Indigenous People as Self-Narratives of Canada For Building Ontological Security in the Arctic [1]

Adnan DAL [2]

Abstract

The understanding of traditional security is undergoing a more multi-faceted transformation. Security itself is no more regarded as being limited to a physical presence, it requires a stable self as well. Claiming this, ontological security theory enables scholars to examine state behavior which strengthens identity values via self-narratives. This study aims to reveal that the traditional security perception of Canadian governments is limited in evaluating their relations with the Arctic states and indigenous people, therefore, in recent years, the relevant governments have provided Canadian ontological security in the Arctic region by constructing indigenous people as self-narratives. Therefore, in this paper, instead of traditional national security, it is mentioned that ontological security theory better articulates the state behavior of Canada both domestically and internationally. In the study, the qualified document analysis method is used by examining the reports that include the indigenous peoples as a significant part of Canada's national identity and the declarations announced at the ministerial meetings of the Arctic Council after the chairmanship of Canada. In this way, the study concludes by mentioning that Canada has built its ontological security by constructing self-narratives from indigenous peoples to have a robust position in the Arctic.

Keywords: *Arctic, Indigenous People, Self-Narratives, Ontological Security*

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Arktik'de Ontolojik Güvenlik İnşa Etmek İçin Kanada'nın Öz-Anlatısı Olarak Yerli Halklar

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Öz

Geleneksel güvenlik algısı çok-yönlü bir dönüşüm geçirmektedir. Güvenliğin kendisi yalnızca fiziksel olanla sınırlı kalmayıp, öz güvenliği de gerektirmektedir. Bu iddia ile ontolojik güvenlik teorisi, araştırmacıların öz-anlatılar aracılığıyla kimliksel değerleri güçlendiren devlet davranışlarını incelemesini mümkün kılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Kanada hükümetlerinin geleneksel güvenlik algısının Arktik devletleri ve yerli halklar ile olan ilişkilerini değerlendirmede sınırlı kaldığını, bu nedenle son yıllarda ilgili hükümetlerin yerli halkları öz-anlatılar olarak kurgulayarak Kanada'nın Arktik bölgesinde ontolojik güvenliğini sağladığını ortaya koymaktır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada geleneksel ulusal güvenlik yerine, Kanada'nın ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde devlet davranışının en iyi ontolojik güvenlik teorisi ile değerlendirilebileceğine değinilmektedir. Çalışmada, yerli halkların Kanada'nın ulusal kimliğinin önemli bir parçası olduğunu içeren raporların ve Kanada'nın Arktik Konseyi dönem başkanlığı süreçlerinde ele alınan deklarasyonların incelenmesiyle nitelikli döküman analizi yönteminden faydalanılmaktadır. Bu sayede çalışma, Kanada'nın önemli bir pozisyon elde etmek amacıyla yerli halklardan öz-anlatılar kurgulayarak Arktik bölgesinde ontolojik güvenliğini inşa ettiğine değinilerek nihayete erdirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Arktik, Yerli Halklar, Öz-Anlatılar, Ontolojik Güvenlik*

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Introduction

It is known that the Arctic region witnessed a deep ambiguity about how and who would be able to control the region just after the Cold War. Thus, there was a power gap in the region. Yet, more importantly, the security structure of the region had been changing since new non-traditional threats had emerged. Therefore, regional powers had to make a reassessment of threats in the region and try to manage the existing insecurity. Accordingly, they have increased their military capabilities in the region to provide stability and security.

Scholarly papers on the security structure of the Arctic have predominantly been influenced by the realist approach to geopolitics. Till the end of the Cold War, classical geopolitics was the prevailing thought among scholars. Yet, traditional security perception has changed through the securitization theory proposed by the Copenhagen School. As a result, new security components have emerged. Even so, the regarding components have not been sufficient to grasp the security structure of the region.

Especially in the Canadian Arctic, academic studies have only addressed the issue of sovereignty that relates to physical security once Canada's foreign policy is analyzed. Thus far, there has been narrow-scoped literature that merely refers to physical security. The important thing is that examining the security structure of the Canadian Arctic only through physical security is not sufficient. Thus, I aimed to fill this gap by providing a different approach to security. I interrogated how the security structure of the Canadian Arctic could be understood better. I indicated what security perception of Canadian policymakers changed. Furthermore, I tried to provide answers to the questions why the Canadian governments devoted a special role to indigenous people in recent years, and how indigenous people shape the security structure of the region.

In this paper, I aimed to indicate that, contrary to the traditional national security, the security structure of the Canadian Arctic could be best articulated via ontological security. As the states need self-security besides physical security, the state behavior of Canada could be more meaningful due to ontological security. According to the ontological security theory, through the utilization of self-narratives, states provide security and stability within their designated area. Here, I underlined the Canadian government's approach to indigenous people as constructed self-narratives. To point out self-narratives, I benefitted from a qualified document analysis consisting of policy papers of the Canadian governments and ministerial declarations of the Arctic Council under the chairmanship of Canada, in Iqaluit. Thus, I assumed that by benefiting from self-narratives -indigenous people in this paper- Canada seeks for building ontological security both domestically and internationally.

