource and commodity (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.141-145) through which external recognition is facilitated. Culture

[33] Similar identification problems of U.S.A. minorities exist in Hawaii or Puerto Rico.

is marketable[34], including indigenous art, Northern tourism, and experience. Arctic identities used to cause isolation and marginalization but have developed into a benefit within modern identity politics. (Larsen and Fondahl, 2015, pp.141-145)

4.5. A Holistic Framework

Although the ability to live according to traditional values and heritage is essential for Inuit identity creation, it is not the ultimate argument for self-determination as a fundamental right. On the contrary, if the federal government treats minority cultures with neutrality, the ability to maintain minority culture is impeded, and cultural value as well as the benefit derived from the ability to choose between multiple identities will get lost. (Moore, 2002) Therefore should the government not be neutral on cultural values, but provide equal opportunities for different cultures to flourish within a multicultural society, with all that this entails.[35] The right to self-determination can provide minorities with the ability to protect languages and cultural practices by claiming the same rights as the majority culture. In addition, not only is the claim for self-determination based on cultural values; further, events such as the dispossession of Inuit land, resources, and autonomy make a strong case for the historical offenses against Inuit culture. The combination of dispossession and assimilation in a historical context has led to an on-going disadvantaged status in society, which chapter 2 has demonstrated. The economic and social marginalization that is a direct result of the imperative majority treatment suggests that Inuit should be entitled to additional resources from the society as a matter of justice, making the federal state responsible and claiming actions towards rectifying injustice. However, an important addition must be made by stating that historical injustice has constituted to the collective identity Inuit share, bound up with historical events. This can create a common mistrust towards federal systems. For example, indigenous parents who went to boarding schools that were created to assimilate them into the majority culture will struggle to believe their children can receive a culturally integrated education. The disadvantage is the direct result of the non-indigenous societies Inuit are incorporated

[34] Recently, Arctic culture has experienced commercialization as a commodity and tool for external recognition while the North is increasingly marketable for tourism.
[35] This conception comes close to Taylor's (1992) notion of Politics of Difference that strives for universal equality through recognizing and acknowledging the specificity and individuality of cultures.

into, creating a responsibility of the federal governments to address these inequalities in representation of the majority culture. Therefore, to address inequalities and disadvantages, rectifying justice must be combined with reparations in the form of land agreements or other means Inuit were dispossessed from, but also a reform of the political and social system. (Moore, 2002) A reform should allow for Inuit involvement and self-determination, thereby affirming not only equal treatment but equitable principles that take into account the marginalization and disadvantages of Inuit society. This is justified by the argument that although disadvantages were caused by the majority, only the Inuit community itself can resolve its own problems given the appropriate means to do so since living according to majority principles during colonialism has caused the disadvantages. An essential addition to this argument is the notion that Inuit have possessed autonomy and self-government prior to colonization and were stripped of both . Settlement and state creation without Inuit consent was based on the assumption of indigenous inferiority. Failed programs conducted from the federal government have led to social marginalization showing itself through high unemployment, alcoholism, and health problems.

Acknowledging the limits of governance due to the small size and population of many Inuit communities, a compromise of the extend to governing capacities must be found. (Moore, 2002) This is the case for all countries of analysis (except for Russia). Negotiations that sometimes stretched over decades finally allowed Inuit to exercise self-governance in a variety of fields, based on the assumption that Inuit are in the best position to identify their own cultural needs. Taking the example of Greenland, however, it can be observed that the country is constrained by its vast territory and small population, limiting governance capacities and the ability to self-govern. Denmark, on the other hand, shows a healthy infrastructure and access to expertise. This is true for all countries of analysis and leads to the assumption that although local communities are in a much better position to identify their own needs, institutional cooperation is necessary.

After recognizing the justification for Inuit self-determination, the reason for change has been identified as being driven by a feeling of inequality. Participation and the movement of Inuit and other indigenous groups to jointly make their voices and struggles heard is the starting point for change to happen. In Russia, the centralized government has put

limitations on indigenous organizations such as RAIPON, increased observation and isolation prevents them from making active changes. The lack of knowledge within indigenous communities about their rights, and an education system that is not adequately preparing the Inuit to be individual advocates for their happiness, will most likely continue to prevent self-determination or the execution of existing rights. The Russian case is an example that Inuit themselves must initiate active change.

