

# Public Perspectives on Arctic Security

*Rethinking the Top of the World*

The Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation  
And  
The Canada Centre for Global Security Studies at the Munk School of Global Affairs

Presentation by Frank Graves, President of EKOS Research Associates



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# Methodological Perspective

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- Unique, rigorous
- 9,083 interviews / 8 countries / 9 populations
- Multilingual, Inuktitut and Inuktituun languages
- Probability-based methods / scientifically representative
- Triangulation: top of mind to trade-offs
- Legacy: Northern panel
- Qualitative testing



# Context and Core Issues

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- Burgeoning public policy interest
- Environment, climate, resource demand
- Classic security
- Jurisdictional issues / border
- Residents' needs
- International governance, cooperation
- Longer term forces / geopolitical reorganization

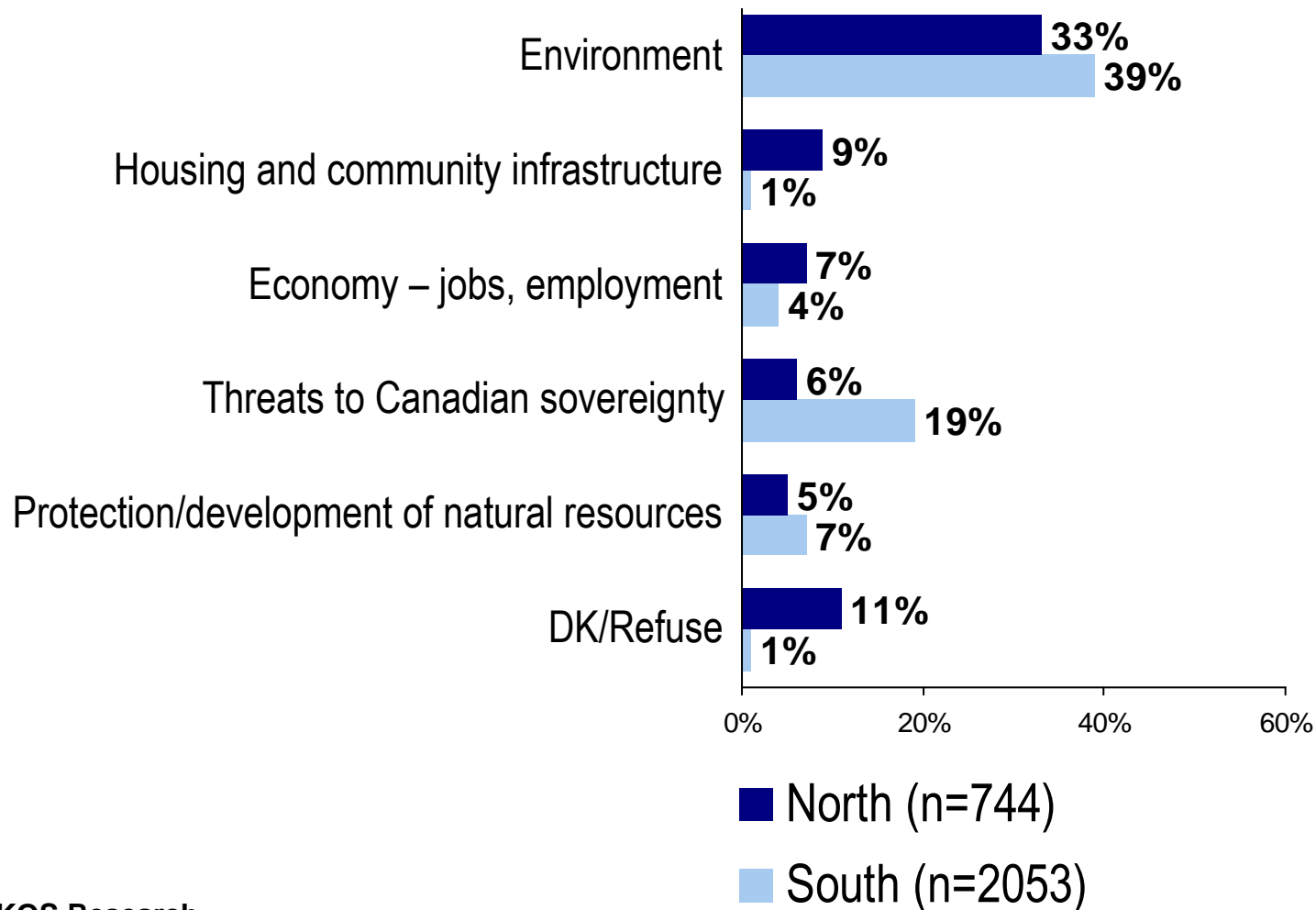
# Overall Themes

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- Salience / Consensus in Canada
- Environment and climate dominant
- Infrastructure important / deficient
- International surface consensus on cooperation – Canada offside
- Beyond loose agreement on cooperation
  - ❖ Not much agreement on mandate / expansion mandate