Firstly, Canada has been increasing its interaction with indigenous people in the Canadian Arctic as part of its identification of self-narratives to provide a stable and secure region. In fact, indigenous people are evaluated as existential for Canadian national identity. To strengthen this identity, Canada devotes a special role to indigenous people. For instance, there have been some significant agreements among the Canadian governments and indigenous people regarding autonomy so far. Moreover, indigenous people are given a special role within the decision-making process of both Canadian domestic and foreign relations. That is why policy papers of the Canadian governments about the Arctic have given wide coverage to indigenous people.

Secondly, indigenous people are represented as permanent participants in the Arctic Council as well. The relevant permanent participants have a key role in consultation during the decision-making process of the Arctic Council. Here, Canada has played a pivotal role during the foundational process of six groups of permanent participants under the auspices of the Arctic Council as they have been prominent components of Canadian national identity. Accordingly, Canada will be able to manage inter-state relations as routines implemented to construct stability in the region by its indigenous people. Through this attempt, I assert that the ontological security-seeking of the Canadian governments will gain success.

Traditional National Security: Efficient but not Sufficient

The conceptual framework of security has been expanding among scholars in recent years as its state-based structure was evaluated as underdeveloped (Buzan, 1983). Its prioritization of military force has been questioned by some scholars. Instead of the traditional approach, they consider the security of people as security of the state from which it was influenced such as economic, environmental, cultural, and political issues (Waever, 1995). Thus, the concept of security has changed both in theory and practice (Huebert, 2011, p. 17). Recently, it has been more related to intrastate conflicts, instead of interstate ones (Hossain, 2016, p. 416).

Being one of the regions witnessing this expansion of security, the Arctic's security structure was roughly relevant to military issues since the region was significant for its strategic location for the leaders of the bipolar system. The region was also significant in terms of nuclear rivalry between two superpowers. Ostreng (1999, p. 22) delineates the then region as a suitable place for high-tech weapons deployment. Studies relevant to the security structure of the Canadian Arctic underlined two interests: the legal status of the Arctic archipelago and the strategic significance of the region against the USSR (Landriault, 2016, p. 161). However, this one-sided, strict framework of hard security has been diversified after the Cold War encompassing economic, environmental, and societal security as non-military issues since the fact that new threats regarding security are emerging in the region because of climate change. The proverbial speech of Gorbachev in Murmansk (1987) is of utmost importance for being an initial point to foster stakeholders preferring cooperative mechanisms in the region. Thus, common threats in the region enabled the Arctic states to prioritize cooperative solutions -the Arctic Council as the most prominent- instead of confrontational state behaviors.

Being among the pioneers to foster cooperation in the Arctic, Canada had a key role. Its attempts to build the prominent Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) was a significant step regarded as the 'Canadian Initiative' before the foundation of the Arctic Council (Young, 1998, p. 158). Here, the hidden fact is that Canada's capacity to act was strongly motivated by indigenous people of the Canadian North (Young, 1998). Thus, clarifying Canadian steps in the region requires examining its relationship with indigenous people as well. Yet, before depicting this relationship, political reactions of the Canadian governments against the shifting security structure of the region are vital to grasp its domestic-level policy.

During the Cold War, Arctic security was generally an issue of defense against the Soviet Union. Protecting North America's aerospace was the main motivation of the United States and Canada to implement joint exercises against the Soviet threat (Huebert, 2005, p. 19). Even so, maritime boundaries of the Canadian Arctic were, generally, protected by the United States since the then Canadian government preferred to leave its guarding role and let the United States pay more attention to secure the region (Huebert, 2011, p. 19). Yet, the speech of Gorbachev and the dissolution of the Soviet Union demanded a better understanding of state behavior since the region was no more limited to superpower rivalry. Especially, the astonishing rate of ice melting sharply transformed the region and revealed both challenges and opportunities. On the one hand, the region has gained importance for unfolding new sea routes and uncovering hydrocarbon reserves that trigger even non-Arctic states because of its economic potential. On the other hand, challenges such as environmental degradation and maritime sovereignty disputes have emerged. In any case, the Arctic is not the previous, unattainable one. Thus, the reactions of Canadian policymakers against this change have evolved as well.

After the Cold War, nearly all Canadian military activities regarding its national defense stopped as the existing Soviet threat was no more alive (Huebert, 2005, p. 21). Here, four significant cases have prompted Canada to increase its presence in the Arctic. Firstly, in light of new developments in the region, triggered predominantly by ambitious states to utilize the economic potential of the region, Canada has turned its face to the region again. Secondly, the well-known flag-planting expedition of Russia in 2007 was perceived as a revisionist act that provoked Canada to strengthen its capacity. Thirdly, the environmental protection of the region is of vital

importance for Canada to secure its indigenous people's lives. Last but not least, as the region becomes more accessible as a result of the ice melting, Canada's desire to extend its continental shelf has caused disputes over some maritime boundaries. As a consequence, Canada has started to increase its military capabilities in the region since the 2000s.

