Canadian Rangers: A Space for the Hybridization of Governmental and Indigenous Security Discourses

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Abstract

Since the Cold War, the Arctic landscape has been the scene for continuous development of (in)securities. Over time, Arctic discourse has shifted away from Cold War military mentalities to more immediate concerns associated with global warming. The melting of the polar ice caps has renewed the urgency within Arctic countries to claim sovereignty over ever-more obscure country boundaries. In Canada, the necessity to claim sovereignty over the country's northern region has led to the development of a complex and multifaceted relationship with the Inuit. The Inuit, once referred to using the derogatory term 'Eskimo', are a group of Indigenous Canadians who have lived in the northern regions of Canada for millennia. While the majority of Canadian know very little about the Inuit, they are now key actors within Canadian Arctic foreign policy and play an important role within the modern Canadian Rangers. Derived from the Pacific Coast Rangers, who were created in the latter years of the Second World War, the present Canadian Rangers, who operate in the North, are a military force of mainly Indigenous individuals, with many from the northern provinces being Inuit. Thus, while the Rangers are technically a member of the Canadian Forces, their unique membership with the northern communities separates them from traditional army discourse. The role of the Canadian Rangers in the Arctic theatre is to provide a continuous sovereign presence in the north and assist in the training of southern troops on how to survive the gruelling conditions of the Arctic. However, they also assist the everyday lives of Inuit and Indigenous communities where they are stationed. This paper will illustrate how the interaction of the Inuit and the Canadian Forces within the Canadian Rangers acts as a space for a 'hybridization' of security through the actions of Arctic training exercises and patrol missions. To achieve this, the following paper will apply the methodological method of discourse analysis and the theoretical anchor of vernacular security. Through vernacular theory, this project will articulate how the roles of local,

regional, and national (in)securities are enacted and replicated through Arctic interaction. It will illustrate how two differing security practices are interacting during Arctic patrol and training exercises, and how this interaction has created a space for a new 'hybrid' interpretation of security.

Introduction

The future of the Arctic is of vital importance to all the Arctic nations, one of which is Canada. Currently, because "40 percent of [Canada's] land mass [is] situate[d] in the North, Canada is an Arctic power".[1] However, Canada shares its Arctic landscape with the Indigenous peoples known as the Inuit. The continuous colonial relationship with the Canadian government has created (and perpetuated) a turbulent relationship with the Inuit. As a means to assimilate the Inuit people into a European, colonial way of life, the Inuit were gathered and forced to live in settlements when their subsistence patterns necessitated moving freely across the land; and sled dogs were pivotal to their way of living. The Canadian government's contempt for the Inuit was illustrated through a number of federal and provincial episodes of epistemological violence towards the Inuit community, such as the slaughter of sled dogs throughout the 1950s and 1960s[2] ("RCMP Sled Dogs Report confirmed that hundreds and perhaps thousands of dogs were killed by RCMP members and other authorities in the 1950s and 1960s"[3]) and the forced relocation of Inuit families to the high Arctic to solidify Canadian sovereignty over these areas.[4] But with the increasing importance of the Arctic region, the government has begun to reinvest in the importance of the Inuit. Due to the unforgiving nature of the Arctic environment, the Canadian armed forces are becoming ever-more reliant on Inuit assistance to ensure military Arctic operations run

[1] Government of Canada, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy,* 2010, http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/canada_arctic_foreign_policy_bookletla_politique_etrangere_du_canada_pour_arctique_livret.aspx?lang=eng&view=d: 3.
[2] Hon. Jean-Jacques Croteau, *Final Report of the Honourable Jean-Jacques Croteau Retired Judge of the Supreme Court Regarding the Allegations Concerning the Slaughter of Inuit Sled Dogs in Nunavik (1950-1970)* (Quebec: Montreal, March 3, 2010), 1.
[3] Canada, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, Qikitani Inuit Association, and Canadian Heritage, *QTC Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq*, Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc, 2013: 37.
[4] Frank Tester, and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963*, (British Columbia, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 113

smoothly. The necessity for an increased military presence in the Arctic, coupled with a healthy relationship with the Inuit and northern indigenous peoples led to the creation of the Canadian Rangers.[5] But the unison between a military force primarily made up of Indigenous individuals working within Western security discourse, creates an epistemological dilemma between the security values of the Inuit and those of the Canadian Forces (CF). This project will attempt to understand how both the Inuit and CF approaches to security interact within the space known as the Canadian Rangers. Further, this project will apply discourse analysis to interpret how Arctic patrols and training act as a meaningful space for the interaction between the two epistemological approaches to security.

Before continuing further, it would be prudent to define the various terms that will be used throughout this project. The terms 'north' and 'Arctic' are used interchangeably as a reference to the area of Canada north of the 60N latitude line. This area of Canada is composed of the provinces of The Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, as well as the northern part of Quebec. While Indigenous Ranger patrol groups exist throughout Canada, for the purpose of this project, the patrol and training spaces discussed will be those of the northern regions of Canada, where the geographical and climate conditions are more similar to those of the Arctic.

The training exercises performed by the Canadian forces in unison with the Rangers, are an ideal site for the performances of both actor's security perspectives. Arctic patrols allow for the expression of the varying ideological assumptions of security. But, how do we envision security practice between a governmental actor and an Indigenous population? To assume an approach that highlights specific ideals as a means to determine a holistic

[5] In addition to the Inuit, northern Canada is home to a diverse range of other Indigenous groups that do not identify as Inuit; Indigenous Services Canada, "First Nations Status in Canada," 1:5 000 000, *Community Lands Development Directorate*. March 2020. https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ-AI/STAGING/texte-text/aimprm_fnc_wal_pdf_1344968972421_eng.pdf. (accessed May 30, 2020).

interpretation of security would be flawed in that it would fail to capture certain implications that may be pivotal to only one party's epistemological view. Thus, this project will apply a theoretical lens developed from anthropology by Nils Bubandt - Vernacular Security. Through the application of this theory, this project will be better able to understand "the interplay between global, national, and local discourses on security",[6] and how these practices are enacted and replicated through spheres of Arctic interaction. Ultimately, this project will attempt to discuss how the two differing security practices of the Inuit and Canadian Forces interact during both Arctic patrol and training exercises, and whether this interaction has created a space for a new 'hybrid' interpretation of security. However, before attempting to understand the interplay between the two security discourses, there must first be a fundamental understanding of how both the Canadian Forces and the Inuit perceive security.

For this project, the population demographic to be discussed is that of the Indigenous Inuit, and members of other northern Indigenous communities. Here it is prudent that I ground myself, and acknowledge myself as a member of the settler community of Turtle Island.[7] Both the history and study of Indigenous peoples is associated with a painful anthropological past that must be acknowledged within current literature, regardless of the discipline. Thus, it must be stated that I do not claim to be Indigenous, nor write from the perspective of someone who claims to fully understand Indigenous knowledge and lifeways. I am an academic writing about a project and topic about which I am passionate. I am open to

[6] Nils Bubandt, "Vernacular Security: The Politics of Feeling Safe in Global, National and Local Worlds," *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 3 (September 2005): 275, https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605057015.

[7] The term Turtle Island is associated with many First Nations (mainly Algonquin and Iroquoian speaking) peoples. The term is often referred to as the continent of North America, and is associated with spirituality, identity, culture, autonomy, and a respect for the natural environment; Amanda Robinson, "Turtle Island," The Canadian Encyclopaedia, November 6, 2018, accessed May 30, 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/turtle-island.

being wrong and corrected on the ways of a culture and people that I can never fully understand. However, I am trying my best to write with a reflexive lens that is as accurate and respectful as possible.[8]

Approaches to Arctic security have gone through a period of global fluctuation because of changing global geopolitics. Within Canada, governmental Arctic foreign policy has faced a paradigm shift from realist approaches to Arctic security, in favour of inclusive holistic interpretations. These newer perspectives of Arctic security subscribe to interpretations of the 'vernacular' when attempting to fully illustrate a complete image of Arctic security. Within Canada, a 'vernacular' approach to Arctic securitization has illustrated the necessity to include ideological values that are often found within northern Indigenous and Inuit epistemologies. In this project I begin with an engagement with the existing literature, first introducing the concepts of 'vernacular' security and how this theoretical perspective relates to both the existing literature on Canadian Arctic foreign policy, and Inuit interpretations of Arctic security. From there I will illustrate how both the

[8] Canadian Indigenous populations are referred to as the umbrella term 'aboriginal', or 'Indigenous'. When taking an undergraduate course at Mount Royal University, I remember a close Indigenous colleague of mine highlighting his discomfort with the term 'aboriginal', as it shares a connection with the idea of being abnormal. Thus, for the purpose of this project the preferred term will be 'Indigenous'. However, there are three sub-identities that Canadian Indigenous peoples fall into: First Nations, Metis, or Inuk (Inuit). As of 2016, 1,673,780 people identified as Indigenous in Canada, which made up approximately 4.9% of the total population. Of this total population, "58.4% (977,235) were First Nations people, 35.1% (587,545) were Métis, and 3.9% (65,025) were Inuit". The Inuit peoples inhabit the areas known as Inuit Nunangat, which is further broken down into: the territory of Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Quebec, the Inuvialuit Region in the Northwest Territories, and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador. Just under half of the Inuit population lives within the Nunavut province, with the rest distributed among the three other areas, as well as outside of the Inuit Nunangat area; Statistics Canada, "Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census - Canada," Government of Canada, February 8, 2017, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-CAN-eng.cfm?Lang=Eng&GK=CAN&GC=01&TOPIC=9.; Statistics Canada, "Description for Map 1 The Four Regions of Inuit Nunangat," Government of Canada, accessed May 13, 2020, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-644-x/2010001/m-c/11281/m-c/desc/m-c1-desc-eng.htm.