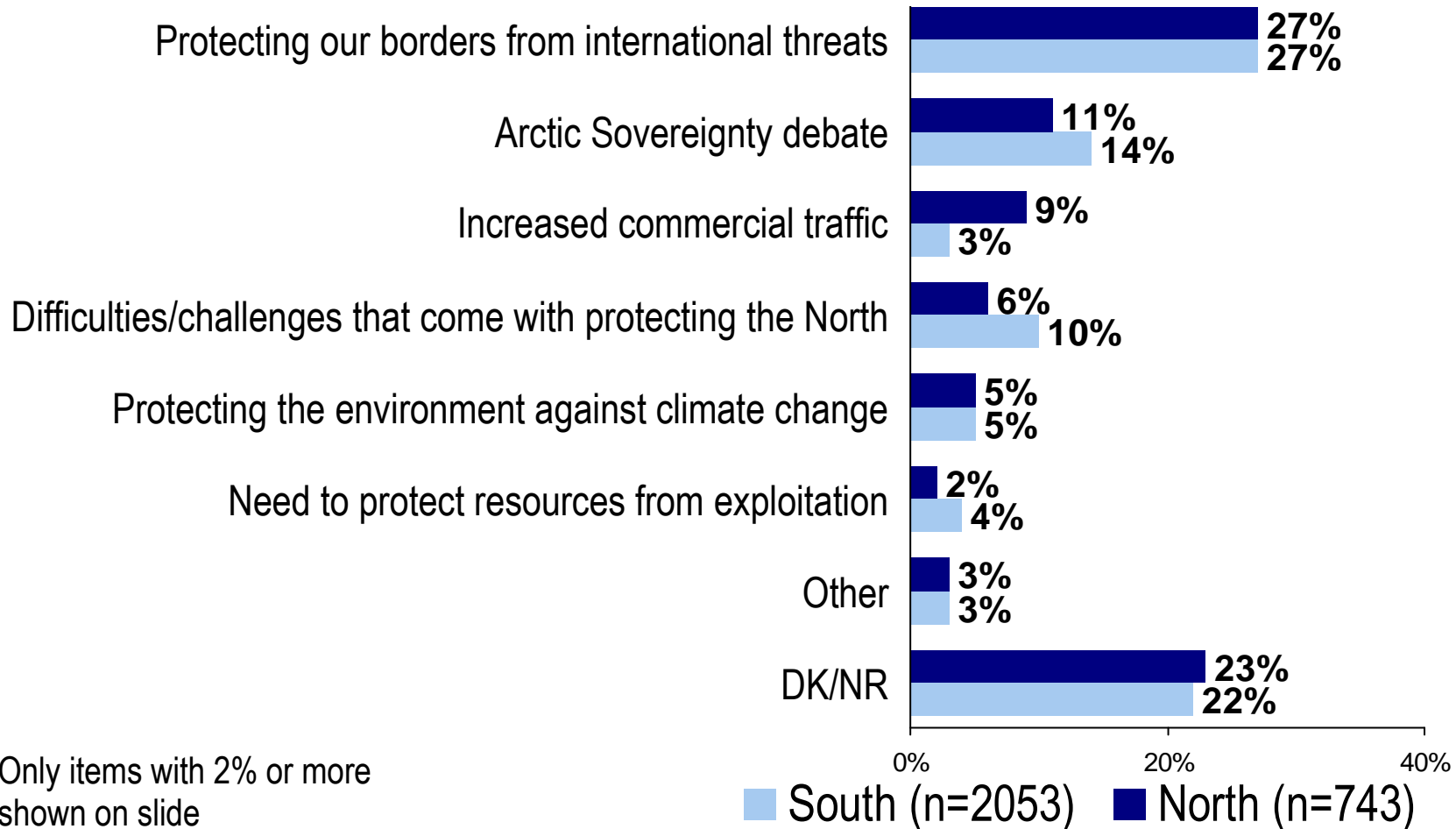
# Primary Issues in Arctic

“What would you say is the most important issue facing the Arctic region of Canada?”



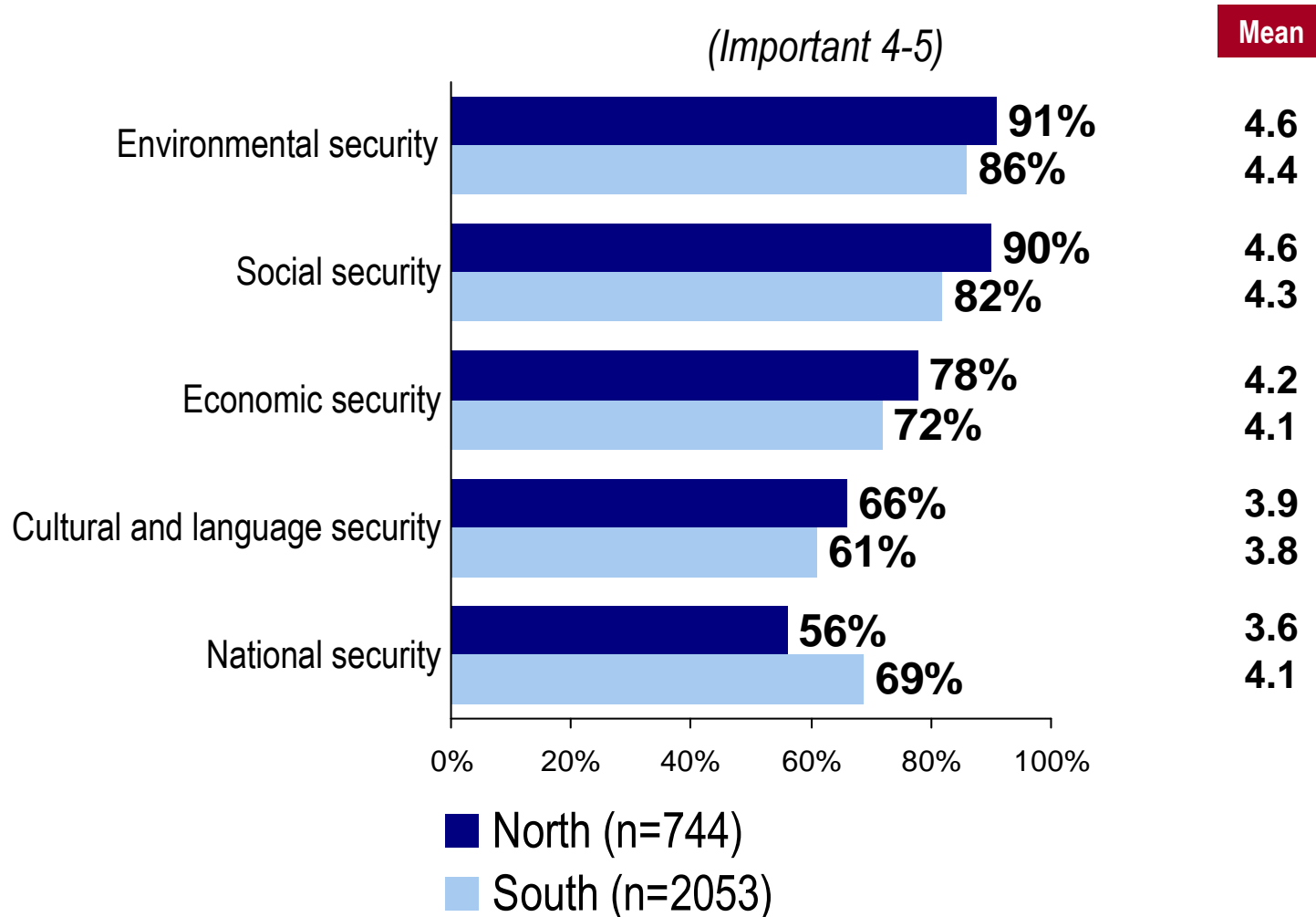
# Definition of Security (Unprompted)

“When you think about security and the Canadian Arctic, what one issue or element comes to mind?”