Sectors that can hardly be determined without the assurance of Inuit control through self-determination policies are health, education, and general well-being. Without knowing what Inuit culture values and struggles with, how can the majority culture implement policies that aim to allow for Inuit well-being? This leads to the demand for Inuit control over the social policy framework and its implementation. As this paper has identified, all circumpolar countries essentially face the same socio-economic struggles. Nevertheless, actions and control of the health and education sectors vary extensively. It is acknowledged that all countries within this analysis face the struggle of the remoteness of Inuit communities, leading to limited accessibility of health care and comparatively high expenditures. The level of cultural integration within self-determination policies in social sectors is, as a result of this, measured by the integration of equity principles and varies extensively. These principles acknowledge the uniqueness of Inuit culture and actively influence policies that thrive from differences. Hereby, the principle comes close to Marx's theory of human needs, as represented in chapter 2, or the recent study by Ford-Gilboe et al. (2018) presented in chapter 3. Only if the society is involved in the provision of basic needs can they cater to a larger purpose of genuinely satisfying the desire to be fulfilled. (Hewitt, 1998, pp. 61-70) Whereas Greenland has taken over the entirety of the health and educational system, Alaska, Nunavut, and Russia remain dependent on the government to provide basic needs and the federal governments remain ultimately responsible. The critical change the equity system provides is not to be fully autonomous, but to ensure the integration of Inuit knowledge into the systems and thereby engage the community in the development and implementation of welfare programs.

Aside from remoteness and accessibility, the challenge that this thesis has repeatedly mentioned concerning shortcomings of social-economic conditions is the lack of staff in health care and education, especially local staff, possibly causing low attainment in

education. A culturally oriented curriculum and integration into Inuit knowledge practices might encourage indigenous people to stay in their communities, however, as the implementations of such agendas are relatively recent, no conclusions can be drawn as to their success. Language remains an essential factor for cultural survival (SLiCA, 2015), Greenland and Nunavut are the only territories where Inuit languages are official languages, granting them an unique status.

Such traditional practices have also been identified in relation to the preservation of subsistence economies, which most Inuit maintain and identify as a connection to their heritage. (SLiCA, 2015) Inuit well-being, from a holistic perspective, not only encompasses the mental and physical health, but also the surrounding communal and natural environment, (ICC, 2018) which experiences a transformation regarding climate change and increasingly commercialized use of resources. Thus, based on the understanding that health and education are the basis for actively participating in the labor market, sustainable economic development remains crucial for Inuit cultural development. As the analysis of the Arctic economy has proven, Inuit will only benefit from economic growth if they are active participants in the sector in the form of ownership of land, resources, negotiation rights, or labor rights. Active participation, in turn, will allow Inuit to be self-sufficient and, therefore, self-determinant. Only if socio-cultural and economic development go hand in hand, will Inuit communities experience growth in the long run. Employment and wealth creation must hereby happen in connection with the educational sector and be based on self-determination of the land to be sustainable for the Inuit community. (ICC, 2018) The unique challenges the Arctic environment poses for connectivity can only be met with outstanding political will and sufficient infrastructure.

Based on the preceding analysis and in light of the research question of Inuit self-determination policies in Canada, Denmark, Russia, and the U.S.A., this thesis proposes the visualization of a pyramid as outlined in the picture below.

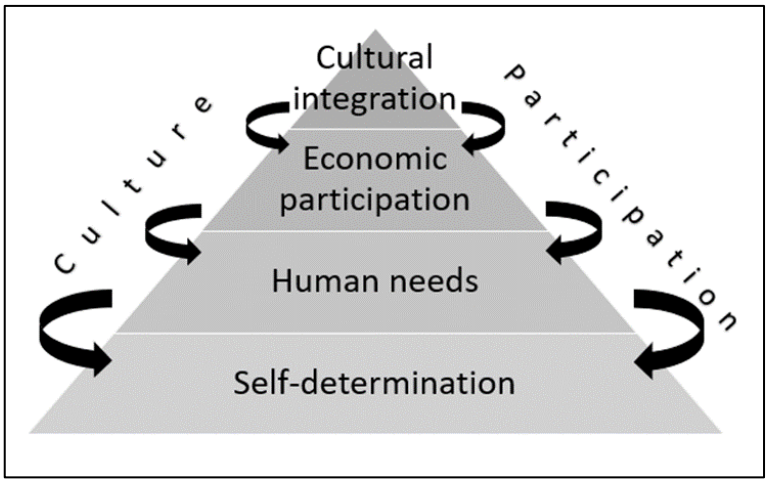


Table 5: Pyramid of Cultural Integration for Inuit

The basis of Inuit cultural integration is self-determination. Only if Inuit have the ability to control and influence policies that directly affect their culture, language, economy, and health will they be able to implement change. In addition, however, principles of autonomy must not only be integrated into the legal context but also executed and supported by all levels of government. If the foundation of self-determination is not stable, as analyzed in Russia's case, the high levels will also not be stable and void in their execution. The second level represents the basic needs, which can only be viewed as "human needs" if equity principles are integrated. Successful implementation of these policies can lead to a self-sufficient community fully able to participate in the labor force, visualized by the third level of the pyramid. Through land claim agreements, Inuit ensure their ability to participate in the reaping of benefits derived from growth and land use for commercial industry, leading to an interplay of modern lifestyle and Inuit tradition at the upmost level of the pyramid.