In the early 2000s, the new Canadian government led by Stephen J. Harper devoted a special role -defending Canada, defending North America, and contributing international peace and security- and increased defense spending in the Arctic due to his 'Canada First Defence Strategy' (2008). Harper depicted the Arctic as a significant part of Canadian national identity and its history (Harper, 2007). Thus, his government declared a motto called 'use it or lose it' which was a clear symbol of prioritizing its sovereignty (Harper, 2007). Increasing military capabilities in the region were one of Harper's ambitious policies to signify Canadian sovereignty over its Arctic territory (Nicol & Heininen, 2014, p. 83). Moreover, Harper's military activities could be best articulated as its desire to have a strong presence in the region since such overlapping claims as the Hans Island dispute with Denmark and the disagreement with the United States over the status of the Northwest Passage revealed a prominent sovereignty issue. However, even a conservative, realpolitik approach to political challenges was on the agenda of Harper's government, the aforesaid agenda of increasing defense capabilities evolved from traditional security to a more human-focused economic security (Dolata, 2015, p. 132).

Justin Trudeau, the new prime minister of Canada who came to power in 2015, has focused more on soft security issues, compared to Harper's sovereignty-based foreign policy. He has prioritized environmental protection and socio-cultural health for indigenous people whose presence are seen as a prominent part of Canadian national identity (Lackenbauer, 2019, p. 14) The new government has indicated respect and found it necessary to consult to indigenous people as an implementation of its liberal agenda (Lackenbauer, 2019, p. 15). Although the new approach of Trudeau is distinct from his predecessor in devoting a special role to indigenous people, increasing defense capabilities have been pursued since the security structure of the region is delicate. Delineating the Arctic with three significant issues as climate change, international trade, and global security, a new defense policy declared by the government -called 'Strong, Secure, Engaged'- has decided to enhance Canadian armed forces including the Royal Canadian Navy in the long run (SSE, 2017). By doing so, Canada aims to exercise full sovereignty over its Arctic territory. Here, the fact that Canada needs to protect its sovereignty over the region to provide security, or vice versa, as the region is also an issue of sovereignty for Canada, for instance, over the Northwest Passage. Thus, it is essential to clarify that security and sovereignty perceptions of Canadian policymakers are interconnected as Huebert (2011) signifies. In this context, a holistic approach to Canadian foreign policy regarding the Arctic is essential to grasp the sovereignty-security dichotomy. In this paper, indigenous people are taken into consideration to examine how the aforementioned dichotomy is important. For instance, by utilizing 'Canadian Rangers' to provide physical security in the North, Canada not only aims to secure the region but also keep its ties with indigenous people tight and warm. Thus, indigenous people are of utmost importance for Canada's sovereignty and security in the Arctic.

Canadian identity is inseparable from the Arctic since it has historical ties. The region has provided Canada to build its nationhood and still is a significant part of Canadian identity (Landriault, 2016). This identification enables Canada to pursue its legitimacy-seeking over its claimed territories and maintain to facilitate resources of its territory and people (Williams, 2011, p. 115). Here, national identity means 'a sense of we-ness felt by citizens within a state' (Williams, 2011, p. 115). Thus, it should be noted that Canadian national identity has no sense without its indigenous people. Noticing this crucial point, Canadian policymakers have devoted a key role for indigenous people within the circumpolar north to take considerable initiatives regarding Arctic issues. For instance, Leona Aglukkaq was the first Inuk to lead Canada's chairmanship of the Arctic Council between 2013-2015, and Inuit activist Mary Simon was one of the pioneers during the foundation process of the Arctic Council (Dolata, 2015, p. 145). It is known that Mary Simon played a pivotal role in building the northern

policy of the Canadian government with indigenous leaders (Lackenbauer, 2019, p. 16). Right now, indigenous people are represented by six groups as permanent participants within the Arctic Council.

As noted above, even abandoning hard security implications in the 1990s, Canada has preferred to increase its physical presence in the Arctic by enhancing military capabilities in the region. Consequently, security and sovereignty over its territories have been of utmost importance for Canadian decision-makers once recent developments in the region are taken into consideration. Yet, in this paper physical security-seeking of Canadian governments is evaluated as insufficient since security also requires a stable self, as ontological security theorists argue (Kinnvall, 2004; Mitzen, 2006; Rumelili, 2015). To provide a stable self for its survival in the circumstances of insecurity, I claim that Canada has been devoting a special role to indigenous people which could be articulated as self-narratives for building Canada's ontological security. Thus, Canada's relations with indigenous people and its desire to include them into the policy-making process which is vital for the northern governance could be taken as constructing a durable self as an extension of ontological security. Below, it is indicated how Canada utilizes indigenous people and how it places them into policy papers regarding its northern strategy as building self-narratives for its ontological security-seeking after conceptualizing ontological security theory in the next section. Then, domestic-level and international-level routines as reinforcing the self of the state are delineated.