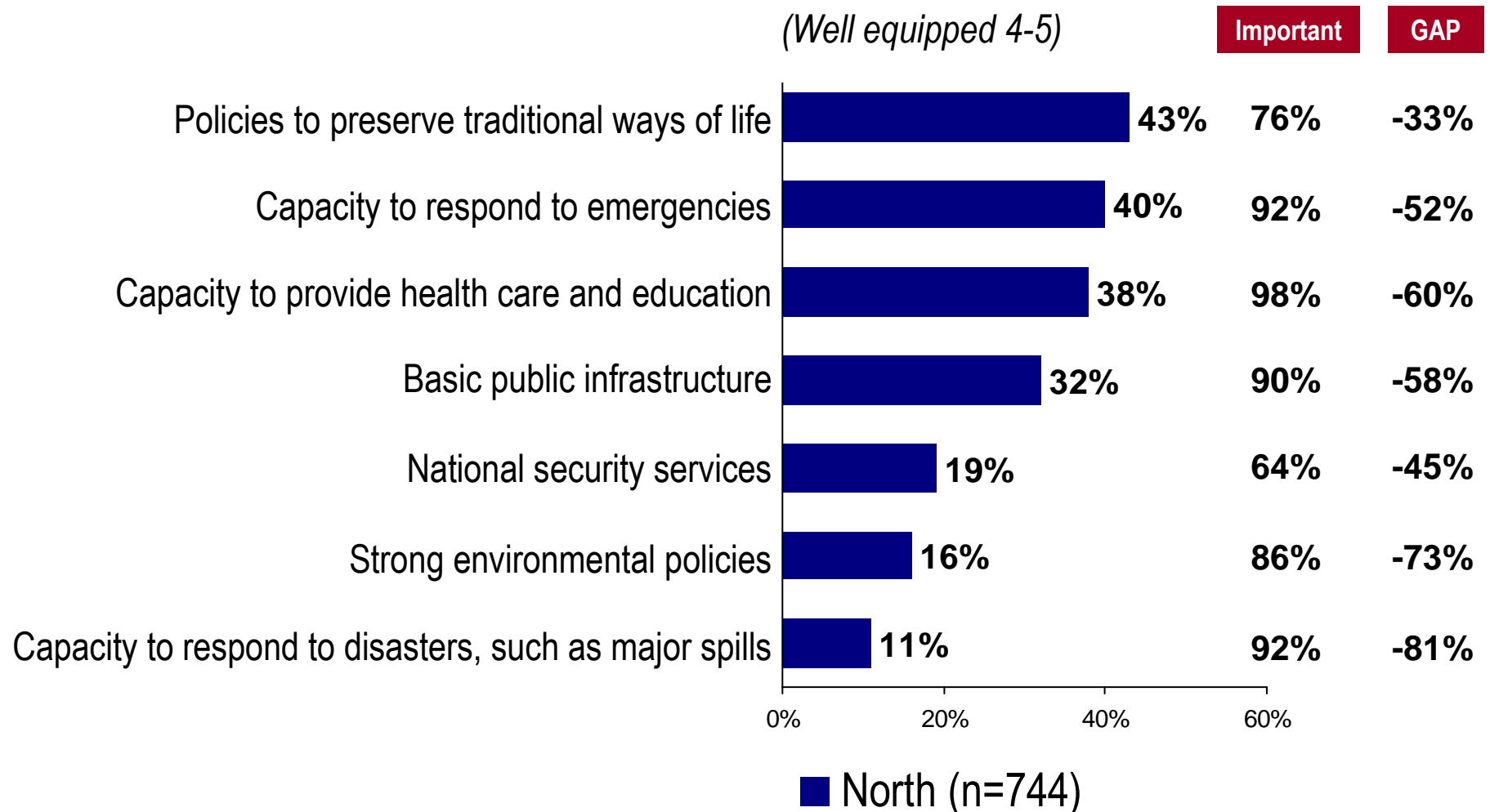
# Definition of Security (Prompted)

“How important are each of the following to your own definition of security when it comes to protecting the Canadian Arctic?”



# Adequacy of Different Elements of Arctic

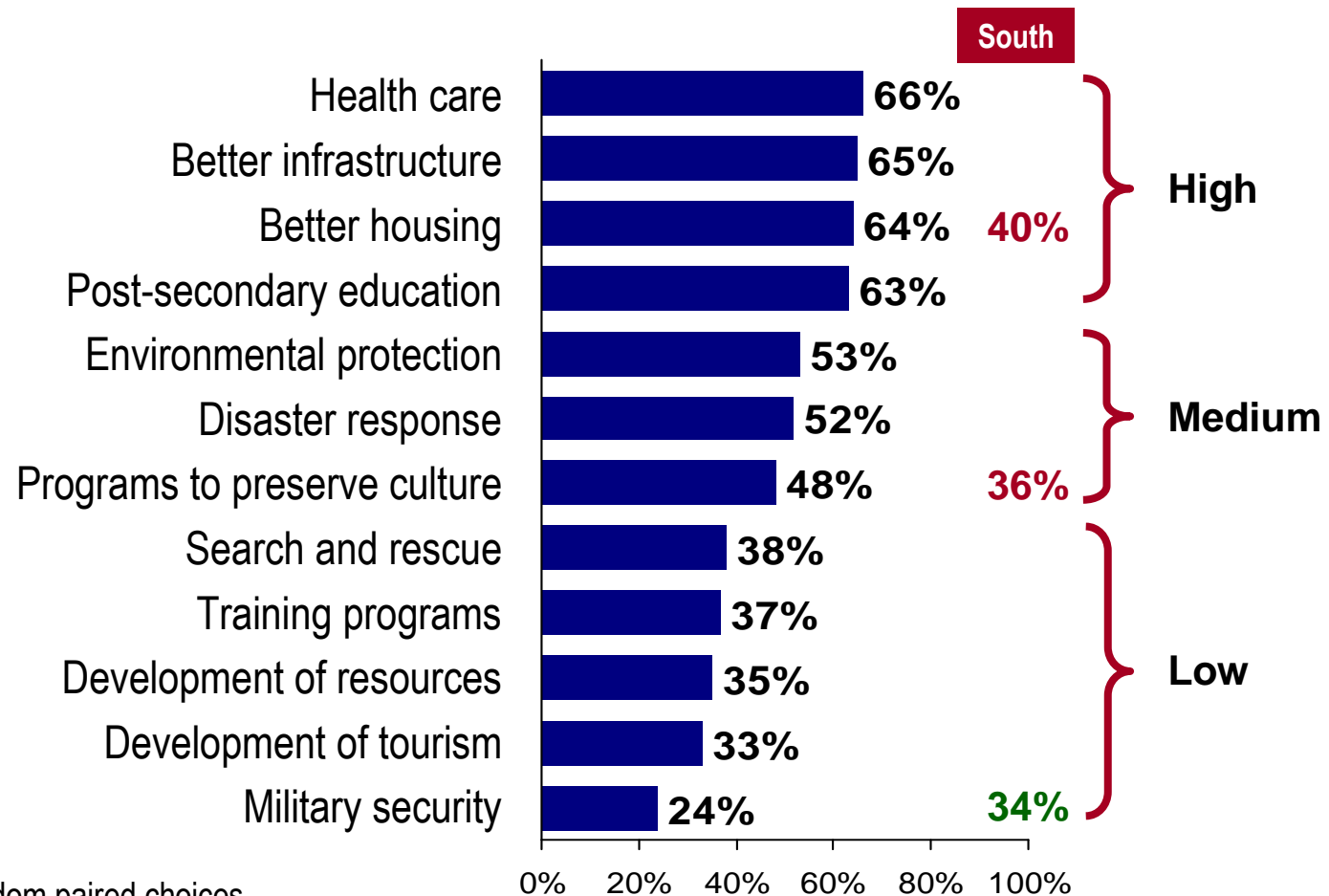
“How well equipped do you think the Canadian Arctic is today to be able meet current needs in each of the following areas?”





# Ranking Priorities – Trade Off (North)

“Suppose you were in charge for a day and you had to choose how to invest one billion dollars over the next 10 years to help the Canadian Arctic prepare to face its future challenges. Which of the following investments...?”