Canadian government and the Inuit articulate their own interpretations of Arctic securitization, and then discuss how these two differing perspectives on Arctic security converge within the Canadian Rangers. I will then make a claim that the Canadian Rangers act as an intermediary space for both Inuit and Canadian security discourse, and thus the Canadian Rangers allow for a 'hybridization' of Canadian Arctic foreign policy. Lastly, existing critiques will be illustrated and de-constructed through international comparisons, and existing geopolitical relationships.

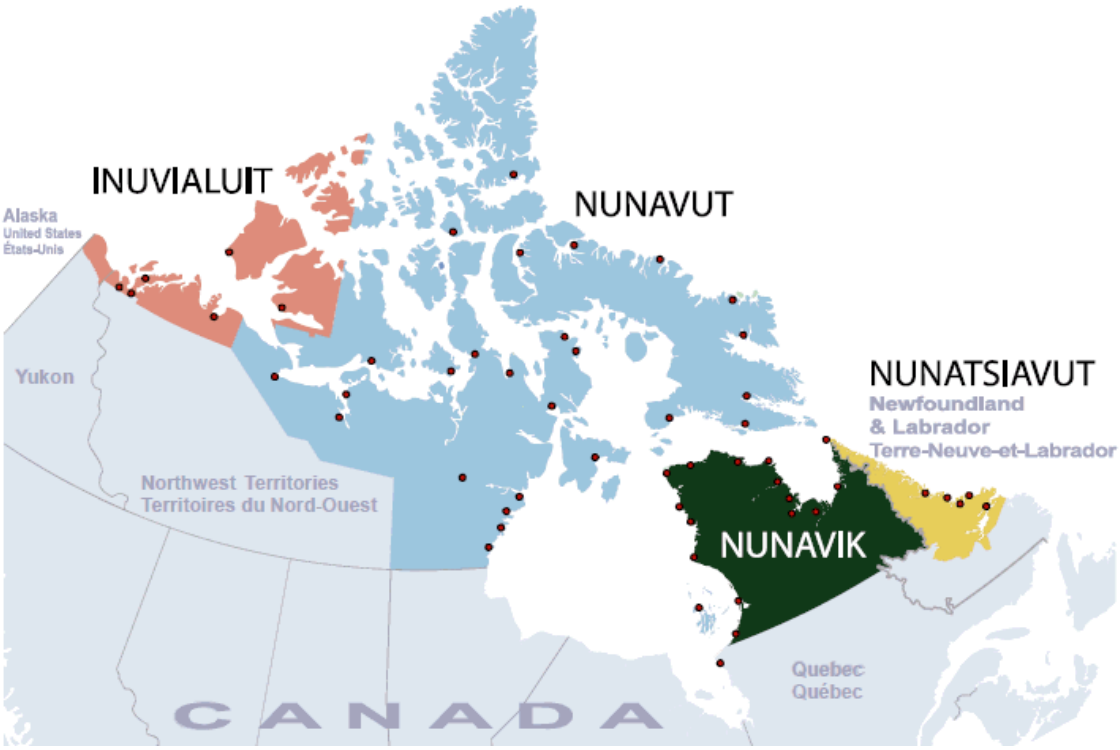

Figure 1: Map showing the four geographical regions of Inuit Nunangat
From: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-644-x/2010001/m-c/11281/m-c/m-c1-eng.htm

Literature Review

A project that attempts to capture a plethora of interpretations of security discourse necessitates a large research base. As such, this project analyses research from two major security standpoints, and attempts to better understand them through their conjunction with the Canadian Rangers. First, there must be an interpretation and understanding of the security practices and concerns of the Canadian government, and how these concerns are enacted by the military presence in the Arctic. Second, this project attempts to gather knowledge from the Inuit's perspective on Arctic security, and how these needs and values are being envisioned by Inuit actors. Once these two perspectives are understood, the final space for analysis, the Canadian Rangers, act as a space for an interaction of the Canadian government and Inuit security discourses. In an attempt to conceptualize the above security discourses through the same lens, the theoretical concept of the 'vernacular' will be used to better imagine the security concerns of the various actors through understanding the implication of the "'global', national' and 'local' politics of security".[9]

Vernacular Security

The vast majority of the world's population must overcome societal insecurities such as: job security, income security, health security, environmental security, and security from crime.[10] 'Vernacular security' as outlined by Nils Bubandt is an attempt to understand security as a "political problem that is neither unchanging nor semantically homogeneous", and thus requires a holistic interpretation of (in)securities.[11] Further, 'vernacular security' proposes that when analysing "idioms of uncertainty, order and fear, as well as the forms of

[9] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 278.
[10] UNDP, ed., *Human Development Report 1994* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 3.
[11] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 276.

social control associated with particular discourses on security" there is a necessity to look at these actors of (in)security from "'global', 'national', [and] 'local'" perspectives.[12] Through ontological grounding and political management, Bubandt argues that "socially specific fears and uncertainties, as well as concerns about order and stability, will provide a perspective on different ways of imaging and institutionally maintaining political communities".[13] This theoretical framework, when applied to both the Canadian government and Inuit security discourses will help illustrate how these two varying security practices are impacted by societal factors. When attempting to understand a concept that is outside of Eurocentric thought, there is an added importance in attempting to view practices not by how they appear, but how they are enacted and performed. Further, when interpreting an Indigenous epistemological view, there must be a consideration for the plethora of colonial implications that exist between settler-Indigenous interactions. Values that may be overtly present through a Western interpretation towards a cultural facet may be completely absent when viewed through an Indigenous lens. These interactional slips may cause a miscommunication not only across verbal interpretations, but also ontologies.[14] When interacting with an Other, the Self unknowingly transitions from their perspectival position as the Self to the Other of the Other; thus the Self unknowingly becomes the Other of the Other. Hence, stepping outside of the corporeal restraints of our reality allows us to better understand that differences exist between peoples, not only because of cultural and geographical distance, but also because the worlds of these people are inherently different.[15] To understand Inuit security, there must be a continued acknowledgment that concepts of security are untranslatable across ontological

[12] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 277.
[13] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 291.
[14] John Law, "What's Wrong with a One-World World?" *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 128, https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2015.1020066.
[15] Andrew Pickering, "The Ontological Turn: Taking Different Worlds Seriously," *Social Analysis* 61, no. 2 (January 1, 2017): 7, https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2017.610209.

distance, and thus should not be understood through comparisons with Canadian security values, because the service of translation is "to translate, and not to explain, justify, generalize, interpret, contextualize, reveal the unconscious, say what goes without saying".[16]

The utilization of the Canadian Rangers in Canada's North is a cost-effective way of ensuring a Canadian presence in its remote sovereign territories. Touted as a cheap and effective way of ensuring surveillance in Canada's remotest areas, the Canadian Rangers can link Indigenous security concerns and governmental Arctic foreign policy. Interpretations of the Canadian Rangers may depict a cheap and effective way for the government to ensure its needs are met, and thus suggest governmental exploitation, however due to the idea of reciprocity, this is not the case. Concepts of reciprocity remain an important facet of Indigenous culture.[17] The positive relationship that the Canadian Rangers foster between northern Indigenous groups and the Canadian government highlight the main tenets of reciprocity in that, "shared learning embodies the principle of reciprocity", and" Indigenous and non-Indigenous people[s] ... both [participating] in a learning process together".[18] The Inuit and other northern Indigenous peoples have different security concerns than those that face the greater Canadian governmental body.[19] These varying interpretations of (in)security correlate to the idea of the 'vernacular' in that they are subject to specific local or regional discrepancies. If the Canadian government were to forgo the security concerns of the Inuit, or

[16] Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation," *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2, no. 1 (2004): 5.
[17] Ingrid Cuc and Mark Champ, "Philanthropy as Reciprocity," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 38, no 4 (2014): 26.
[18]Ian Cull, Robert Hacock, Stephanie McKeown, Michelle Pidgeon, and Adrienne Vedan, "Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Being," in *Pulling Together: A Guide for Front-Line Staff, Student Services, and Advisors,* Vancouver: Creative Commons, 2018, https://opentextbc.ca/indigenizationfrontlineworkers/chapter/indigenous-ways-of-knowing-and-being/.
[19] Wilfrid Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway," *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (December 2016): 468, https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010616665957.

other northern Indigenous peoples, in conversations regarding Arctic foreign policy, the effectiveness of the Ranger program would be significantly diminished. Thus, because of the ways in which the Canadian Rangers are actively encouraging northern Indigenous and Inuit culture, while also actively partnering with Canadian military, they are able to operate on initiatives of reciprocity as well as practicality, and ensure that the specific (in)security needs of the Inuit or northern Indigenous peoples are met. This relationship in turn creates a scenario where both actors are working off ideas of balanced reciprocity and are mutually fostering a healing and healthy relationship. Through reciprocity, the Canadian Rangers are acting as a space for the hybridization of security discourses, and thus form a mutualistic relationship in which both actors can benefit.