This broad visualization of research outcomes seeks to indicate that only if culture and tradition are integrated into every step of the pyramid can Inuit truly integrate their culture into existing processes and, thereby, gain the ability to become fluid in the cultural identity of both tradition and modernity. Portraying culture as an external force and not integrated into the levels of the pyramid implies that cultural integration does not happen automatically but is a conscious addition to Inuit policymaking. Self-determination policies can bridge the gap, however, only through Inuit participation and a conscious effort to integrate culture in every step of the way.

The national government must allow tribal or Inuit governments and communities to play active roles in the policymaking process, acknowledging the limitations small communities face. However, by doing so, it is not enough to aim at reversing the impacts of the colonial past. If life in Inuit communities is enhanced through self-determination, equity policies, and subsistence activities on traditional land, it might lead to complete isolation from the majority culture. As long as Inuit carry a passport and call themselves Canadian/Danish/Russian/American Inuit, integration policies should be implemented alongside self-determination policies.

Conclusion

Culture is often silent, a sequence of small gestures and actions that create a picture of something significant and meaningful, a union between people, their ancestral past, and the environment around them. On the other hand, fighting for culture means to step up, be loud and provocative, to be heard. Advocating for something as intangible as culture can be difficult, who defines it? Who owns is? Who determines once the goal is achieved?

This paper has demonstrated that Inuit culture is far from stagnant but develops over time, continuously aligning to the current environment. Nonetheless, should culture even adapt to external forces rather than inner society? Moreover, if external forces are seeking to shape and form a minority culture, should they have a say how development takes place? This multitude of forces make cultural development a privilege and describe the core principles this paper has aimed to address. Within the fight for culture, self-determination policies have been identified as a tool to bridge the gap between culture and modernity because they allow Inuit to become active in deciding the fate of their communities. Based on Taylor (1992), equal recognition of Inuit culture is necessary for an identity creation that is resistant to the majority society's forces of assimilation and combines the ability to be part and fluent in both identities of the majority and minority society.

The last years have revealed an emerging trend signaling the international importance of the Arctic regions due to its increasingly accessible resources. Where land claim agreements have not yet transferred ownership of land and resources, Inuit might be increasingly threatened for the ownership of their land. On the other hand, however, growing Arctic interest translates into growing international attention, fostering the development of organizations, associations, and NGOs to strengthen the voice of circumpolar Inuit, which is likely to continue and become stronger over the years. The circumpolar North has only recently mastered the shift towards a culturally integrated social system (although not in all countries and all aspects), which does promise a step towards Marx's "human needs" provision and cultural integration into existing structures. Compared to national populations, however, Inuit are small in number, which hinders self-determination and autonomy. In fact, Inuit communities are incapable of full autonomy and distance from their central governments due to small populations, a weak

economy, and an unskilled workforce, which presumably hinders future development into full autonomies. It is naive to think that Inuit communities want to and are capable of leading a life today that is similar to that of their ancestors in tribal communities. Rather, the goal is a life that allows them to participate in modern nations without the price of their culture, creating the claim for Inuit communities to have a right to self-determination on policies directly affecting them and their well-being. The impact of equity policies on the Inuit's ability to be independent represents an interesting topic for future research.

Change towards self-determination must come from within; only if Inuit communities are capable of compensating for the stark differences that persist between Inuit communities and country averages in education and health care will the Arctic see an improvement in overall well-being. Joint agendas over national borders and within Inuit organizations (such as the ICC) strengthen the inner voice to support social and economic interests. The pressure that these organizations and international actors create transformed agendas of the sovereign states and led to the devolution of policy frameworks and re-allocation of policy authority to subnational governments. While Inuit communities are often too small in number to initiate change form within, shared concerns among Arctic interest groups are vital and start with actors' ability to participate in power-sharing and decision-making processes. Nevertheless, if a country does not allow for change to happen within the country, external pressure is insufficient to reach a satisfying outcome. If external pressure and a significant rise in the appreciation and value for culture will lead to a break of nationalistic and centralized policies remains questionable. In support of this and based on the analysis of Inuit in Canada, the U.S.A., Denmark, and Russia, it can be noted that self-determination does not automatically lead to more culture, instead, the government must be an enabler of the freedom for self-determination. Only once self-determination is achieved can it play a vital role in creating changes in the existing systems. This thesis has identified self-determination as the basis for cultural integration through effective change that must aim to transform old and standardized structures towards an equity orientation. There is no single approach towards autonomy and, similarly, no single form of autonomy that fits all Inuit communities. Change must be embedded in all aspects of Inuit life to keep something as valuable as culture, older, and more enduring than any national constitution.