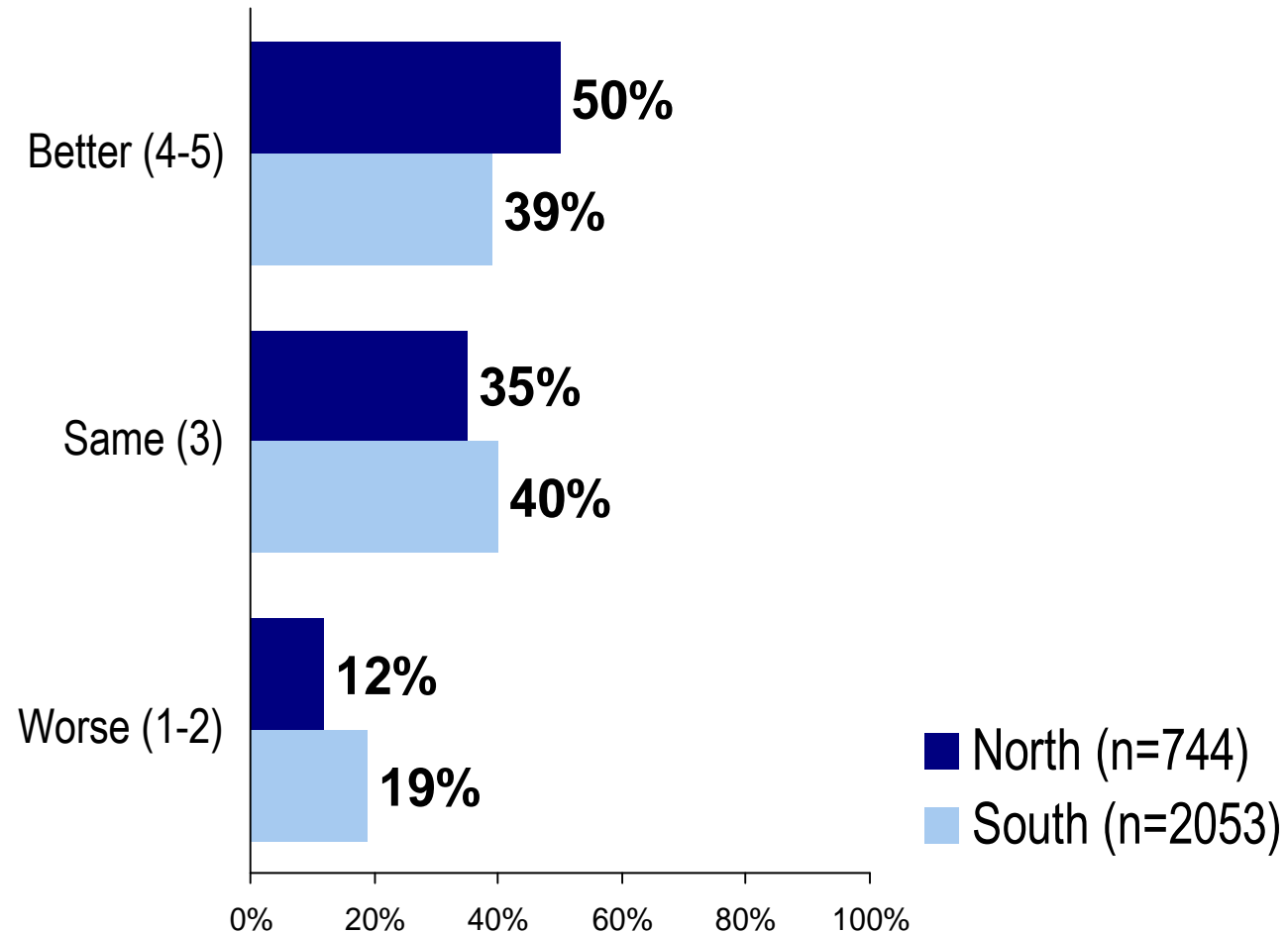


\*Presented in series of random paired choices.

Per cent indicates average number of times option is selected over all others. ■ North (n=744)

# Quality of Life Over Time

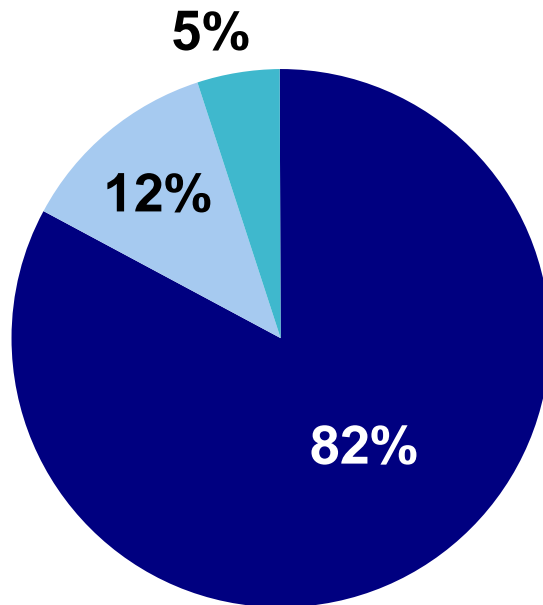
“Do you expect that your overall quality of life will get better or worse in the next 10 years?”



# Support for Expanding Canadian Rangers

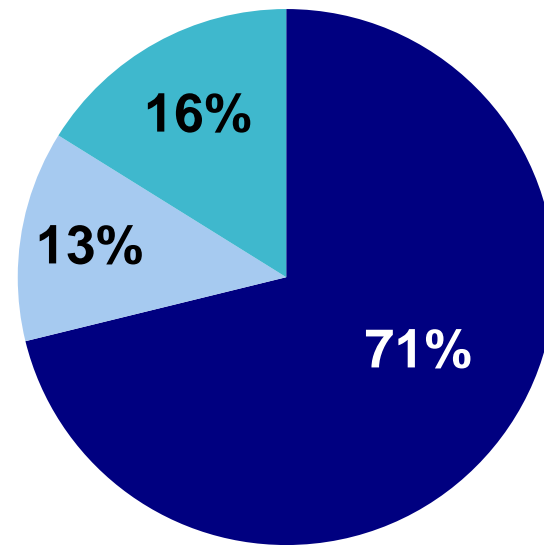
“Which is closer to your own point of view?”

**NORTH**



n=744

**SOUTH**



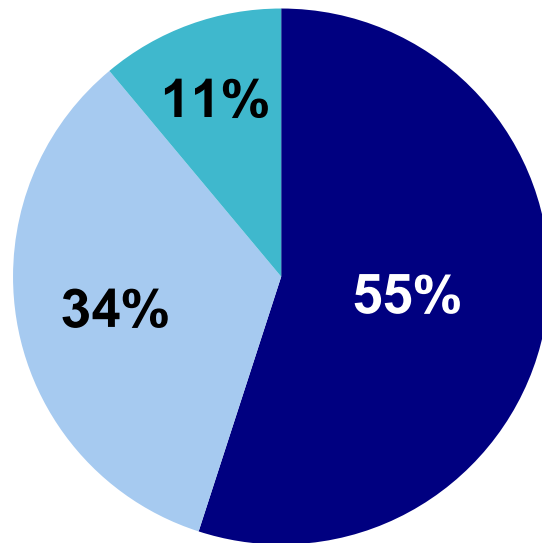
n=2053

- Expand Canadian Rangers
- Too expensive, rely on existing equipment and personnel
- DK/Refuse

# The Arctic and Canada's Foreign Policy

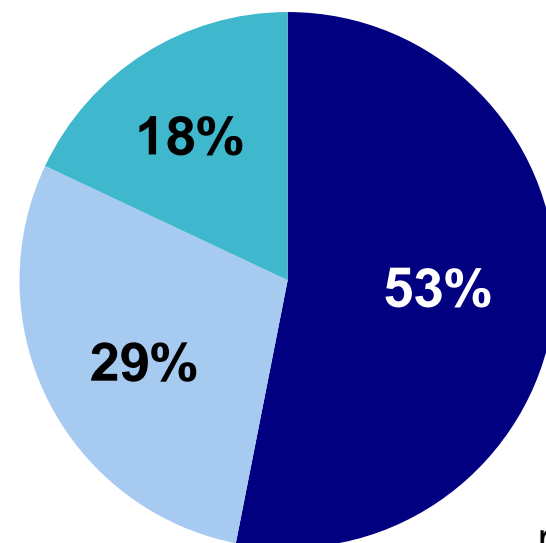
“Which is closer to your own point of view?”