Through allowing greater dialogue and representation within the Canadian governmental body that has previously ignored Indigenous needs and values, the Canadian Rangers are able to ensure the needs and values of their communities are met. Further, the interaction between members of the Regular Forces and Indigenous members of the Canadian Ranger groups allows for a two-way dissemination of knowledge and traditions. In return, the Canadian Forces can ensure that the most remote regions of the country are maintained and surveyed, and that Canada's sovereign territory remains enforced. Therefore, the interaction between governmental and Indigenous security discourses coalesce in the Canadian Rangers, thus creating a 'hybrid' securitization practice.

Concepts of vernacular security, when applied to everyday realities, of "experiences and stories of (in)security have the *potential to disrupt* 'official' accounts and re-politicizes the technocratic foundations of national security policies".[20] Previously and traditionally, military objectives of national (in)security were generated from an 'objective' governmental

[20] Nick Vaughan-Williams and Daniel Stevens, "Vernacular Theories of Everyday (in)Security: The Disruptive Potential of Non-Elite Knowledge," *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 1 (February 1, 2016): 42, https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010615604101.

understanding.[21] However, through application of a 'vernacular' approach to securitization theory, there is an implication that interpretations of (in)security are understood on the premise that conceptualizations of (in)security and external threats are socially constructed.[22] With security acting as an ever-changing, and non-homogeneous actor through realizations of a nation's past, there must be an understanding that these local and national frameworks help to create and shape an actors modernity, and in turn, insecurities. Vernacular theory implies the existence of modern plurality, and that varying actors have altered interpretations of their own insecurities.[23]

Canadian Government

As a governmental body, the Canadian government's approach to the Arctic region is clearly seen in its 2010 Canadian Arctic foreign policy document, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*. Herein they articulate the current and future plans for the region, and the importance of Canada's position as a continued member of the Arctic Council.[24] Although the *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy* dismisses the pro-conflict rhetoric around the Arctic region suggesting that, "Canada does not anticipate any military challenges in the Arctic",[25] there is an importance in looking beyond the government's official stance. Academics such as Whitney Lackenbauer and Adam Lajeunesse have published numerous works on Canadian Arctic military foreign policy and have taken active roles in Canada's North. These military academics imagine Canadian Arctic security through a realist perspective, that appears to emphasise Canada's role as "a northern military presence

[21] Vaughan-Williams and Stevens, "Vernacular Theories of Everyday", 42.
[22] Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, (Colorado, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998),12
[23] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 278.
[24] Government of Canada, *Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*: 9.
[25] Government of Canada, *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy*: 25.

and adequate capabilities to assist other federal, territorial, and provincial government departments in carrying out their mandates, to monitor emerging threats, and to project power anywhere within sovereign Canadian territory—a form of deterrence to would-be adversaries".[26] Thus, when attempting to conceptualize an imagined security discourse of Canada in the Arctic, it is pivotal that governmental texts are analysed in unison with academic writers who are themselves active in the Arctic region.

Inuit and northern Indigenous Peoples

To illustrate all Indigenous knowledge under singular definitions of culture and practices would be a great disservice. Often as varied as the peoples and places they originate from, indigeneity is a celebration of not only diversity, but of inclusivity and new ways of perceiving the world and our places within it. Therefore, Indigenous interpretations of security, especially when transposed into the context of Western academia, can be difficult to fully understand. Because Indigenous security practices are unique, there is often a disconnect from the West's traditional understandings of what security should be. This divide is even more present when discussing the Inuit, as cultural and geographical variation between them and the rest of Canada are significant. Inuit vary from other First Nations peoples, as they learned to live and thrive in an environment that would appear inhospitable to most, "Inuit developed unique and remarkable skills associated with living off the land."[27]

The best way to seek understanding regarding Indigenous thought is often through person-to-person conversations, and the knowledge of people living in Arctic communities.

[26] Adam Lajeunesse and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Lessons Learned, Lost, and Relearned," In *Canadian Arctic Operations, 1941-2015: Lessons Learned, Lost, and Relearned*, ed. Adam Lajeunesse and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (New Brunswick: The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, 2017), xv.
[27] Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, *The Inuit Way: A Guide to Inuit Culture,* (Ottawa: Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2010), 6.

However, due to the limited scope of this project, the large geographical distances involved, and the onset of the COVID-19 virus, in-person interviews were not possible. Therefore, the manner in which this project will articulate Inuit foreign policy is through reading and interpreting various Inuit sources from academics and Inuit leaders such as Wilfrid Greaves and Mary Simon. Greaves, a Western academic writing from a non-Indigenous perspective, identifies Inuit interpretations of security as "the Arctic environment; food security, especially caribou herds; culture, language, or traditional ways of life; Indigenous health; and Indigenous human rights."[28] Simon, who is of Inuit heritage and has had an illustrious career as a leader, diplomat, and public servant, and who has spent her whole life in service to her people, promotes an understanding that security "should be understood in a broad sense".[29] These academics coupled with reports published by various Inuit groups such as: the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), and Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). Through a combination of both academics whose research is on the Inuit, and various Inuit governmental institutions, this project will be able to craft a holistic interpretation of Inuit Arctic security.

Canadian Rangers

The final space that will be analysed in this project is that of the Canadian Rangers. Whitney Lackenbauer ground-breaking work on the Canadian Rangers in his book *The Canadian Rangers: A Living History,* and his various journal articles such as: "The Canadian Rangers: A "Postmodern" Militia That Works", and "'Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North': Media Misperceptions of the Canadian Rangers, Indigenous Service, and Arctic Security", show him as one of the leading academics in this field, and

[28] Wilfred Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples", 465.
[29] Mary Simon, "Canadian Inuit: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going," *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (December 1, 2011): 891, https://doi.org/10.1177/002070201106600415.

thus a valuable resource on this scarcely research topic. The specific Canadian Ranger spaces that will be identified and discussed in this project are the act of training and stories from patrol missions, these instances will then be further explained by how the interaction between the Inuit members of the Canadian Rangers and other non-Indigenous members of the CF in these spaces interact. Further, it will be discussed whether this interaction between the two actors works to create a space for a 'hybridized' concept of Canadian Arctic security. Before continuing it is important to note that the Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups are divided into five different groups, each based in a remote and isolated part of Canada.[30] The specific region that this project will mainly focus on is the 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, which encompasses the areas of Nunavut, Yukon Territory, and Northwest Territories.[31] To understand the interaction between the two actors that happens within these spheres of Arctic discourse, there will be an analysis of various literature examples in Lackenbauer and Lajeunesse works, as well as the Canadian Rangers Patrol page on the Canadian government's website. Further, the compendium *Canada's Ranges: Selected Stories 1942-2012*, compiled by Lackenbauer will be analysed to better understand the relationship(s) that the Canadian Rangers form and develop with members of the Regular Forces during training and patrol exercises.

[30] Office of the National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces, "Canadian Rangers," Government of Canada, January 10, 2020, https://www.canada.ca/en/ombudsman-national-defence-forces/education-information/caf-members/career/canadian-rangers.html.
[31] National Defence, "1 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group," Government of Canada, March 14, 2019, http://www.army-armee.forces.gc.ca/en/1-crpg/index.page.