Ontological Security as A Key Instrument for Canada's Arctic Policy

Examining state behavior via self-narratives, ontological security is influenced by Gidden's (1991, pp. 38-39) opinion which provides a sense of safety for a person in the designated area. Kinnvall (2004, p. 746) simply defines the concept of ontological security as 'a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust'. Here, the abovementioned designated area could be referred to as 'home' which enables humans to perform routines for their survival (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 747).

Yet, if states are evaluated as individuals, these routines should not be taken only as for constructing physical security since states also seek for ontological security, the security of the self (Mitzen, 2006a). Rumelili (2015, p. 58) assumes that actors in IR seek both physical and ontological security to point their inter-relatedness. States do seek ontological security via their routines with the other significant partners (Mitzen, 2006b, p. 271). Mitzen (2006a, p. 352) assumes that states seek for ontological security to provide stability for their members for securing the identities of individuals. Here, identities are essential for 'the actors to be actors' (Mitzen, 2006b, p. 271).

As a significant part of identity, routines play a key role in enabling cognitive control to prevent environmental threats, thus they provide the actors to preserve a sense of self (Mitzen, 2006b, p. 273). They are vital for overcoming threats. By doing so, they provide ontological security. However, interruption of routines could reveal ontological insecurity as well (Rumelili & Adısönmez, 2020, p. 25). The actors need to strengthen their routines through consistent self-narratives so that they could keep away from this insecurity (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2017).

Apart from routines that could be taken as relations among states, some scholars argue that states utilize social dynamics for constructing their self-narratives to pursue inter-state relations (Rumelili & Adısönmez, 2020, p. 29). Adapting ontological security on foreign policy analysis, Steele (2005) assumes that states frame their foreign policies via constructed discursive self-narratives. Thus, domestic-level self-narratives are also efficient for states' behaviors.

In the light of ontological security-seeking, in this paper, first of all, I assume that the traditional national security is deficient to enlighten the security structure of the Canadian Arctic. In particular points regarding the relations with indigenous people, there has been a limited, one-sided security assessment in the Canadian

Arctic. Thus, I assert that the Canadian approach of indigenous people could be best examined through ontological security theory. Particularly while analyzing Canadian foreign policy in the circumpolar North, its composed self-narratives of indigenous people and inter-state and intra-state routines demonstrate that it aims not only seeking for physical security but also the security of the self. Especially, the ambiguity regarding security that emerged in the region after the Cold War has played a significant role to trigger Canada for seeking a comprehensive security structure. Canada has realized that its sovereignty claims about physical security are insufficient. It has to also provide a secure self in the region since a considerable amount of its population has been living in the Canadian Arctic. I delineate this initiative via ontological security theory.

Below, increasing emphasis on indigenous people and their prominence for Canadian national identity is given within the released policy papers of the Canadian governments so that the government strengthens its ontological security-seeking process. The northern policy of the Canadian governments is given to indicate how indigenous people are utilized as self-narratives for building ontological security in the Canadian Arctic.

Domestic-Level Routines: Building Ontological Security through Self-Narratives Embedded within Policy Chapters

K. Hossain (2016, p. 416) argues that unless historical and socio-cultural contexts are not taken into consideration, securitization can not be grasped. With this in mind, Canada's ontological security-seeking is tightly coupled with a historical background of relations with the indigenous people. Thus, Canadian governmental policy has devoted significant attention to indigenous people to provide self-narratives for ontological security building.

It is known that Canada has played a pivotal role for the representation of indigenous people to be recognized (Arnold, 2008, p. 99). The most prominent instance of this wishful approach could be seen in Canada's northern foreign policy as it is a common output of both the Canadian government and its indigenous people. The relevant policy is not only regarded as simple attention to the needs of northerners but also includes them in the foreign policy-making and implementation process (Arnold, 2008, p. 98). Thus, policy papers of the Canadian governments about the Arctic also provide a broad contribution of northerners to carve out self-narratives for ontological security building.

'The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy', the first significant policy paper of Canada in the 2000s, begins with signifying the northernness as a strong piece of Canadian identity. Within the paper, it is indicated that Canadian future security is closely linked to its ability to manage northern issues (The Northern Dimension, 2000). Three principles of the then Canadian government were influential while framing the Northern Dimension: taking leadership, providing partnerships within and beyond government, and strengthening dialogue with Canadians, especially northerners (The Northern Dimension, 2000). The government also takes responsibility to protect its northerners while underlining objectives with the consultation with Canadians and other northerners. The Northern Dimension has been a trailblazer document to place the Canadians and other northerners within the foreign policy of the Canadian government as 'the North has taken on new importance in Canadian foreign policy (The Northern Dimension, 2000). Thus, it provides a sound basis on which the government and northerners get together.

