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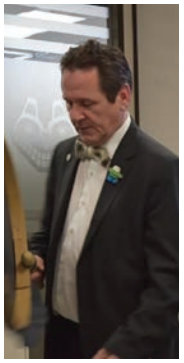

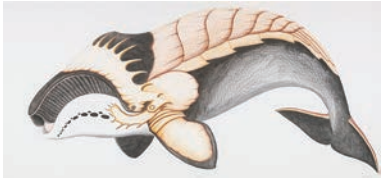

The Right to Sea Ice: Canadian Arctic Policy and Inuit Priorities

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Preface

NADINE C. FABBI AND MICHELLE R. KOUTNIK, EDITORS
Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, and Department of Earth and Space Sciences

> *As Inuit, our relationship with the environment is steeped with meaning. It shapes our identity, values and world view... Keeping our homeland cold is critical to us as a people. The international community understands now, more than ever, just how key keeping Inuit Nunangat cold is to avoiding irreversible changes to the Earth's entire climate system.*
> —Natan Obed, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, in *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy*

> *Where I live, the sea ice never stops. It is a living thing.*
> —Jayko Oweetaluktuk, Nunavik, in *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat*

Ice is critical to life. Ice is the largest storehouse for freshwater on earth. However, the Arctic is warming at nearly twice the global average and we are losing ice at an alarming rate. Ice sheets are losing mass, glaciers are retreating, permafrost is thawing, and sea ice is thinning and is less extensive. To date, there is no international policy for sea ice. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (defining the rights and responsibilities of nations with respect to use of the oceans) dedicates one article (article 234) to the protection of "ice-covered areas" and this is open to interpretation. How might we think about the development of policies to protect ice? In this course, we looked at the impact of climate change on Arctic sea ice and engaged in a simulated exercise to draft an Arctic policy for Canada, where sea ice and the Arctic natural environment play a role in how we understand the Northwest Passage and are an integral part of Inuit life and culture. Students were introduced to how ice is understood in Western science and culture and the role of ice in the lives of Inuit.

Task Force students were encouraged to think creatively about ice—to think about ice as alive, as having memory, as constituting territory, and as a human right—and to explore ice through the lenses of science, culture, history, law, and art. Importantly, the students were encouraged to incorporate the science of ice and climate change into policy reports dealing with issues in the social sciences.

Perhaps most importantly, we asked the students to consider how we might think about policy differently—how we might think about policy from an Inuit perspective, and this incorporation therefore challenges how we develop, create, and implement policy. We are extremely proud of how the students identified issues they felt were critical to human rights and/or environmental justice, and how each student addressed a problem from his or her own viewpoint and way of knowing.

The Donald C. Hellmann Task Force Program is the capstone experience in the undergraduate International Studies Program in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle. One of the unique features of Task Force is the undergraduate capstone experience. Through the Task Force, students work in teams to recommend responses to global problems under the direction of expert faculty and, in this case, two graduate students—Ellen Ahlness, Political Science, and Elizabeth Wessells, Archaeology. Together, the students produced a report with policy recommendations, which is then presented to an outside expert evaluator.

Under normal circumstances, the students would present their findings to an expert evaluator in person at the university. But this year was different. As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the expert evaluation took place online. Our evaluator, Whit Fraser, author of *True North Rising*, and former CBC reporter in northern Canada, joined us virtually from Ottawa, Canada, providing the students feedback on their research. Professor Joshua Reid, Associate Professor of History and American Indian Studies at UW, also provided the students with feedback, as did Jeff Parker, former Consul General of Canada in Seattle.

An important part of the course was a research study tour to Ottawa over the last week of January 2020 where students met with scientists, scholars, representatives from Inuit organizations, and federal government departments (see Appendix A for a copy of the Ottawa Program). We strongly encouraged the students to use these visits to ground their research in the actual functioning of Canadian federal departments, Inuit approaches to sea ice loss and other issues, and in understanding the research of key scholars in the field. Some references to the visits in Ottawa are included in this report. We are extremely grateful to our many hosts in Ottawa for their time, dedication, and generosity to this program.

According to student Caitlin Clarke, "The 2020 Arctic Task Force trip to Ottawa has been one of the most memorable experiences of my undergraduate career. I have always had a strong interest in being involved with matters that affect Canada, the United States, and the Canada–U.S. relationship…Being able to visit Ottawa…has been an incredibly rewarding experience and one that has greatly contributed to my academic and professional ambitions. Visiting departments like Global Affairs Canada and Crown–Indigenous Relations and meeting some of those working on policy and law for the Canadian government really opened my eyes to a whole new field that I am excited to explore."