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Appendix - Interviews

Silas Arngna'naaq

Baker Lake, Nunavut

Interview conducted via Email on the 26th of May 2020

What is culture for you ?

To me culture is a way of life. Our culture was a way of life, in order to survive the severe environment in which we lived. Inuit were a very socialistic people, they shared what they had with others, at least in word, but for the most part in practice. Our culture has changed from that life to a semi-southern culture, meaning some of our traditions are still around but the majority of it is being lost.

Do you think you receive adequate medical care ? Why or why not ?

Canada's health care system is available for all. The indigenous peoples receive medical care for free. I believe we receive adequate medical care. The governments provide the essential care required by each person. They may take a long time to provide at times but that is his the system works.

Where do you see difficulties ? What do you wish for the future ?

The education system tries to support the culture but only at the territorial level, so it is divisive. If only more Inuit would push themselves for higher education. As it is, the education system in the north is geared more towards vocational programming. I believe the people have become too dependent on government hand outs.

Have you experienced cultural differences between your community and medical staff? Or have you experienced a situation where there where cultural misunderstanding ? Please explain.

To some degree there is divisiveness at the community level. The educated and non educated, rich and the poor, brown and white or races, religion and politics vary. All the common divisions you find elsewhere. It becomes more obvious when you travel south and in certain communities in the North, as elsewhere in the world. To some degree there is always the race issue regardless of vocation.

Eliyah Ineak

Iqaluit, Nunavut

Interview conducted via Email on the 30th of May 2020

What is culture for you ?

To me culture is being out on the land, either hunting or hiking.

Do you think you receive adequate medical care ? Why or why not ?

Yes, because if one gets injured out on the land, one can get compensated for that injury.

Hugh Nateela

Baker Lake, Nunavut

Interview conducted via Email on the 30th of May 2020

What is culture for you ?

Culture for me is way of life with customs and certain practices.

Is the education and health care system in your community representing your culture ? Why or why not ?

No, not much traditional medicine practiced now, and minimal traditional education. Odd land skills programs here and there, but over all Government education programs/curriculum are adopted from the south. I was educated in the Alberta curriculum.

Do you think you receive adequate medical care ? Why or why not ?

The medical care has deteriorated over the years. Shortage of nurses. The health center was only seeing emergency patients even before the pandemic. We have 2 or more weeks waiting now if it's not an emergency. One good thing is the Inuit don't pay for medical, it's covered by the Government.

Have you experienced cultural differences between your community and medical staff ? Or have you experienced a situation where there where cultural misunderstanding ? Please explain.

Yes cultural differences has always affected health and education. White privilege has played a big big role during my life time. Southerners usually (without knowing or caring) had part in colonization and assimilation. There is a bad memory of the early settlers like priests and other white people treating Aboriginal people like dogs and animals.(abuse) Racial tensions are extremely evident now in United States and in some Canadian provinces right now. The pandemic has brought out some ugliness around the world.

Mary Herrera Matthias (Inuit name: Kukuupak)

Bethel, Alaska

Interview conducted via Email on the 5th of June 2020

What is culture for you ?

Culture is what brings certain groups of people together/what they belong to. There are many cultures of different kinds throughout the world. Cultures can be based on traditional values, beliefs, religions, languages that separates itself from another in it's own unique way and the foods that are harvested in different areas.

Is the education and health care system in your community representing your culture ? Why or why not ?

Yes, in a way, and somewhat limiting.

Do you think you receive adequate medical care ? Why or why not ?

It depends on how smart you are from that community. I'd say both yes and no. Necessarily because if you're a patient who doesn't know much about anything relating to the reasons why you're sick or if having a baby for the first time will get treated differently. Health providers will act like they don't have to treat your problem right away. OR think they can prescribe random medication, perform malpractice or ignore and misdiagnose cancer for something else. Now, if you're smart and pay close attention to everything relating to illnesses or other health concerns that bring you to the Drs in our community and speak and comprehend the English language well then they will treat you with higher regard, BUT will then use larger words that we can't understand. Some health providers are wonderful to work with while others are not.

Have you experienced cultural differences between your community and medical staff ? Or have you experienced a situation where there where cultural misunderstanding ? Please explain.

Yes there are cultural differences and many native patients have received inadequate care by many health professionals in our community. They treat the elderly who have language barriers like they don't understand and lose their patience easily. Those Doctors speak to them like they are little toddlers. The reason why I say this is because I've seen that happen far too many times while being an escort for my mother who is 66 years old. If elders go alone they will be taken advantage of because of the language barrier.

Бубен Ярар Tamburin Yarar

Amguema, Chukotka

Interview conducted via Email on the 12th of June 2020

Is the education and health care system in your community representing your culture? Why or why not?

Medicine is developing for everyone, cultural heritage is transmitted, we learn our language and way of life, hunting, fishing and reindeer husbandry