Discussion

Canadian Security Perspective

Climate change has forever altered our global climate and the geopolitical landscape, and with these changes has come renewed governmental (in)securities. The upcoming generation will face global complications that current generations have not yet encountered. Foremost amongst the impending global issues, are those of climate change and the national implications that will arise as a result. With climate change proceeding at previously unseen rates, one of the areas that is seeing the greatest complications is the Arctic region. Even if the world is able to "take urgent action to meet the long-term goal aimed at limiting the increase in global average temperature to below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels",[32] Dirk Notz at the University of Hamburg, claims that "Arctic sea ice will nevertheless likely disappear occasionally in summer even before 2050".[33] This impending irreversible alteration to the Arctic has untold implications for the global community. With the melting ice sheets, tremendous amounts of natural resources are set to become available. Current estimates show that "the total mean undiscovered conventional oil and gas resources of the Arctic are estimated to be approximately 90 billion barrels of oil, 1,669 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 44 billion barrels of natural gas liquids".[34] With the tremendous amount of resources set to become available in the coming future, numerous counties are ramping up their Arctic foreign policy in order to ensure their sovereignty claims are

[32] Arctic Council, "Kiruna Declaration" (Arctic Council Secretariat, Norway: Fram Centre, May 15, 2013), 4.
[33] Stephanie Janssen, "North Pole Soon to Be Ice Free in Summer," Universität Hamburg, accessed April 24, 2020, https://www.cen.uni-hamburg.de/en/about-cen/news/11-news-2020/2020-04-20-sea-ice-notz.html.
[34] Kenneth J. Bird, Ronald R. Charpentier, Donald L. Gautier, David W. Houseknecht, Timothy R. Klett, Janet K. Pitman, Thomas E. Moore, Christopher J. Schenk, Marilyn E. Tennyson, and Craig J. Wandrey, "Cicum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle," (U.S Geological Survey: USGS Fact Sheet 2008-3049, Menlo Park: California, 2008) 4.

recognized and enforced. To prevent future conflicts over the Arctic region, the Arctic Council was created. Currently, the Arctic Council, which acts to provide a sense of "The Arctic Council is the leading intergovernmental forum promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, Arctic indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular on issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic".[35] The current actors that have a position within the Arctic Council are: Denmark, Canada, Norway, Russia, Sweden, United States, Saami Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Gwich'in Council International, Aleut International Association, Arctic Athabaskan Council, Iceland, and Finland.[36]

Canada has long been an Arctic nation, and therefore is aware of the cultural, geographical, and economical importance of the Arctic region. However, the extreme weather conditions of the polar region make typical military operations tremendously difficult.[37] But with the increased interest of other foreign powers, and an increasing awareness of the wealth of natural resources in the Arctic, there is a necessity for continued military presence in the region.[38] The Canadian government's approach to Arctic security is outlined in its *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy.* Canada has highlighted four areas that its Northern Strategy plans to advocate for both domestically and internationally: "exercising sovereignty; promoting economic and social development; protecting our environmental heritage; and

[35] Arctic Council, "About," Arctic Council, 2020, accessed May 31, 2020, https://arctic-council.org/en/about/.
[36] Lawson Brigham, "The Changing Arctic: New Realities and Players at the Top of the World," *Asia Policy* 18, no. 1 (2014): 8.
[37] Peter Kikkert, "Finding Ihuma: Inuit Leadership Norms and Canadian Ranger Operations," in *Canadian Arctic Operations, 1941-2015: Lessons Learned, Lost, and Relearned,* ed. Adam Lajeunesse and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (New Brunswick: The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, 2017), 374.
[38] Paul Dittmann, "In Defence of Defence: Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 11, no. 3 (2009): 1, https://jmss.org/article/view/57652.

improving and developing Northern governance".[39] In 2008, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper articulated the importance of the Arctic to Canada's future, stating:

> "The geopolitical importance of the Arctic and Canada's interests in it have never been greater. This is why our government has launched an ambitious Northern Agenda based on the timeless responsibility imposed by our national anthem, to keep the True North strong and free".[40]

With increased Arctic travel as the climate warms, there will be greater global interest in the Arctic, and this will lead to "an increase in environmental threats, search and rescue incidents, civil emergencies and potential illegal activities.[41] Currently, the Arctic Council acts as the "leading intergovernmental forum promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, Arctic Indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues".[42] Thus, Canada asserts that it advocates for a continuance of the current governmental structure and legal framework currently in place, and disagrees with declarations that with increased Arctic activity there is a requirement for fundamental political change.[43]

While the *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy* claims an increased awareness of the four topics previously outlined, the discourse surrounding the economic development of the Arctic appears most important. Framed as the possibility of "unleashing" the Canadian Arctic, statements such as "one-fifth of the world's petroleum reserves lie in the Arctic", "in no area is this more critical than in oil and gas development", "Arctic trade and

[39] Government of Canada. *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy.* 3.
[40] Stephen Harper, Speech (Inuvik, Canada, August 28, 2008), http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2258 (accessed May 5, 2020).
[41] Government of Canada, *Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*: 2.
[42] Arctic Council, "About," 2020.
[43] Government of Canada, *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy*: 3.

investment opportunities", certainly focus the reader's attention on the economic importance of the region.[44]

The report dismisses the pro-conflict rhetoric around the Arctic region suggesting that, "Canada does not anticipate any military challenges in the Arctic".[45] However, the report concludes with the statement "when positions or actions are taken by others that affect our national interests, undermine the cooperative relationships we have built, or demonstrate a lack of sensitivity to the interests or perspectives of Arctic peoples or states, we respond".[46] With this concluding statement, it appears that, while Canada does not perceive any militaristic security threats to their claims of Arctic sovereignty, it will not shy away from them should they arise. So, while Canada does not appear to see the Canadian Arctic as an immediate security concern, there still exists the necessity to ensure that the current agreements and rules of sovereignty are upheld. Thus, necessitating the need for a small, but continuous presence of the Canadian military in the region.

The ideology that crafted traditionalist views of Arctic security within Canada stem from the Cold War period, where Arctic security was synonymous with national security. Throughout this period, the view of Arctic security "focus[ed] on military defence, especially the protection of national borders and the assertion of state sovereignty over the Arctic land and water".[47] However, recently alternative understandings of security have permeated national security discourse, and have led to interpretations that place greater emphasis on "job security, income security, environmental security, and security from crime".[48] Developed by the UNDP, the term that has come to better encapsulate the "ethical need to guarantee to

[44] Government of Canada, *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy*: 10, 11, 14.
[45] Government of Canada, *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy*: 25.
[46] Government of Canada, *Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy*: 26.
[47] Wilfrid Greaves and Whitney Lackenbauer, "Re-Thinking Sovereignty and Security in the Arctic," OpenCanada, Centre for International Governance Innovation, accessed May 6, 2020, https://www.opencanada.org/features/re-thinking-sovereignty-and-security-arctic/.
[48] UNDP, ed., *Human Development Report 1994*: 3.

future generations opportunities similar to the ones previous generations have enjoyed",[49] is 'human security'. In relation to Canadian foreign policy, Lloyd Axworthy presented before the United Nations General Assembly, and argued that "human security is much more than the absence of military threat. It includes security against economic privatization, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights".[50]

The regurgitation of Cold War era national security discourses insinuates a connection with a past moment in world history. Instead we must look at moving towards new security approaches that place a greater emphasis on the immediate realities plaguing the general human population. A fundamental shift if this magnitude is never simple, it requires careful international deliberation and a conscious effort in the progression of humankind to remove ourselves from the comforts of our normality and shift towards epistemological and ontological plurality. A reflexive look at humanity reveals an incredible diversity within our own species, with a plethora of cultural and ideological variance. Thus, the answer to understanding world dilemmas in a new light is achievable through a reflexive look at cultures that interpret the world differently. In the context of Canadian Arctic security discourse, the inclusion of the Inuit within the Canadian Armed Forces has allowed for renewed interpretation towards the term 'security'.

Inuit and Northern Indigenous Security Interpretations

When understanding concepts of perceived national importance, it is critical to understand from which perspective these ideas are derived from. Regarding arctic security, the perspectives of Inuit and Indigenous peoples differ from the Canadian government. Inuit (in)securities have been forced to align themselves with Western standards of security, hence

[49] UNDP, ed., *Human Development Report 1994*: 13.
[50] Lloyd Axworthy, "Canada and Human Security: The Need for Leadership," *International Journal* 52, no. 2: 184.

remaining locked to a colonial agenda.[51] For the Inuit, security does not conform to traditional idealizations of the term which have been developed by Western thought, and thus should not be "left solely to experts within the military and government".[52] Canadian scholar and professor at the University of Victoria, Wilfrid Greaves articulates Inuit perceptions of security as: "the Arctic environment; food security, especially caribou herds; culture, language, or traditional ways of life; Indigenous health; and Indigenous human rights".[53] Further, the challenges that the Inuit are facing are said to be direct and indirect effects of climate change.[54] While Greaves writes within the paradigm of Western academia, another writer of Arctic and Inuit concerns, Mary Simon born in Inuit territory, is able to write and perceive Inuit concerns from an emic perspective. However, Simon argues similarly to Greaves in that, when conceptualizing matters of Inuit security, there must be an emphasis on understanding the term 'security' in a much broader sense, "just as health is more than the absence of disease, so, too, security is more than the absence of military conflict".[55] To protect and articulate Inuit concerns to the Canadian government, a number of Inuit organizations have been formed, such as: ICC, and the ITK, as well as attaining membership on the Arctic Council which is composed of the various other Arctic actors. These governmental actors act to "ensure the survival of Inuit as a distinct people, and to integrate the Inuit cultural values and concerns in all aspects of Arctic policy".[56] Ultimately, when applying a 'vernacular' lens to Inuit and northern Indigenous (in)security concerns, they point

[51] Wilfrid Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples", 463.
[52] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy," (Polar Research and Policy Initiative, United Kingdom: London, May 17, 2016), 16.
[53] Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples,": 465.
[54] Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples,": 466.
[55] Mary Simon, "Canadian Inuit: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going", *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (2011): 891.
[56] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy", 16.

to concepts such as: environmental (in)security, maintaining self-identity and agency, and the continued fostering of socio-cultural values and traditions.