We want to thank and congratulate the two student editors of the Task Force report, Claire Cowan and Johnna Bollesen, who did an outstanding job of working with their colleagues to write and organize the report, including establishing its major themes. A special thanks also goes to Bonnie Greer, who encouraged all of us to think about how art can enhance our understanding of policy.

Many individuals were involved in the success of the course, the Ottawa research trip and this publication. We wish to thank the following for their time and dedication: Dvorah Oppenheimer and Kaitlyn Li in the Jackson School Business office; Gail Schmitz and Michael Walstrom, who manage the Carnegie grant; Lucas Contreras and Marion Ferguson with the Canadian Studies Center and Haley Taylor-Manning also with the Center, who provided extensive assistance throughout the project; Tamara Leonard with the Center for Global Studies; Monique Thormann in Jackson School Communications; Katherine Kroeger and Emily Warren with UW Study Abroad; Dan Mandeville with UW Libraries, who built the most exceptional database and research guide on the Arctic; Max Showalter, doctoral candidate in Oceanography and student of Inuktitut, who proved to us that sea ice is indeed alive; Katherine Kim and Lauren Dobrovolny in the Jackson School's Office of Academic Services; Ellen Ahlness, doctoral student in Political Science and FLAS Fellow in Inuktitut, graduate assistant for the course; and Elizabeth Wessells, doctoral student in Archaeology, FLAS Fellow in Inuktitut, and outstanding lead for our research trip to Ottawa. Finally, a special thanks goes to professional editor and writing consultant Dr. Joanne Muzak, Montréal, whose work with the students enabled their papers to be published in this Issue #7 of *Arctic and International Relations Series*.

Funding for the course, research trip to Ottawa, and this publication was made possible by a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York, and by the Canadian Studies Center and Center for Global Studies with Title VI grant funding

administered by the International and Foreign Language Education office in the Office of Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education. The statements made and the views expressed are solely the responsibility of the authors. We would also like to thank the Director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and Principal Investigator of the Carnegie grant, Reşat Kasaba, who has enthusiastically supported the Arctic initiative since its inception.

Arctic and International Relations Series is the outcome of a partnership between the Canadian Studies Center, the International Policy Institute, and the Center for Global Studies in the Jackson School of International Studies. The series is dedicated to translating scholarship into policy options to enhance understanding of the Arctic as a unique region in international affairs including the important role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples in shaping policy for the region.

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Letter from Whit Fraser, Expert Evaluator

30 March 2020

Dear Professors Fabbi and Koutnik,

I wish to congratulate you, all of your colleagues at the Jackson School University of Washington, and your group of remarkably talented and committed students on the Arctic sea ice policy initiative and express my appreciation for being invited to participate as an evaluator.

It was a new experience for me. As you know, I am a journalist, and chose to approach much of the material and presentations from that perspective.

The academic staff and the students, I believe, are to be congratulated for undertaking such a massive project, in such a short time frame. I was impressed with the final outcome, considering the scope of the issue, the amount of research material that you weighed, and an uncompromising deadline. The quality of the reports indicates the students gained a great deal from the exercise and exposure to a part of the world that is under growing environmental threat.

I think your team approach worked very well and I was very much impressed with the creative method. The concept of ice as a living element in our environment is also an interesting and accurate tactic.

Sadly, it follows that sea ice is also a dying element in our world.

I was surprised to see that massive and magnificent iceberg picture at the end of the presentation and to be able to say, that in the Davis Strait, high above the Arctic circle several years ago, I believe I witnessed that same iceberg and indeed wrote about it, but regrettably in the form of a eulogy. I knew when I saw that it was one more in thousands of nature's frozen monuments drifting south, changing its face, form, and size with each passing day in warming waters and winds until ultimately it reaches its final destination that I call oblivion.

I came away from the exercise knowing that you and your colleagues at Jackson School and UW have opened the minds of a number of young, articulate, and committed students, who will in their own lives slow down this path of destruction that challenges all of us.

Thank you again for allowing me to be a part of this series.

Sincerely,

Whit Fraser

Biography

WHIT FRASER
Expert Evaluator, Ottawa

Whit Fraser's entire working life has been associated with Canada's Arctic—as a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) broadcaster, chairman of the Canadian Polar Commission, executive director with the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (the national Inuit organization in Canada), and more recently as author of *True North Rising.*

His combined experience, beginning in 1967, allowed him to travel to every community across Canada's three northern territories, as well as throughout Northern Québec, Labrador, Alaska, and Greenland. He lived in Iqaluit and Yellowknife from 1967 to 1978 when he joined the CBC National News, and in Kuujjuaq, Northern Québec, from 2008 to 2015.