Another significant paper regarding the Canadian Arctic, 'Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future', points to how important the Arctic is for Canadian identity and why the then Canadian government decisively devoted more attention to Northern issues than the previous years. The paper prioritizes four issues: sovereignty, socio-economic development, environmental protection, and Northern governance (Canada's Northern Strategy, 2009). The paper is a governmental reaction against challenges and opportunities revealed in the Arctic. It contains Canada's governmental responsibility to secure the region for

the sake of the Canadians living in the region. Within the paper, the presence of Inuit and other aboriginal people are evaluated as fundamental to Canada's history, and thanks to them, Canada's had a strong presence so far (Canada's Northern Strategy, 2009). The then Canadian government did not hesitate to stipulate that it partly owed its sovereignty to the Inuit and other Aboriginal people (Canada's Northern Strategy, 2009). Moreover, the government took responsibility for providing support for the well-being of its northern people.

Canada's Northern Strategy (2009) also elucidates how critical roles the northern people have while regional policies are being adopted and implemented. Once playing these roles, the important status of permanent participants within the Arctic Council, particularly the ones which have strong ties, is indicated for demonstrating the close connection between Canada and the northern people. In short, as the landscape of the Arctic is changing, Canada plans to manifest that it is capable of preserving and protecting its northern heritage (Canada's Northern Strategy, 2009).

Just after the Northern Strategy, 'Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy' was released in 2010. Similar to the previous one, the statement points to four issues: sovereignty, economic and social development, environmental protection, and governance. Yet, what is more, concrete in the statement is that it puts more emphasis on strengthening the people of the North. The conceptualization of its people is getting more distinct. Whereas the Northern Dimension draws on 'northerners', the Northern Strategy differently uses the Inuit and other aboriginal people as Canadians. On the other hand, the statement uses the concept called 'the people of the north'. This differentiation is symbolic to indicate the attempt of the Canadian government to seek a suitable, encompassing concept for its northern people.

Foreign policy statement (2010) firstly links the Arctic to Canadian history, culture, and soul. The Canadian Arctic is quite important in that the government evaluates exercising sovereignty over the region as a number one priority of foreign policy. To ensure its sovereignty, governance and stewardship are seen as vital tools for the Canadian government within the document (Foreign Policy Statement, 2010). Under sovereignty, the government prioritizes resolving boundary issues, ensuring the steps for extending its continental shelves, and providing public safety as part of Arctic governance (Foreign Policy Statement, 2010).

In the context of indigenous people, the foreign policy statement places a particular section for the people of the North. Within the relevant section, three important steps are underlined: the will to engage with northerners on Canada's Arctic foreign policy, supporting indigenous permanent participant organizations in Canada, and providing opportunities to enable Canadian youth to get involved in the circumpolar dialogue (Foreign Policy Statement, 2010).

The last policy paper of the Canadian government regarding northern issues was released in 2019. The distinguishing feature of the paper from the previous ones is that it accepts there have been inequalities so far between the Canadians and northern residents, especially indigenous people on socio-economic issues. To fill this gap, the federal government and representatives of the indigenous people (Inuit, First Nations, and Metis), 6 territorial and provincial governments composed a new policy framework (The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019).

Another distinctiveness of the paper comes from the fact that it reconceptualized the area where indigenous people live as 'the Arctic and Northern' to provide an encompassing definition instead of using only 'the Arctic' or 'Northern' as some indigenous groups perceive them as limited (The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019). Additionally, indigenous people are given a special role to play. According to the paper, the future of the Arctic and the North is given up to the people who live there (The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019). The paper also points to significant goals such as providing resilience and health for its people, improving infrastructure, strengthening local and regional economies, providing knowledge, and protecting the Canadian Arctic and its people, etc. (The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019). The

new co-developed framework is believed to provide a better understanding of Canada's policy objectives, both on the national and international level, in tandem with the priorities of indigenous people and northerners (The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019).

As a consequence, the northern policy priorities of the Canadian governments have changed throughout the years. So far, the main themes could be delineated as northernness, sovereignty, socio-economic development, and environmental protection. Yet, the last paper is unique for being framed collaboratively. It seems that the government of Canada has explicitly experienced that the Canadian national identity is more robust with its indigenous people. Accordingly, it seems that the motto of 'use it or lose it should be redefined as 'share it or lose it' since key priorities have eventually evolved.

International-Level Routines: The Arctic Council as an Instrument of Canada's Ontological Security-Seeking

As claimed above, assessment of the security of the body as a physical dimension is one-sided. Actors also need the security of the self. To provide self-security, permanent routines are applied. With this in mind, the same argument is valid for states, too. Similarly, the physical security of a state is not enough to feel full security. Thus, states both seek for securing their territory and self (Mitzen, 2006b, p. 272). They benefit from routinized behaviors to pursue a stable, secure self. Here, routines provide states to construct their self-narratives which is vital for identity values. By doing so, states manage the ontological security-seeking process.