**NORTH**



n=744

**SOUTH**

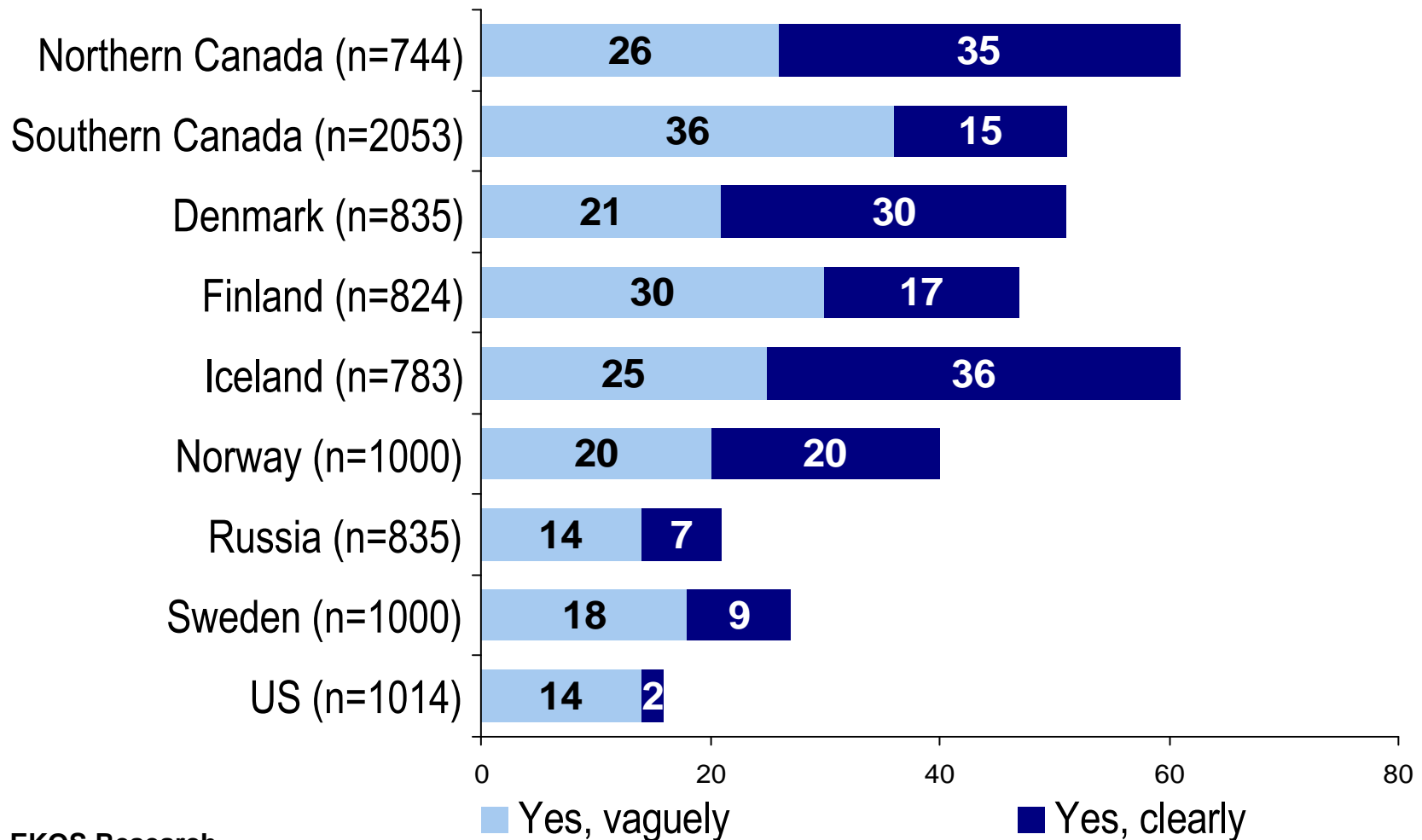


n=2053

- Arctic should be the most important focus of our foreign policy
- We should concentrate on parts of the world beyond the Arctic in our foreign policy
- DK/Refuse

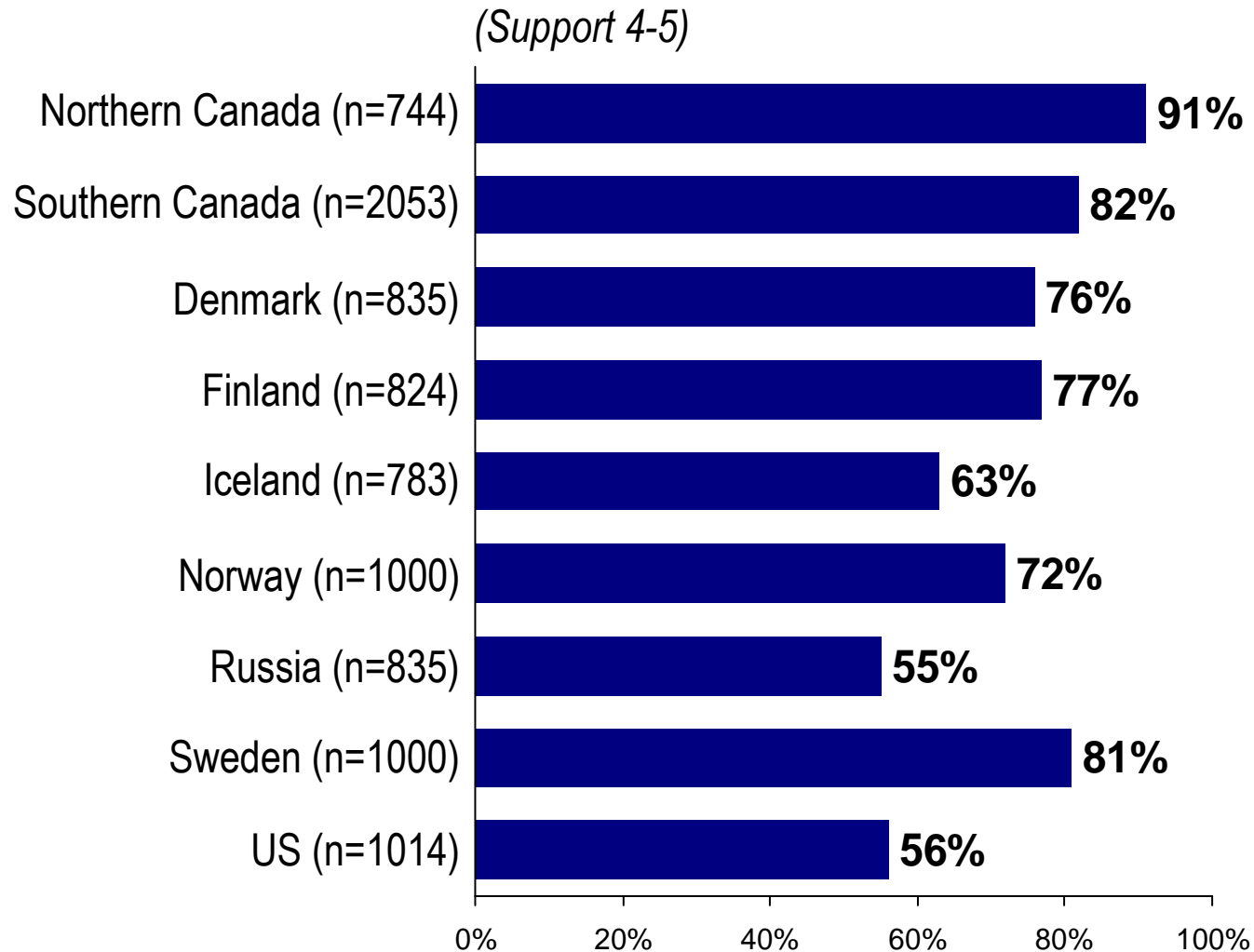
# Awareness of Arctic Council

“Have you ever heard of an intergovernmental forum or group called the Arctic Council that is made up of eight countries with Arctic regions?”