The holistic approach by the Inuit towards Arctic security is not articulated through "the perceived need, effectiveness, or affordability of particular types of weapons systems and other forms of defence preparations",[57] Instead, there is a desire to encourage political thought and policy making practice that "respects and provides sustainable benefits to the Inuit [...], as well as to humanity as a whole".[58] However, existing colonial structures have maintained the Inuit's inability to escape the constraints of the settler agenda, thus leading to a "discrediting of the validity, legality, and morality of Indigenous knowledges precisely because they differ from the settler-colonial and scientific rationalist modes of thought and behaviour".[59] The omnipresent relationship that the Inuit have with the colonial state prevents progression towards achieving their own detailed securitization practices.

The Canadian Rangers

In 1947 a new arm of the Canadian Forces, the Canadian Rangers, was created for a unique purpose during World War II. Since then this force has undertaken numerous changes; presently the Canadian Rangers has grown to include the Inuit. Within Inuit Nunangat, the Canadian Rangers are predominantly staffed by Inuit members, thus acting as a means through which Inuit are able to maintain a presence within Canadian security discourse. Created to maintain a Canadian presence in the Arctic, "defence officials defined the Canadian Ranger concept in the early post-war period and based it on the model of the

[57] Simon, "Canadian Inuit: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going,", 891.
[58] Simon, "Canadian Inuit: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going,", 891.
[59] Greaves, "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples,", 464.

Pacific Coast Militia Rangers".[60] With the entrance of the Japanese into World War II, Canada's West Coast suddenly faced a very real Pacific military threat. Further, as Japan slowly began to gain ground in the Pacific theatre, there was an increased urgency to implement a form of local militia that could be called upon in the instance of a Japanese invasion.[61] Thus, the Pacific Coast Militia Rangers (PCMR) were formed. The PCMR was a militia force that was mainly composed of legendary bushmen, who knew their way around British Columbia's rugged coastline and interior.[62] The theory was that if there was ever a Japanese invasion of Canada's western coast, then the PCMR would be able to stall the invading advancements through the application and execution of guerrilla tactics. With the Japanese surrender in 1945, the PCMR were disbanded, but the ideological and strategic importance of regional militia never disappeared.

Today the values established by the PCMR of small groups of localized experts living off the land, ensuring Canada's sovereignty and security, are maintained, and preserved in the Canadian Ranger ethos in northern remote communities. Presently, the mandate of the Canadian Rangers - comprised of predominantly Indigenous individuals[63] - is to "serve as the 'eyes and ears' of the armed forces in isolated, northern and coastal regions of the country which cannot be practically or economically covered by other elements of the CF",[64] thus

[60] Whitney Lackenbauer, *The Canadian Rangers: A Living History* (British Columbia, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 7.
[61] Debbie Towell, "Pacific Coast Militia Rangers," *CFB Esquimalt Naval and Military Museum*, accessed May 2, 2020, https://navalandmilitarymuseum.org/archives/articles/defending-the-coast/pacific-coast-militia-rangers.
[62] P. Whitney, Lackenbauer, "Guerrillas in Our Midst: The Pacific Coast Militia Rangers, 1942-1945," *BC Studies*, no. 155 (Autumn 2007): 49. https://doi.org/10.14288/bcs.v0i155.628.
[63] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North": Media Misperceptions of the Canadian Rangers, Indigenous Service, and Arctic Security", *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018).
[64] Whitney Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders: Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Rangers, 1947-2005", in *Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security: Historical Perspectives,*

representing "a flexible, inexpensive, and culturally inclusive means of "showing the flag" and asserting Canadian sovereignty while fulfilling vital operational requirements".[65] If applying a critical lens to this interpretation of the Rangers, it could appear that statements regarding the affordability and 'hands-off' nature of the Rangers betrays an unspoken understanding that the Canadian government is appropriating Indigenous peoples and knowledge for its own benefit. However, as will be explained later, the understanding between the Canadian government and the Rangers has evolved into a hybridized security discourse, in which both actors are able to benefit.

While the Rangers operate as a member of the Canadian military, their role is "not considered as combat arms occupation".[66] Instead of an emphasis on combat proficiency, Ranger recruitment is primarily reliant on "intimate familiarity with the local population, industries, terrain, weather and other conditions of their area", and "meet[ing] the requirements established by the local customs of the patrol group".[67] Thus, the Rangers play a unique role within the Canadian forces and the overall Canadian Arctic security discourse.

There are currently approximately 5000 Canadian Rangers, and these individuals are further divided up into five Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups (CRPG) that each monitor a distinct geographical area, with each CRPG having their own headquarters and staff.[68] While

ed. Whitney Lackenbauer, (Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 2011): 345; P. Whitney Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",175.

[65] Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A "Postmodern" Militia That Works," *Canadian Military Journal* 5, no. 4 (2005): 49.

[66] Canada, Office of the National Defense and Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report to the Minister of National Defense, *Canadian Rangers: A Systemic Investigation of the Factors that Impact Health Care Entitlements and Related Benefits of the Rangers,* Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2017: 6.

[67] National Defence, "DAOD 5002-1, Enrolment," Government of Canada, November 13, 2013, https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/defence-administrative-orders-directives/5000-series/5002/5002-1-enrolment.html.; Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",175.

[68] Government of Canada, "Canadian Army: Canadian Rangers Organization Patrol Groups," Government of Canada, August 14, 2018, http://www.army-armee.forces.gc.ca/en/canadian-rangers/organization-patrols.page.

the primary mission of the Canadian Rangers is "to provide lightly equipped, self-sufficient, mobile forces in support of Canadian Forces sovereignty and domestic operation tasks in Canada", in the North, additional tasks of "participating in Northern operations, conducting North Warning Site patrols, reporting suspicious and unusual activities, assisting in Search and Rescue when tasked, and collecting local data of military significance", are also necessary.[69] For the government, the Canadian Rangers are an affordable program, "funding for the Canadian Rangers is based upon 12 days annual pay in support of training and conducting patrols."[70] For the purpose of this project, the focus will be on the largest of the five patrol groups, the 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, with an active strength of about 1400 Rangers, who are responsible for monitoring the remote and northern areas of Nunavut, Yukon Territory, and Northwest Territories, which is approximately 40% of Canada's land mass.[71] However, what makes the leadership structure of the Canadian Rangers unique from that of the Regular Forces, is that the "community-based patrols vote in their own leadership",[72] thus replacing the traditional militarized ranking system. To ensure a degree of conformity, each CRPG is attributed to a Regular Forces or Reserve member who acts as an instructor, and is thus responsible for "periodical reviews, visits and inspections of the patrols".[73] This interaction between the Regular Forces Instructor and the Canadian Rangers proves to be an interaction between two security discourses.

[69] National Defence, "1 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, 2019
[70] Office of the National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces, "Canadian Rangers," 2020.
[71] National Defense, "1 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group," 2019.; Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"", 160.
[72] Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",160.
[73] Canada, Office of the National Defense and Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report, *Canadian Rangers,* 27.

Conjunction of the Canadian Rangers and the Canadian Forces

Within the 1st CRPG, the vast majority of active members are Inuit.[74] The integration of the Inuit within the Canadian Forces represents a "practical partnership, rooted in traditional knowledge and skills, that promotes cooperation, communal and individual empowerment, and cross-cultural understanding".[75] Ultimately, the Canadian Rangers are a branch of the Canadian military. However, the relationship that these Indigenous members of the Rangers have with the Canadian military is one of reciprocation and 'hybridization' that allows their Indigenous heritage and culture to remain key influences. Through this unique relationship with the military, the Indigenous members of the Rangers can progress Indigenous values through a governmental medium, while also ensuring the needs of the Canadian military are met.