In this part, I try to answer how Canada composes ontological security inter-state routines. I interrogate what routines are utilized by the Canadian government. Iqaluit Declarations (1998-2015) approved in ministerial meetings of the Arctic Council under the chairmanship of Canada will be depicted to indicate how the Canadian approach of indigenous people has changed throughout a couple of years. Additionally, they will be attentively reviewed to indicate how indigenous people are mentioned within. By doing so, Canada's ontological security-seeking through international-level routines will be conducted.

One of the Arctic states which are examined as seeking ontological security in the Canadian Arctic, Canada has the chance to manage international-level routines with the other Arctic states through its membership of the Arctic Council. Being one of the leading states during the foundation process of the Arctic Council, Canada has been decisive in implementing the outputs of the Council so far. It could be deduced that the foundation of the Council is a Canadian initiative. As an inter-governmental forum, the Arctic Council has been unique to promote cooperation among its members, as it does for Canada as well. So far, what is important is that cooperative steps promoted by the Council have been wishfully welcomed by the Canadian governments since the foundation of the Council. In this context, Canada has declared its commitment to the legally binding agreements regarding search and rescue, oil spill preparedness, and scientific cooperation adopted by the Council without hesitation. By doing so, Canada indicates its intention to strengthen cooperation in the region.

Evolving into a policy-making body, the Arctic Council has been performing well in the region. Due to its organizational structure which places working groups and permanent participants as groups of indigenous people, members of the Council could make productive contributions. In this context, through permanent participants in the Council, Canada has the chance to make significant contributions to the activities of the Council since nearly two million Canadians are indigenous. Canada's relevant indigenous people are represented via three permanent participants within the Arctic Council: Arctic Athabaskan Council, Inuit Circumpolar Council, and Gwich'in Council International. So far, three groups of indigenous people -Indians, Metis, and Inuit- have been recognized by the Canadian government according to the constitution. Thus, Canada's relations with indigenous groups are important to clarify.

In 1998, the first ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council was held under the chairmanship of Canada, in Iqaluit. Here, I need to point that Canada's choice of meeting place, Iqaluit is symbolic that signifies how it overrates indigenous people, their culture, and lifestyles. To ensure contribution, the Council created the permanent participant category to facilitate their consultation. It welcomed permanent participants; the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, and the Russian Association of Indigenous People of the North. Then, the Aleut International Association was approved as a permanent participant (Iqaluit Declaration, 1998). Once the declaration is carefully analyzed, It could be seen that the prioritized focus was on indigenous people. Within the document, through the Sustainable Development Program, the well-being of inhabitants of the region, Arctic children and youth, protecting and enhancing the environment, the economies, cultures, and health of indigenous communities are especially emphasized (Iqaluit Declaration, 1998). Moreover, traditional and indigenous knowledge was taken into consideration to provide a sustainable future in the region. All in all, the main motivation of the Iqaluit declaration signed in 1998 was to place indigenous people at the center of policy perception of the Arctic states.

The second declaration was signed in 2015 by the representatives of the Arctic states under the Canadian chairmanship of the Arctic Council, again in Iqaluit. The emphasis on indigenous people within the declaration was even extensive on the contrary to the former declaration. Three prominent titles were embedded into the document; 'sustaining Arctic communities, protecting the unique Arctic environment, and building a stronger Arctic Council' (Iqaluit Declaration, 2015). In light of the first title which includes 14 substantial articles, the declaration aimed to take initiatives especially on development for indigenous people, mental wellness and resilience in Arctic communities, facilitate indigenous knowledge for the work of the Council, and underline indigenous languages for strengthening Arctic communities (Iqaluit Declaration, 2015). The latter Iqaluit declaration represents a more indigenous-oriented theme that exemplifies how the then Canadian government was more attentive and delicate to take initiatives for indigenous people.

In general, indigenous people in the Arctic are centered on foreign and security policies and practices of states (Greaves, 2016, p. 464). It is an undeniable fact that security perceptions of the Arctic states have been influenced by their indigenous people. To illustrate, indigenous leaders M. Simon (2011, p. 891) and R. Kuptana (2013, pp. 11-12) advised a holistic approach to security in the region. As a consequence, the scope of security has expanded including environmental and human security that entitles the sensitivity of the relevant indigenous leaders over Arctic issues. Accordingly, the security perspectives of indigenous people have been determining factors for the Arctic states to grasp the scope of security in the region. Likewise, indigenous knowledge is so significant that strategies must implement on climate change mitigation (Parlee & Caine, 2018). Just as they make significant contributions within their homeland that included above, they ensure substantial help under the umbrella of the Arctic Council as permanent participants.