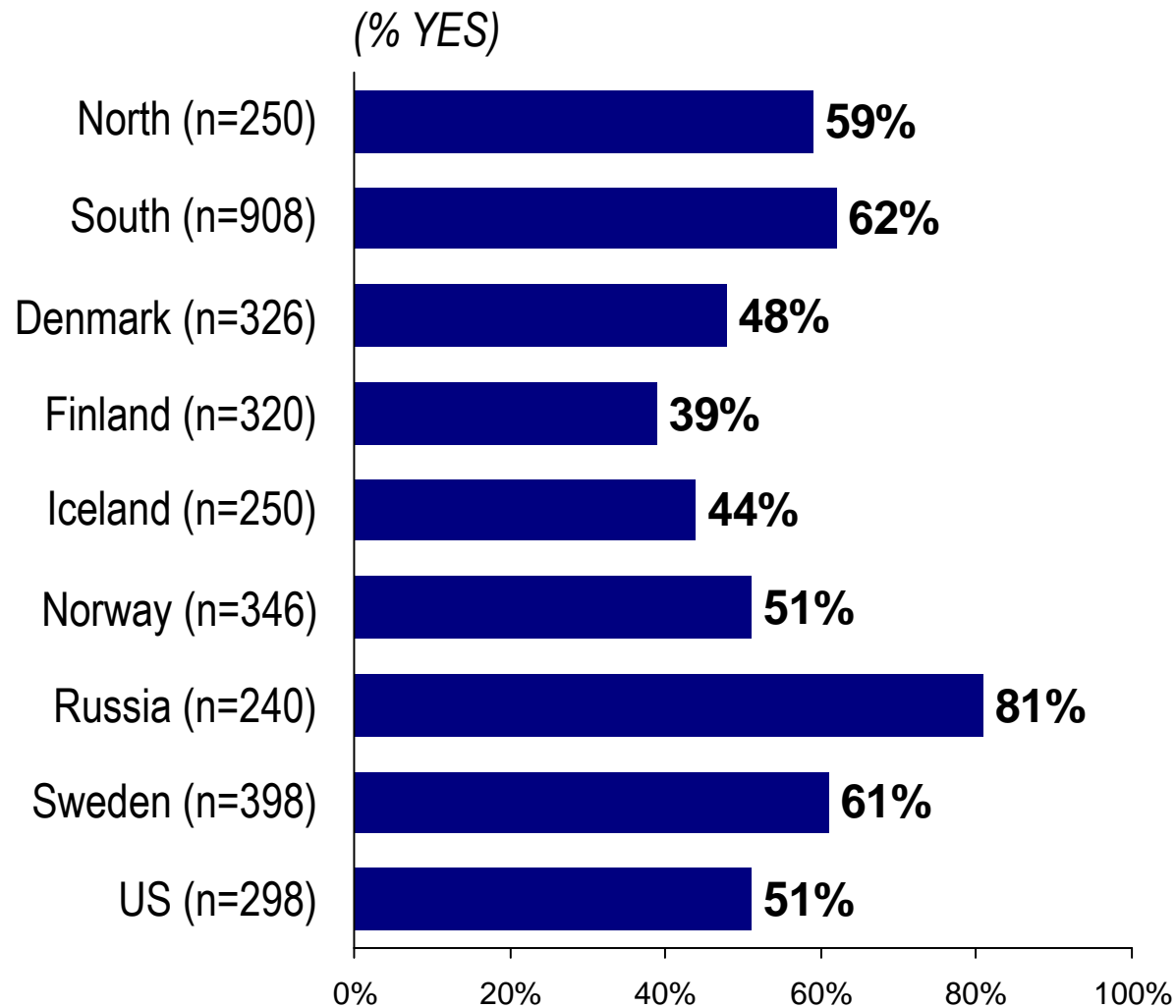
# Support for Arctic Council

**“Do you support or not the idea of an Arctic Council so the 8 Arctic nations can work together on common Arctic issues, instead of each one working independently?”**