> "The CF operations carried out by the Canadian Rangers represent yet another cultural expression of the Inuit, one in which Arctic diplomacy becomes but an extension of operational northern forces who recognize the vital necessity for cooperation with, and the active participation by, Inuit in such a remote and unforgiving environment."[76]

Through this reliance on Indigenous practices, the Rangers act to push back against the assimilationist tendencies of Canadian militarization that is often regularized through acts of basic training and modern military structuralism.[77] Indeed, the Rangers are granted agency and freedom within the military that are seldom available to other branches of the Canadian Forces. The roles of the Rangers typically encompass "regular surveillance patrols, participation in northern operations, reporting of suspicious or unusual activities, and collecting local data useful to the military".[78] What makes the Inuit Rangers valuable for

[74] Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",159.
[75] Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"", 160; Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A 'Postmodern' Militia That Works," 49.
[76] Charlie Evalik, *Canadian Sovereignty, the Military and Infrastructure Development in the Inuit Homeland*, Nunavut (Cambridge Bay: Kitikmeot Inuit Association, 2010), 6.
[77] Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A 'Postmodern' Militia that Works," 52.
[78] Adam Lajeunesse and Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Armed Forces in the Arctic: Building Capabilities and Connections" In *Whole of Government through an Arctic Lens*, ed.

these forms of duties is that, because of Ranger's leading roles within their respective communities, many of the tasks asked of them by the Canadian Forces can be achieved without significant deviation from their everyday lives, thus "functioning as civilians and carrying out their duties in conjunction with their 'regular jobs'".[79]

Inuit voices have long questioned the ability for there to be positive and meaningful communication between Inuit traditional lifeways and increased Arctic militarization. Throughout early Arctic securitization, the Inuit were often excluded from negotiations between the United States and Canada,

> "in the beginning it was complete domination. Inuit had no say in what happened. There were deals between the Canadian government and the U.S. government in relation to World War II that then allowed for the military to have a presence in the Canadian Arctic. Inuit didn't have a say in any of that".[80]

There was a history here of being excluded from the communications—so it is not that the Inuit just question the ability for there to be a positive and meaningful communication—there was not any communication. Frances Abele argued that "sovereignty and security policy decisions, in their immediate impact, have been and continue to be disproportionately costly to northern and Indigenous peoples",[81] while Mary Simon, head of the ICC claimed that "too often, military projects are centralized undertakings that are unilaterally imposed on Indigenous peoples and their territories. Such actions are inconsistent with the basic principles of aboriginal self-government".[82] While many Inuit members have called for a demilitarization of the Arctic, the idea of disbanding the Canadian Rangers is not

Whitney Lackenbauer and Heather Nicol, (Nova Scotia: Mulroney Institute of Government, 2017): 122.

[79] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 346.

[80] Nathan Obed, "The Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples Evidence," Parliament Session 42:1 (January 30, 2018), available from: Senate of Canada, Ottawa. Accessed May 31, 2020, https://sencanada.ca/en/content/sen/Committee/421/appa/53746-e.

[81] Frances Abele, "Confronting 'harsh and inescapable facts,'" in E. Dosman, ed., *Sovereignty and Security in the Arctic* (London: Routledge, 1989), 189.

[82] Mary Simon, "Militarization and the Aboriginal Peoples," in F. Griffiths, ed., Arctic Alternatives: Civility or Militarism in the Circumpolar North (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1992), 60.

part of the Inuit demilitarization plan, therefore signifies the importance the Canadian Rangers have within Inuit security discourse.[83] Instead, the Rangers are seen by the Inuit as a space for positive reaffirmation of community, and a gateway for Inuit youth to connect with their traditional roots.[84] In doing so, the Canadian Forces are able to connect with these remote networks of people because of how the Rangers are "intimately integrated into local community activities, ensuring that the CF is not socially isolated or structurally separated from the northern Indigenous societies".[85] The connection between the Inuit communities and the Canadian Forces through the Canadian Rangers allows for the furthering of both actors' Arctic security goals. The Inuit appreciate the Canadian Rangers as stalwarts of vanishing cultural values, utilizing mentorship to encourage future generations of Rangers through projects such as the Junior Rangers program. The Canadian military also benefits through its ability to maintain a constant observatory presence in Canada's most remote communities of the frigid north. In addition, the interaction between Inuit cultural practices and the Regular Forces of the military allows for culture dissemination to happen at micro levels as well.

> "The lead guides, all Inuit who have spent their lives on the land, had strongly advised the commanding officer of the patrol to avoid the treacherous gully. Unfortunately, the major rarely listened to his Rangers on the mission and usually dictated the route that they would take. Confident in his ability to operate in the northern environment after only a short time in the North, the officer had ignored his guides and led the patrol into the gully. Once they were inside, the Rangers realized just how dangerous the gully actually was and suggested to the major that he pull the patrol out and find another route. Their opinions fell on deaf ears. In the following hours, snowmobiles were broken, kamotiks smashed, and many riders were catapulted violently through the air after their machines struck hidden rocks. The gully

[83] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 365.
[84] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 346.
[85] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 371.

> destroyed a substantial amount of Army property and injured several Rangers, including Stern who was evacuated with back spasms."[86]

When out on patrol, the conjunction between the Inuit and members of the Regular Forces is tested. On matters of military importance, such as patrols, the officer in charge (often a member of the Regular Forces) faces a choice: whether to conform to military indoctrination in which achieving the "objective [on time] is paramount", regardless of danger to self or others, or adhering to the Inuit understanding that "few journeys or operations stay on schedule, and [one should not] an attempt to force traditional military timetables and standards to the region".[87] Not only is this space the interaction between two military personnel, and their respective ideas, it is also perceived as a confrontation between two security discourses, each articulated through the cultural background that represents each individual. In one space, the insecurities that comprise the Inuit worldview are in direct contrast with those of the Canadian government. Thus, in these moments of tension the very epistemological and ontological fabric that comprises each individual's realities are being tested and (re)affirmed. Through a 'vernacular' approach to this dilemma, the interaction between the two actors is being formed from their individual understandings of worlding, these in turn are shaped by the individuals perceptions of what security means on the "'global', 'national', [and] 'local'" levels.[88] In this space of interaction, how do these two opposing discourses conform and/or counteract one another? Is one discourse subverted through the pre-instituted dominance of the other?

[86] Peter Kikkert, "Finding Ihuma: Inuit Leadership Norms and Canadian Ranger Operations", 370.
[87] Peter Kikkert, "Finding Ihuma: Inuit Leadership Norms and Canadian Ranger Operations", 376.
[88] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 277.

The Canadian Rangers represent a truly unique branch of military operations, not only in Canada, but worldwide. Very few military forces around the world hold the capabilities to operate in the frozen Arctic tundra. However, the Canadian Rangers are at home in this unique environment. Living off knowledge and survival skills passed down through generations, this truly special force is a tremendous actor in maintaining Canada's Arctic security and sovereignty. The rangers' importance to the Canadian military does not necessarily come in the form of individual combat prowess, which is typically associated with their southern namesake the US Army Rangers, but in their ability to survive in one of the most environmentally dangerous locations in the world. The US Army Rangers are one of the world's most effective special forces units, however the Canadian Rangers are a "very *special* force".[89] With the Canadian Rangers truly unique skills, it is no surprise that the Regular Forces have turned to them in order to best prepare and train southern soldiers in the necessary skills for life in Northern Canada and the Arctic. The training performed by the Rangers varies depending on the time of year, with summer and spring training being composed of activities such as: "hunting with snares, bannock [making], some medicine, and how to collect dry wood",[90] and winter training involving activities such as "iglu [construction] and snow cave building and ice fishing".[91] Through the training of Southern troops in Arctic survival practices, the Rangers are acting simultaneously as a site for both modern and traditional knowledge transmission. The training between the Rangers and Regular Forces of the Canadian military highlight's stark epistemological differences. The

[89] Adrian Humphreys, "'Very Special Forces' Head to Fort Knox," in *Canada's Ranger: Selected Stories 1942-2012*, ed. by Whitney Lackenbauer, (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2013), 144.
[90] Roxanna Thompson, "Exercise Connects Cultures," in *Canada's Ranger: Selected Stories 1942-2012*, ed. by Whitney Lackenbauer, (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2013), 267.
[91] Herb Mathisen, "At Home on the Land," in *Canada's Ranger: Selected Stories 1942-2012*, ed. by Whitney Lackenbauer, (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2013), 289.

strict militaristic indoctrination, with emphasis on rank and order, appears absent in the Canadian Rangers, "the bugle-boy sense of urgency is definitely absent, as are rules regarding hair length, grooming, cleanliness and "snap-to-it", command chain respect".[92] These typical military traits are instead replaced by "skills bred by centuries in a grudging, harsh and killing land".[93] However, this is not to say that cultural values are not transmitted between the two parties. Indeed, more often the Regular Forces members come away from the interaction with a heightened awareness to Inuit traditions and knowledge.