Being aware of how indigenous people are key actors in the Arctic, Canada has already emphasized its desire to include them in the decision-making process of solving Arctic issues. They have been taken into consideration as a significant part of Canadian national identity. It is asserted that they have made significant contributions to building 'a circumpolar post-national identity' as well (Williams, 2011). Keeping in mind that, their role in strengthening national identity is also prominent for Canada's ontological security-seeking process since security and identity are closely associated. Here, focusing on identity is beyond our scope, but it is important to reveal that Canada has been benefiting from this special role for re-building self-narratives. Then, through creating self-narratives, Canada has been enabled to build ontological security which provides the security of the state both internally and externally.

Conclusion

As a known fact, the Arctic was significant owing to its strategic location between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War years. Accordingly, the region witnessed increasing military rivalry between two block leaders of the bipolar system. Yet, the end of the Cold War and climate change were two sharply transforming factors to change the agenda of the region. On the one hand, confrontational state behaviors are left and the Arctic states have tried to pursue cooperation and coordination. In light of this preference, significant cooperative mechanisms including the Arctic Council have been founded. On the other hand, climate change has interrogated the inaccessibility of the region. The Arctic is no more a remote, unreachable place. Moreover, it is now more appealing for its economic potential as well. Thus, just after the Cold War, the Arctic states have re-examined the security structure of the region.

The scope of security in the Arctic has changed since the end of the Cold War. While it was evaluated merely through hard security components throughout the Cold War, soft security issues have emerged. Thus, the security structure of the Arctic is no more limited to traditional national security. It has expanded to encompass a broad security structure consisting of environmental security, human security, economic security, etc as well as traditional security perception. Even, it has been depicted beyond physical security.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, Canadian policymakers have realized that physical security is efficient but not sufficient, particularly in the Canadian Arctic. Thus, the security of the self is also needed to provide a holistic security perception. As states utilize self-narratives which are significant for constructing national identities to ensure a secure self, indigenous people have been a key instrument for the Canadian decision-makers to delineate them as self-narratives. Once constructing national identity via self-narratives, states are required to implement routines through domestic and international relations which make the regarding state secure and stable. Here, the Canadian governments implement the relevant routines domestically through policy chapters regarding the Canadian Arctic which devote a special role to indigenous people. Within these policy papers, indigenous people are constructed as self-narratives, and routines implemented owing to them enable Canada to provide a secure self, internally. Additionally, Canada pursues its international-level routines via the Arctic Council in which indigenous people are significant permanent participants. Just as its domestic relations with indigenous people, the Canada-Arctic Council relationship also provides security of the self for Canada.

In this paper, I try to indicate that the security approach of the Canadian governments regarding the Arctic in the 2000s is unilaterally evaluated, referring solely to the traditional national security. Thus, there is a gap in the literature concerning the security scope of the Canadian Arctic. Through this paper, I aimed to contribute to the Arctic international relations literature by providing a distinctive approach. I conclude that, contrary to traditional national security, the Canadian governments have been seeking for building ontological security through relations with indigenous people in the Canadian Arctic.

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Amaç

Bu çalışma, yerli halkların Kanada hükümetlerince öz-anlatılar olarak değerlendirilip Arktik bölgesinde ontolojik güvenliğini sağlaması için bir araç olarak kullanıldığını iddia etmektedir. Bilindiği üzere Kanada hükümetlerinin Arktik bölgesi üzerindeki geleneksel güvenlik algısı son yıllarda tartışılmaktadır. Klasik güvenlik algılamasıyla Kanada hükümetleri önceki yıllarda egemenlik odaklı katı bir ulusal güvenlik stratejisi izlemiştir. Ancak son yıllarda bu strateji bölgedeki mevcut değişimi tanımlamada yeterli olamamaktadır. Özellikle yerli halkların Kanada dış politikasında etkin rol oynamaya başlaması ile birlikte, hükümetlerin yerli halkların yaşadıkları bölge olan Arktik bölgesine yönelik stratejik algılaması değişmeye başlamıştır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada geleneksel ulusal güvenlik yerine, Kanada'nın ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde devlet davranışının en iyi ontolojik güvenlik teorisi ile değerlendirilebileceğine değinilmektedir.

Yöntem

Bu çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden faydalanılmıştır. Bu çerçevede veri değerlendirme teknikleri açısından nitelikli doküman analizine başvurulmuştur. Bu bağlamda Kanada hükümetlerinin ulusal düzeyde yerli halklar ile ilgili oluşturduğu politik raporlar incelenmiştir. Ek olarak, Kanada'nın bölgedeki en önemli kurumsal işbirliği mekanizması rolü gören Arktik Konseyi dönem başkanlığında, Konsey'in başkanlık toplantılarında kararlaştırılan raporlar dikkate alınmıştır. Bu raporlar doğrultusunda, yerli halklar ile ilgili Kanada hükümetlerinin değişen vizyonu çalışmada ana değerlendirme konusu olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu sayede önceki yıllara oranla, Kanada hükümetlerinin yerli halkları öz-anlatı olarak değerlendirip bu sayede Arktik bölgesinde ontolojik güvenliğini inşa ettiğine yer verilmiştir.