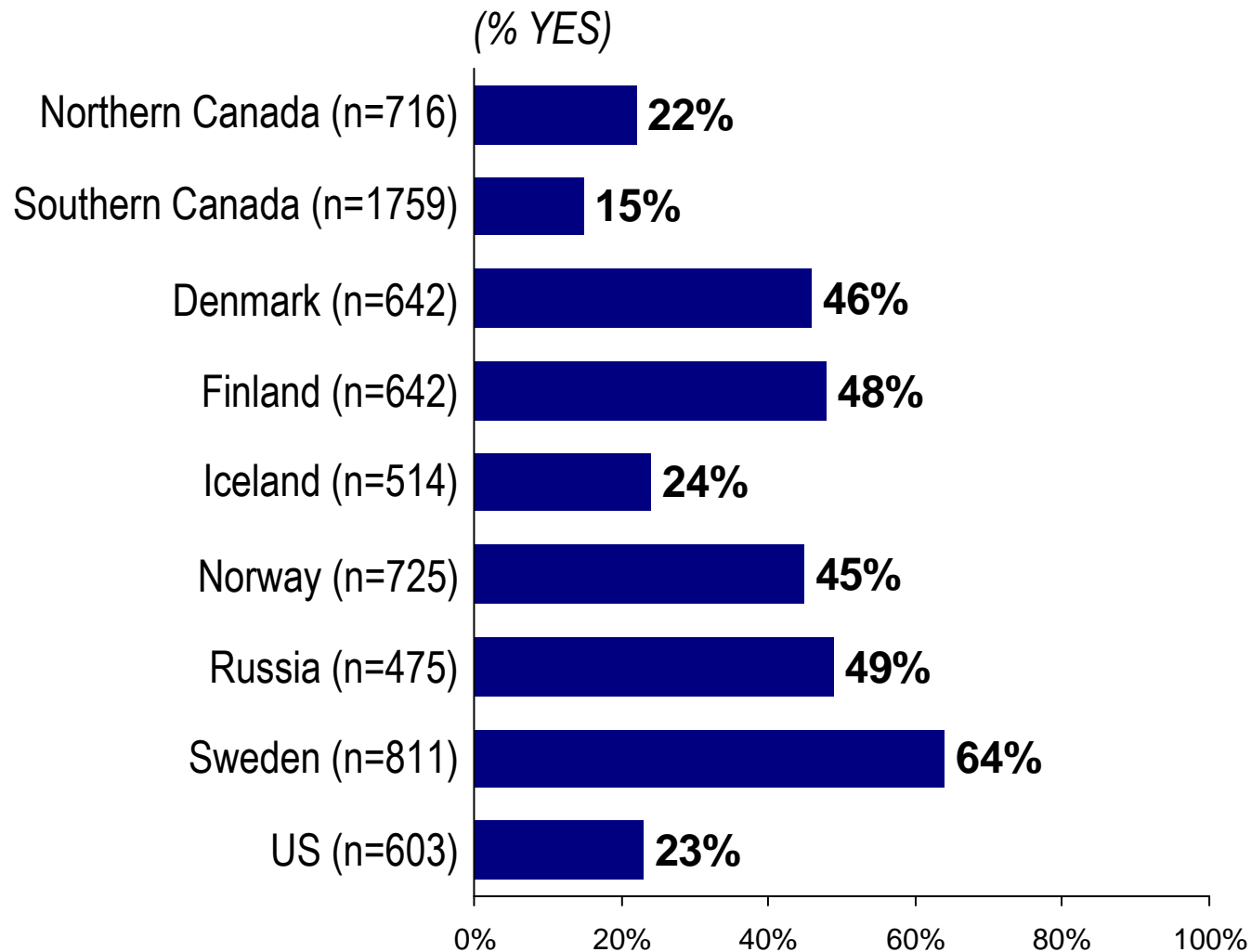
# Support for Expanded Council Mandate

“Do you think that the Arctic Council should also cover areas like *military security* in the Arctic?”



# Support for Inclusion of Non-Arctic States

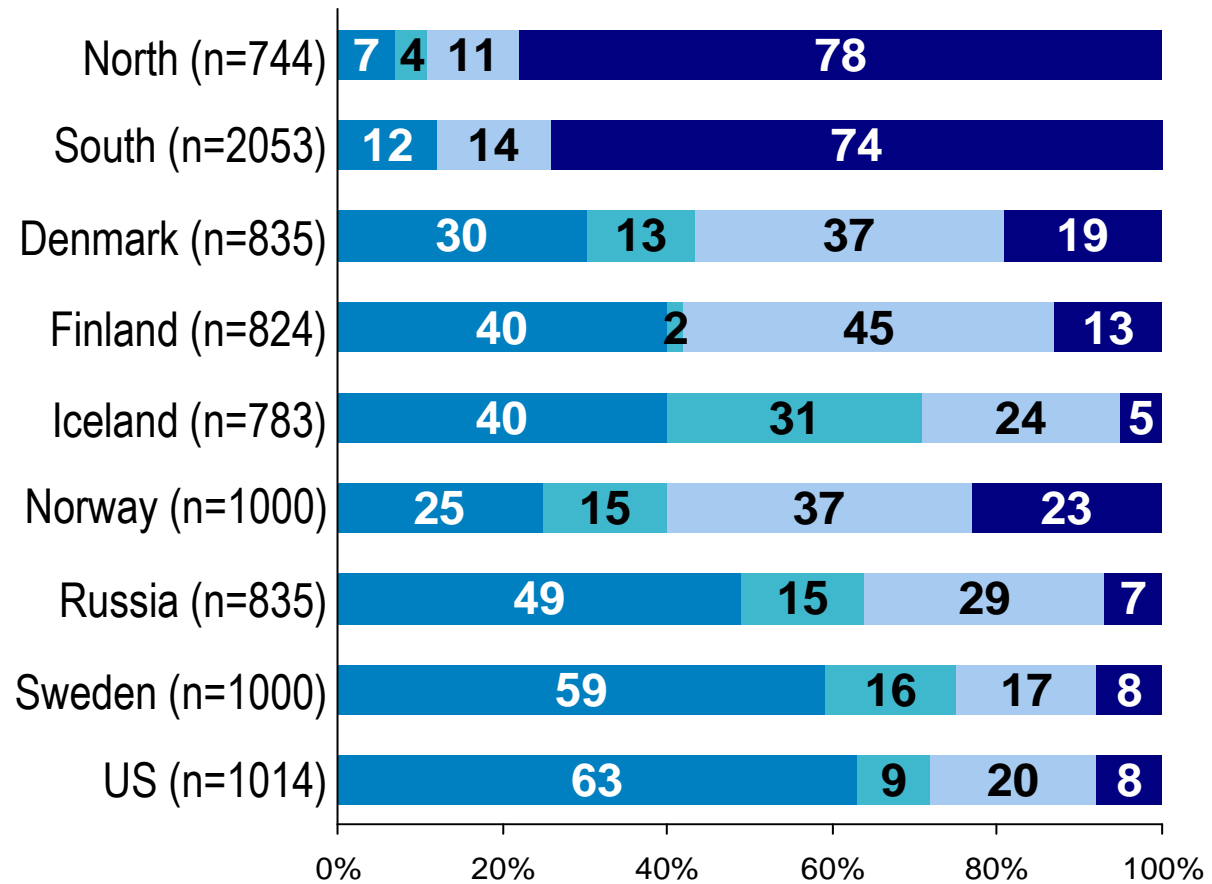
**“Do you think non-arctic states, like China or organizations like the European Union, should be invited to join the Arctic Council and have a say in Arctic affairs?”**





# Northwest Passage – Whose?

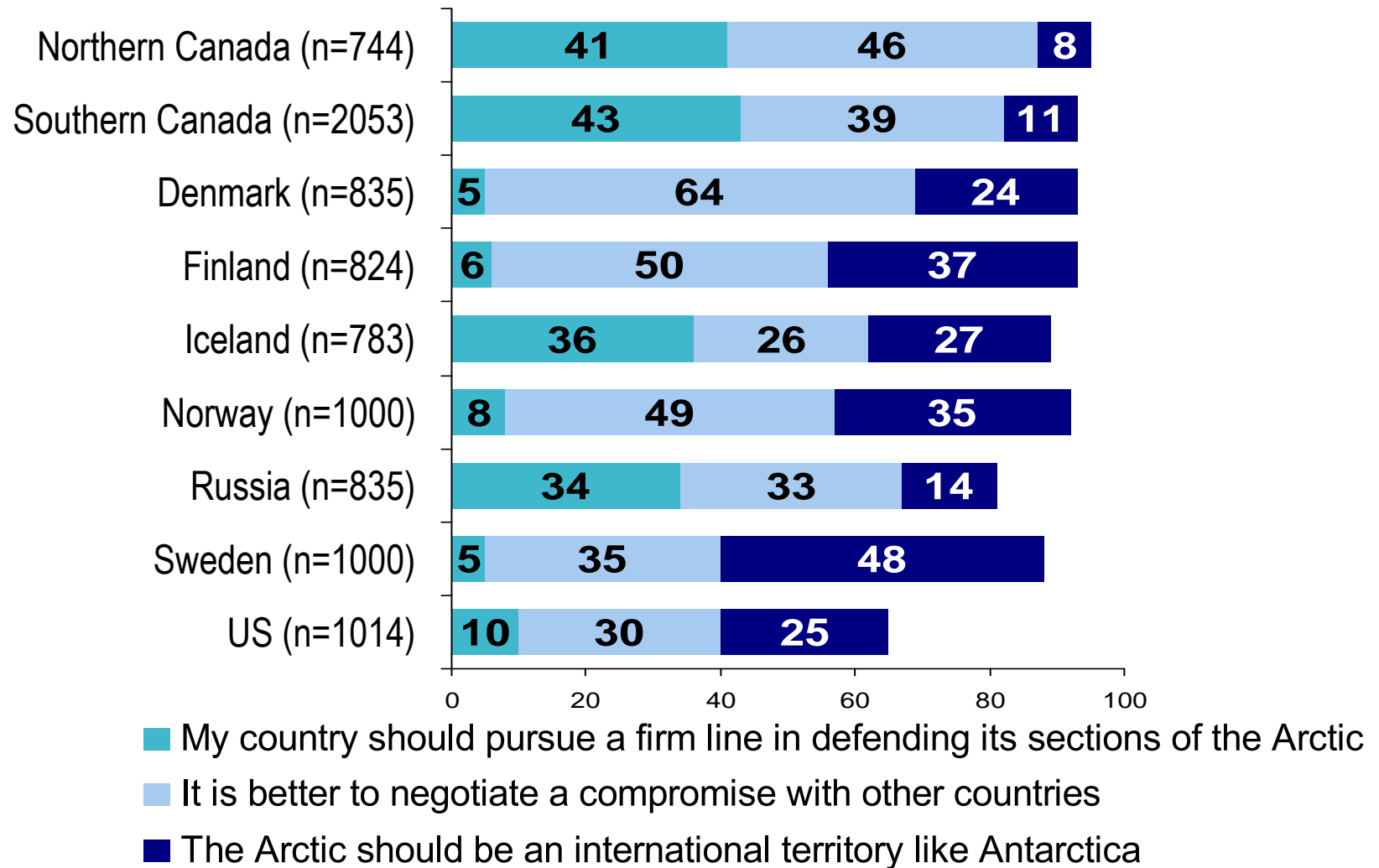
“The Northwest passage is a sea route through the Arctic islands, along the northern coast of North America, that connects the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It is of interest to many nations because it significantly reduces the shipping distance from Asia to Europe. From what you know or have heard, is the Northwest passage...?”