> "The soldiers I talked to all commented on how much they've been able to learn from the Rangers and how great they've been. Interestingly, the compliment also worked in reverse with many of the Rangers noting how great the soldiers have been and all the new things they've learned from them."[94]

In the training space between members of the southern Regular Forces and members of Canadian Rangers, security discourses are simultaneously being reinforced, (de)constructed, and created. Both actors approach the interaction with knowledge attained from their communication within their individual, separate worlds. But in this space, both actors are forced to revaluate their positional awareness through the interaction with militaristic Other. The training that takes place between the Rangers and the Regular Forces is a means through which each actor can impact the other. Thus, this training acts as a space for a (re)definition of Canadian Arctic security discourse, that is both unique to the momentary space, but also continues through dispersal into the locals of each actor. The creation of 'hybrid' security discourse is fully concrete during the physical interaction between the two actors, but with completion of the training exercises the discourse of the

[92] Joseph Hall, "Northern Patrol," in *Canada's Ranger: Selected Stories 1942-2012*, ed. by Whitney Lackenbauer, (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2013), 205.
[93] Joseph Hall, "Northern Patrol", 205.
[94] Roxanna Thompson, "Exercise Connects Cultures", 268.

Other leaves residual marks on the Self, that is then transported and infused within the Self's unique diaspora. For the Canadian Forces, these residual impacts are maintained through growing appreciation and understanding as to what the Canadian Rangers represent to Canadian Arctic security. This growing recognition has been shown at various levels of the Canadian military, as well as through the rungs of federal and provincial politics.[95] For the Inuit and other Indigenous members of the Rangers, their involvement with the Canadian forces has allowed them to become active participants within their communities and mentors to younger generations,[96] "The Canadian Rangers not only benefit their communities in a direct social and economic sense, they also empower Northern Canadians who mentor and educate other members [...] on how to manage, respect, and ultimately care for their homeland".[97] Further, the creation of the Junior Rangers program encourages younger generations of Inuit to receive, "(a.) a good education; and (b.) educat[tion] in traditional values in skills".[98] The Junior Rangers program helps Indigenous youth "liv[e] in a healthy way; prevent harassment and abuse; speak[...] in public; protect[...] the environment".[99] In addition, the Junior Rangers provide Indigenous youth an escape from feelings of

[95] Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",166; Lt. Col. Darwin Ziprick, "Leveraging Air Mobility to Support Canadian Arctic" In *Whole of Government through an Arctic Lens*, ed. Whitney Lackenbauer and Heather Nicol, (Nova Scotia: Mulroney Institute of Government, 2017): 179; Whitney Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders: Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Rangers, 1947-2005", in *Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security: Historical Perspectives,* ed. Whitney Lackenbauer, (Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 2011): 346; Sgt Peter Moon, "NetNewsLedger - Canadian Ranger Appointed to the Order of Military Merit," *NetNewsLedger*, December 12, 2019, http://www.netnewsledger.com/2019/12/12/canadian-ranger-appointed-to-the-order-of-military-merit/; Derek Neary, "Rangers on Exercise and Receiving Recognition," *Nunavut News*, March 28, 2019, https://nunavutnews.com/nunavut-news/rangers-on-exercise-and-receiving-recognition/.
[96] Hon. Peter MacKay, "Visiting the Canadian Rangers," in *Canada's Ranger: Selected Stories 1942-2012,* ed. by Whitney Lackenbauer (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2013), 334.
[97] Lackenbauer, ""Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North"",160.
[98] Lackenbauer, *Canadian Rangers,* 364.
[99] National Defence, "What Do JCR's Do Junior Canadian Rangers," Government of Canada, August 29, 2013, http://www.jcr-rjc.ca/en/what-we-do.page.

"hopelessness and isolation", a welcome benefit for a region plagued with a disturbingly high youth suicide rate.[100] Ultimately, the resulting outcomes that have arisen through the interaction and cooperation between the Canadian Forces and Canadian Rangers has resulted in the affirmation and growth of both actors, and in so doing worked to conform one another's (in)security concerns.

Crafting a 'New' Arctic Security Discourse

As illustrated above, the interaction between the Canadian Rangers, and those of the Regular Forces creates a dialogue in which both actors are able to better understand the immediate security concerns of the Other. Inherently "differences are *not* simply mattering of belief. They are also a *matter of reals*. What the world *is*".[101] Thus, when identifying how the two different security discourses are being fulfilled, the criteria must be understood through interpretation of "local, national, and global" discourses.[102] Applying vernacular security theory to the Canadian Rangers in Northern Canada and the Canadian military's interpretation of Arctic security, we see varying interpretations. This epistemological variance is a result of different modernities (different ways of perceiving the world) that therefore have differing (in)security concerns. Within the Canadian Rangers and their Inuit members, there is an understanding that security concerns are in tandem with those outlined in the UN Development Report. For the Inuit and Rangers, (in)security is not created through a lacking military presence, but instead a concern for food security, youth development, and the protection and preservation of cultural traditions.[103] Through the involvement of the Canadian

[100] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 373.
[101] Law, "What's Wrong with a One-World World?", 127.
[102] Bubandt, "Vernacular Security," 275.
[103] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *2018-2019 Annual Report*, Ottawa: ICC, 2019: 32; Noor Johnson, Caroline Behe, Finn Danielsen, Eva-Maria Kruümmel, Scot Nickels, and Peter L Pulsifer, "Community-Based Monitoring and Indigenous Knowledge in a Changing Arctic: A Review for the Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks", *Final Report to Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks.* Ottawa, ON: Inuit Circumpolar Council, March 2016: 19.

Rangers (and the Canadian Forces influence) in the Northern communities, previously unrepresented Indigenous groups are able to address their unique insecurities. Previous statistics have shown a frighteningly high rate of suicide amongst Indigenous and Inuit youth (resulting from lasting colonial implications), the Junior Rangers Program has acted as one way for youth to find motivation and purpose. The inclusion, training, and education of the Regular Forces in traditional Indigenous knowledge ways has ensued a vehicle through which Inuit practices and traditions can survive and flourish. Lastly, the Canadian Rangers allow for federal representation of Inuit and the northern Indigenous peoples. Now as members of the Canadian Forces, the Rangers can articulate further insecurities to the Canadian government.

The Canadian Rangers are not the only party that appears to benefit from the coalition of the Canadian Forces and the Canadian Rangers. With the onset of the Cold War, Canada has become ever aware to the threat of foreign influence in the north.[104] While the threat of a physical military conflict in the Arctic region has been deemed insignificant— "At several points during the Cold War, the CAF realized that combat in the Canadian North was highly unlikely"[105]—the continuous effects of globalization in the region necessitate a Canadian presence in the region. Increased commercialization of the Arctic trade routes has led to possible erosion of areas that Canada has claimed as her sovereign territory,

> "These new threats stemmed from the anticipated increase in northern shipping and economic activity that could lead to the establishment of an international sea route through the Northwest Passage, as well as the assumed environmental, criminal, and immigration issues that would invariably accompany such increased activity. It was assumed that this activity, if ignored, had "the

[104] Rob Huebert, "Renaissance in Canadian Arctic Security?" *Canadian Military Journal,* 5, no, 4 (2005): 19.
[105] Adam Lajeunesse, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "There is No Glide Path in the Arctic: Operational Lessons Learned," in *Canadian Arctic Operations, 1941-2015: Lessons Learned, Lost, and Relearned,* ed. by Adam Lajeunesse and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, (New Brunswick: The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, 2017), 451.

> potential to lead, in the long term, to an erosion of Canada's sovereignty in the North".[106]

As a result, the Canadian government requires a way in which they are able to maintain a continuous sovereign presence, without maintaining a significant amount of military personnel in the region. The conjunction between the Canadian military, and the Canadian Rangers illustrates how sovereignty and regional security can be achieved. A significant reason why the Canadian Ranger program has continued to exist since its creation during World War II, was because the continued maintenance and upkeep of the program was incredibly affordable for the Canadian government. Instead of the intensive costs and required maintenance that goes with maintaining units of the Regular Forces, the Canadian Rangers are unique in that the program is relatively self-sufficient. Therefore, due to the Rangers affordable upkeep, there appears no significant downside in the Ranger program, "the expense would be minor compared to paying for "unacclimatized personnel, who for the most part, are bitter and unhappy with their postings and consequently not too concerned in carrying out their duties".[107] This affordability has allowed for the continuous upkeep of the Rangers, and thus a continuous Canadian northern presence. If the Canadian government were to replace the Canadian Rangers with a more traditional military force to ensure regional security and sovereignty, a plethora of other variables would need to be considered, including the need for increased Arctic survival training, which is currently undertaken by the Canadian Rangers. As mentioned earlier, the affordability of the Ranger program does not portray exploitation, but instead a hybridization of security discourses that allows for mutual benefit. Further because of the Rangers unique leadership structure, in which they elect their

[106] Adam Lajeunesse, "The CAF Returns to the Arctic, 2000-2006," in *Canadian Arctic Operations, 1941-2015: Lessons Learned, Lost, and Relearned*, ed. by Adam Lajeunesse and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, (New Brunswick: The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, 2017), 309.
[107] Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Defenders", 353.

own, there is no demand for the continuous disciplinary doctrine attributed with the rest of the Canadian Forces, and thus no need for constant interjection from Regular Force members, "Canadian Ranger Instructors are required to visit their patrols and communities 1-2 times per year in order to conduct training activities and supervise training operations".[108] Indeed, the staff to Ranger ratio currently sits at 1:53, signifying how truly independent the Rangers forces are.[109] Through this low cost, low maintenance project, the Canadian government is able to maintain a sustained military presence in the Arctic region, without incurring the tremendous costs that come with military deployment.