Bulgular

Bu çalışmada, Arktik bölgesinde neorealist perspektifin etkin olduğu klasik güvenlik algılamasının yerini geleneksel güvenlik unsurlarının dışında birtakım güvenlik unsurlarının değerlendirildiği kompleks bir yapıya bıraktığı değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bakış açısı doğrultusunda, Kanada'nın bölgeye yönelik klasik güvenlik algısının yetersiz olduğu iddia edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Kanada hükümetlerinin bu yetersizliği fark edip, fiziksel güvenlik algısının dışına çıkarak yerli halklar nezdinde yaptığı birtakım stratejik değerlendirmeler sayesinde Arktik bölgesinde kendi öz güvenliğini sağladığı temel bulgu olarak değerlendirilebilir. Kanada ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde yerli halklar ile ilgili birtakım düzenlemeler yaparak onları Kanada'nın dış politik hamlelerinde daha etkin olmasını sağlamıştır. Bu sayede çalışmada, yerli halkların Kanada hükümetlerince devletin ontolojik güvenliğini sağlayan öz-anlatılar olarak değerlendirildiği kanaatine varılmıştır.

Ulusal düzeyde Kanada, Arktik bölgesi üzerinde 2000'li yıllardan itibaren mevcut dış politik hamlelerini belirli aralıklarla güncellemek zorunda kalmıştır. Bu bağlamda 2000, 2009, 2010 ve 2019 yıllarında Arktik bölgesi ile ilgili ulusal strateji belgelerinde yerli halklara olan atıf günümüze yaklaşıldıkça artmıştır. Bir diğer deyişle, yerli halklar Kanada'nın ulusal strateji belgelerinde daha önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir. Burada temel gerekçe, Kanada hükümetlerinin Arktik bölgesinde inşa etmeye çalıştığı ontolojik güvenliğin yerli halklar olmadan bir anlam ifade etmeyeceğidir. Nihayetinde, öz-anlatı olarak Kanada'nın Arktik bölgesindeki ontolojik güvenliğinin inşasında yerli halklardan faydalanılmıştır.

Kanada, uluslararası düzeyde de yerli halklar ile ilgili birtakım düzenlemeler yapmıştır. Ontolojik güvenlik teorisinin ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde inşa edildiği gerekçesiyle bu çalışmada uluslararası düzeyde yerli halkların nasıl değerlendirildiğine değinilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Kanada liderliğindeki ilk Iqaluit Zirvesi'nde yerli halk temsilcilerinin sürekli katılımcı olarak Arktik Konseyi'nde kabul edildiğine yer verilmiştir. İkinci Iqaluit Zirvesi'nde ise yerli halklara daha fazla ağırlık verilmiş, bu bağlamda daha güçlü bir Arktik için yerli halklara daha çok önem verilmesi gerektiği dile getirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak uluslararası düzeyde de Kanada hükümetleri yerli haklardan öz-anlatı olarak faydalanıp, onları ontolojik güvenliğinin inşası için değerlendirmiştir.

Sınırlandırma

Bu çalışma, Kanada hükümetlerinin ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde yerli halklar ile ilgili ele aldığı raporlar çerçevesinde sınırlandırılmıştır. Bu bağlamda çalışmanın kapsamı ulusal düzeyde Kanada hükümetlerinin Arktik bölgesi ile ilgili ulusal strateji belgeleri; uluslararası düzeyde ise Arktik Konseyi dönem başkanlığında 1998 ve 2015 yıllarındaki Iqaluit Zirveleri'nde kararlaştırılan deklarasyon metinlerinin değerlendirilmesi ile sınırlı tutulmuştur.

Sonuçlar

Ele alınan çalışma, Kanada'nın Arktik bölgesinde yerleşik olan yerli halkları sayesinde bölgede ontolojik güvenliğini inşa ettiğine değinmektedir. İlgili çalışma bu kapsamda ontolojik güvenlik ve dış politika ilişkisini yerli halklar odağında kurması açısından sonraki çalışmalara ilham kaynağı olabilir.

Özgün Değer

Bu çalışma, Arktik uluslararası ilişkiler literatüründe ilk defa ontolojik güvenlik teorisinin kullanıldığı bir çalışma olması açısından özgünlük içermektedir. Yerli haklar ile ilgili çalışmalara literatürde sıklıkla rastlansa da ontolojik güvenlik teorisi çerçevesinde yerli halkların öz-anlatı olarak değerlendirilmesi, bu çalışmayı öncekilerden farklı kılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla literatüre bu özgünlüğü sayesinde katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

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