■ DK/NR  
 ■ In dispute  
 ■ An international water way  
 ■ Within Cdn waters

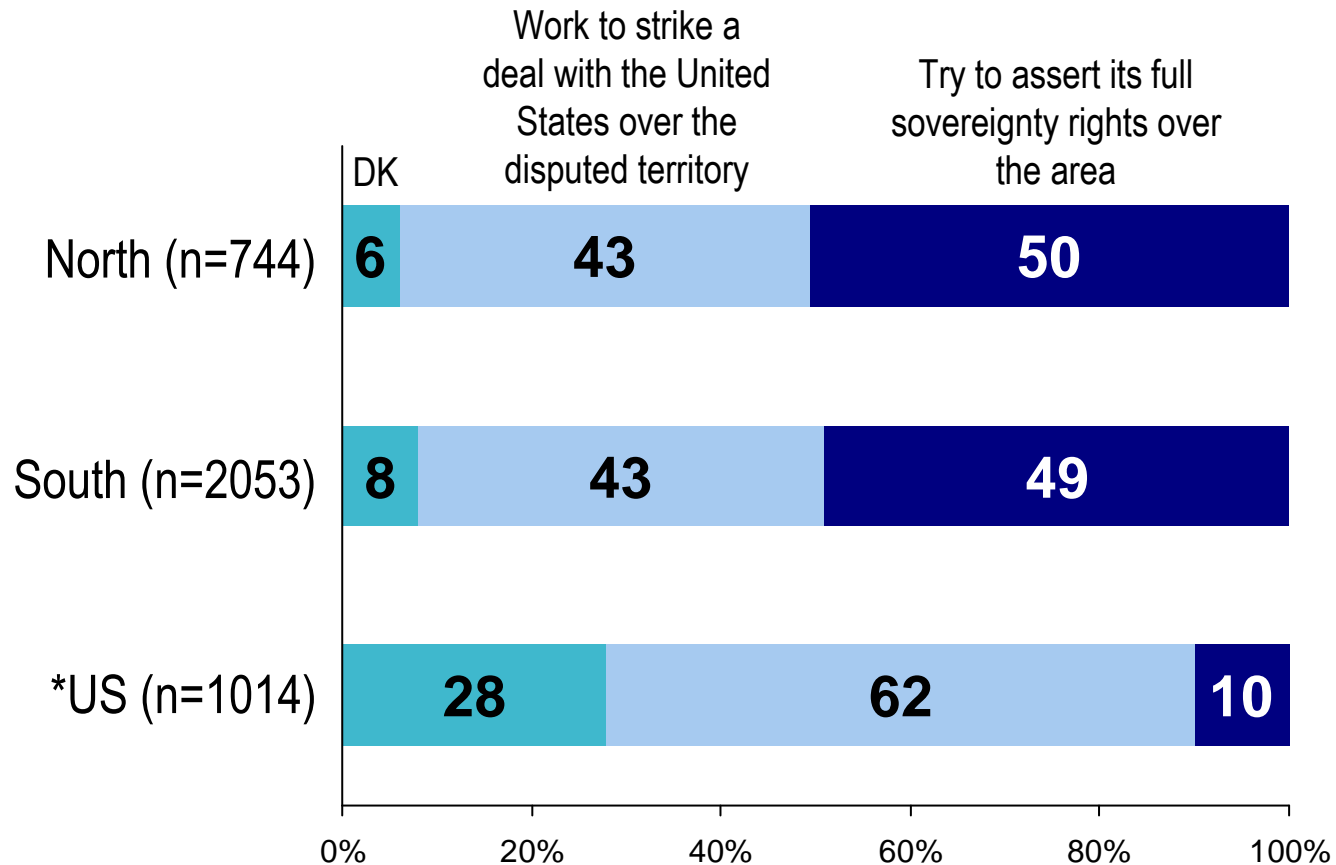
# Preferred Approach to Resolving Arctic Disputes

“Thinking about border and/or resource sharing disputes in the Arctic, what statement is closest to your point of view?”



# Approach to Beaufort Dispute with US

“Canada currently has a border dispute with the United States over a territory in the Beaufort Sea. Would you rather see Canada...?”



\* US respondents asked about dispute with US

# Preferred Partner in Dealing with Arctic Issues

“Which of the following countries would you be most comfortable with Canada dealing with on Arctic issues?”

	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
<b>Northern Canada</b>	Scandinavia	The United States	Russia
<b>Southern Canada</b>	Scandinavia	The United States	Russia
<b>Denmark</b>	Scandinavia	Canada	The United States
<b>Finland</b>	Scandinavia	Canada	The United States
<b>Iceland</b>	Scandinavia	Canada	The United States
<b>Norway</b>	Scandinavia	Canada	The United States
<b>Russia</b>	Scandinavia	The United States	Canada
<b>Sweden</b>	Scandinavia	Canada	Other Europe
<b>The United States</b>	Canada	Scandinavia	Other Europe

# Conclusions (i)

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- Arctic salience / Common Canadian mind
- Willingness to shift resources to North
- Environment and climate dominant (Canada and the world)
- Imagery more traditional security (particularly South)
- Northerners most concerned with environment, human capital, and infrastructure
  - ❖ Infrastructure deemed woefully inadequate
- Southerners more concerned with sovereignty and security
- Surprising optimism and quality of life in Arctic

## Conclusions (ii)

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- US likes Canada; Canadian antipathy to US
- No to nukes, yes to rangers, “Don’t drill baby, don’t!”
- Cooperation if necessary but not necessarily cooperation
- Who’s American now?
  - ❖ Canadian outlook on Arctic foreign policy offside and entrenched
- Huge, unstable stew of international public opinion with rising stakes as climate changes, resource demand heightens, and populations on the move
- Major geopolitical reorganization in progress, but little current recognition outside Canada and Scandinavian public



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