In addition to the ever present nature of the Canadian Rangers in the north, they also act as a way in which members of the Regular Forces are able to learn survival skills and knowledge that would not be accessible through regular military training doctrines. The role of the Rangers is not an active combat one during peacetime, instead they are meant to act as a bridge between northern Inuit traditions and knowledge, and the southern Regular Forces. The training that the Rangers can provide to the Regular Forces are generated from centuries of traditional knowledge that has been passed down through the generations. Thus, the Canadian forces are able to better equip their soldiers with the training necessary in the event of an Arctic military emergency.

[108] Canada, Office of the National Defense and Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report, *Canadian Rangers,* 7; Evalik, *Canadian Sovereignty*, 5.
[109] Canada, Office of the National Defense and Canadian Forces Ombudsman Report, *Canadian Rangers,* 7.

Critiques of the Rangers Program

The non-traditional nature of the Canadian Rangers has caused critics to question Canada's approach to its Arctic foreign policy, and the Ranger's place within it, when comparing it to the militarization practices of the other Arctic nations such as Finland, Russia, and Norway.[110] The Rangers are an easy target for critics who wish to see a stronger Canadian presence in the Arctic, former Army intelligence analyst and Toronto-based freelance journalist Robert Smol believes that, "the Rangers are not much more than a public affairs ruse aimed at placating Canadians into believing that Canada is actually taking Arctic defence seriously",[111] and "nowhere near being a serious military presence in the region".[112] Similarly, Maclean's reporter Scott Gilmour, describes the Canadian Rangers as "local volunteers who are given Second World War rifles, a hoodie, a ball cap and an annual photo op with whichever politician is shameless enough to fly north for 24 hours to promote about the Canadian North from the depths of his or her $1,200 Canada Goose parka", while simultaneously praising Russian military developments in the Arctic over the past 60 years.[113] However, what critics of the Rangers program appear to misunderstand is that the tension that existed between Russia and the West during the latter half of the 20th century has significantly de-escalated since. Where previously North America was aware of the very real threat that Russia played in securitization discourse, the tension of the Cold War era has

[110] Robert Smol, "When Will We Get Serious about Arctic Defence?" CBC, May 11 2009, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/when-will-we-get-serious-about-arctic-defence-1.813981; Robert Smol, "Getting Tough on Russian Aggression, Everywhere but in the Arctic," CBC, March 27 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/arctic-militarization-1.4594397.
[111] Robert Smol "Canada's 'Arctic Soldiers' Shouldn't Be Our Only Line of Defence in the North," Ottawa Citizen, August 11, 2017, https://ottawacitizen.com/opinion/columnists/canadas-arctic-soldiers-shouldnt-be-our-only-line-of-defence-in-the-north.
[112] Smol, "When Will We Get Serious about Arctic Defence?".
[113] Scott Gilmore, "The Canadian North Is the Least Defended Territory on Earth," MacLean's, March 17, 2017, https://www.macleans.ca/politics/the-canadian-north-is-the-least-defended-territory-on-earth/.

slowly dissipated, and with it, the immediate Russian threat. Thus, when comparing Canadian Arctic militarization to that of other Arctic states is irrelevant, as each has their own motives and reasonings. For example, the term 'security' in Norway is synonymous with threats associated with Russia, as "discursive fragments from the Cold War continue to ring like echoes from the past".[114] With this past history between Norway and Russia, it is understandable that Russia's immediate neighbours would have to maintain a steady military presence in their Arctic regions. However, in comparison, Canada does not have the strenuous history with Russia that our Southern neighbours, or the other Scandinavian countries do, and therefore have no reason to initiate further military expansion and deployment into the Arctic for fear of Russian aggression. While this line of reasoning may appear naive to realist interpretations of security (such as Smol and Gilmore), the current threats most impacting the Arctic are those of man-made climate change, and not of immediate military conflict. Ultimately, the role of the Rangers in the Arctic "are more appropriate than ever", and that the "Rangers are not broken and do not require "fixing"".[115] The achievement of a 'hybridized' space between the Inuit and Canadian government would be two-fold success. Firstly, by creating a space where both Indigenous and Western interpretations and worldviews could coalesce and succeed signifies a way in which relationships that were previously broken through colonialism could slowly start to heal. Secondly, the positive reciprocal relationship that has been created by the Canadian Rangers allows for a unified approach to Arctic foreign policy, and the belief that future security concerns can be successfully dealt with in a cooperative manner.

[114] Leif C. Jensen, "Seduced and Surrounded by Security: A Post-Structuralist Take on Norwegian High North Securitizing Discourses," *Cooperation and Conflict* 48, no. 1 (March 2013): 90, https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836712461482.
[115] Evalik, *Canadian Sovereignty,* 6.

The conjunction of the Canadian Rangers and the members of the Canadian Forces has led to a created space for interaction and has thus created a 'hybridized' interpretation of Canadian Arctic security. Where one might assume that the conjunction between the two actors would tend towards assimilation, instead the cooperation between the two has reinforced individualistic security needs, while simultaneously reinforcing a 'hybrid' security practice. Neither actor has had to concede their unique insecurities, and each has been able to grow and adapt concepts of the Other's security practices into their own. The Inuit and other Indigenous communities that populate the majority of Canadian Ranger units in northern Canada have been able to reinforce traditionalist knowledge within their communities and the Canadian military, while also ensuring that they maintain continuous platforms to articulate their various human security needs to the federal government. Concurrently, the Canadian Forces can ensure that Canada maintains a continuous sovereign presence in the Arctic and are able to ensure that southern troops are able to become educated in the practices necessary for survival in Arctic environments. The unique relationship between the Canadian Rangers and the Canadian military in the north has 'hybridized' Canada's Arctic security, and the sharing and diffusion of knowledge across epistemological lines continues to strengthen Canada's Arctic presence.

Conclusion

The Canadian Rangers continue to reaffirm their necessity to Canada's Arctic foreign policy. By simultaneously acting to promote Indigenous security concerns, while also maintaining sovereignty claims in Canada's most remote regions, the Canadian Rangers act to bridge the cultural and social divides between Indigenous and governmental security discourse, and in doing so form a 'hybridized' interpretation of Canadian Arctic security discourse. Through the interactional spheres of Arctic patrol missions and the training of Regular Forces troops in methods of Arctic survival, the Canadian Rangers act as a site for the dissemination of knowledge unattainable to southern forces members. The interaction and co-mingling of knowledge and traditions between southern forces and Indigenous Inuit members acts to create and encourage collateral translations of security discourse, and the formulation of a 'hybrid' approach to Arctic security discourse. In achieving a diversified approach to security, Canada has created a holistic space that encompasses the needs and necessities of northern Indigenous peoples, while also ensuring a continuous Canadian Arctic presence.

While this project has attempted to discuss the role of the Canadian Rangers within Canada's northern security discourse, questions remain as to how human-to-human interactions during patrols and training are formulated and how discussions between individuals evolve into alterations of worldviews. As this project was primarily discourse analysis, future research could be undertaken in the form of ethnographic study and participating in Arctic patrols and training exercises first-hand.

The questions that have necessitated a renaissance in Canadian Arctic security discourse are those that will continue to have a lasting impact on the Arctic (in)security. Climate change continues to be an immediate threat facing Arctic regions, and with the melting ice ways comes a plethora of security concerns, including increased commercial

oceanic traffic through Canada's northern passageways, and thus increased challenges to Canada's sovereign territories. Thus, with the coming challenges that Canada is sure to face over the next 50 years, the necessity to have a continuous sovereign presence in the Arctic region is key to Canada's presence on the world stage. While governmental bodies, such as the Arctic Council, have encouraged meaningful and positive dialogue regarding the future development and protection of the Arctic region, the onus is on each country to ensure the needs and values of all its peoples are appropriated into their Arctic policies. Thus, the Canadian Rangers continue to ensure that Canada's Arctic security needs are met and ensure the presence of a continuous icy gaze in the north.

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