For eight of his 25 years with CBC, Whit Fraser worked on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, and during that time provided unprecedented coverage of Arctic and Indigenous issues for a national audience. He was also prime-time anchor for *CBC Newsworld* ***when it went on the air in 1989. During his broadcasting career, he witnessed the remarkable developments that shaped northern Canada and Indigenous people today, including the historic First Ministers' Constitutional amendments affirming Indigenous rights in the Constitution of Canada, the negotiation and settlement of four comprehensive Inuit Land Claim Agreements, and the creation of the new territory of Nunavut.***

From 1974 to 1977 he covered the Berger MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry and led a team of Indigenous language reporters, producing daily reports in English as well as in six Indigenous languages. In his view, this Commission of Inquiry became a turning point for the political, economic, social, and environmental developments that have shaped the Arctic today.

As founding chairman of the Canadian Polar Commission from 1991 to 1997, he worked with a distinguished Board of Directors to recommend to the Canadian government a series of measures to strengthen science policy in the polar regions both internationally and nationally, including greater emphasis on human health and social issues confronting Indigenous Peoples.

As executive director with Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami from 2001 to 2006, he coordinated the Inuit-specific agenda presented to the Kelowna First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Affairs in 2005.

His recent memoir, *True North Rising* ***(2018), is an eyewitness account of a remarkable cadre of young Indigenous leaders who confronted and challenged colonialism in Canada's Arctic and brought about a far greater measure of equality and reconciliation to the North.***

Whit is a regular participant as an educator and storyteller for the Students on Ice Arctic education program, and Adventure Canada, the premier Arctic Cruise line that focuses on cultural connections and our scientific understanding of the world's farthest-flung regions. He currently lives in Ottawa, Ontario.

Introduction

CLAIRE COWAN
Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

> *The freeze traps life and stops time. The thaw releases it. We can smell the footprints of last fall and the new decomposition of all who perished in the grips of winter. Global warming will release the deeper smells and coax stories out of the permafrost. Who knows what memories lie deep in the ice? Who knows what curses?*
> —Tania Tagaq, *Split Tooth*

Climate Change

The planet's global mean surface temperature has risen almost 2ºF since the late nineteenth century, mostly driven by human-made emissions and increased carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere.[1] Data from the 2004 *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* showed that the Arctic is warming at almost twice the rate of the global mean temperature.[2] Arctic temperatures are projected to increase another 4 to 7 degrees over the next 100 years due to greenhouse gas emissions, leading to significant changes in the Arctic environment.[3] As a result, the Arctic region is of increased interest to scientists and world leaders due its potential economic value in both cooling the globe and extracting natural resources. Since climate change will affect Western lifestyles, the Arctic has also been of increasing economic interest.

Climate change is a global challenge, but it is an especially pressing challenge for people living in the Arctic. While physical scientists describe ice as frozen water, an emotionless natural phenomenon, Inuit consider ice as homeland, rich and alive with memory, and a fundamental human right.[4] In understanding how climate change affects the Arctic, it is important to consider these layered perspectives of ice and the Arctic territory. Melting sea ice, thawing permafrost, and the changing climate affect Inuit ways of life, including through major changes to their transportation routes and in seasonal mammal migration patterns. Throughout the circumpolar region, Inuit communities are resilient, thrive in the cold, and rely on sea ice. Yet Inuit are concerned about how they will have to adapt to a changing climate.[5] Inuit have strong cultural and historical ties to the Arctic, and a unique perspective on the land; the land enables activity that is central to their life and culture.[6] The Government of Canada is committed to including Inuit needs in addressing the challenges of climate change within the Arctic as stated within *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (2019). Collaboration between government departments and Inuit with experience living sustainably in the North is necessary to generate new discussion and action about how to sustain the Arctic in the face of change. Multiple issues are becoming increasingly apparent: the Northwest Passage opening as a potential shipping route intensifies global interest in the region, more tourism causes disruption of marine mammal migration, and melting sea ice affects how

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1 "Global Climate Change Indicators," National Centers for Environmental Information, NOAA, n.d., accessed May 21, 2020, http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/monitoring-references/faq/indicators.php#warming-climate.

2 Susan Hassol, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10–27.

3 Hassol, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic*.

4 Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014), 5.

5 Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 5.

6 Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 6.

Inuit travel on the ice. To address these issues, policies need to continue to be developed that mitigate the negative outcomes of climate change in the Arctic while leading to more positive outcomes for Inuit communities.

Our Task Force report identifies specific issues within Inuit communities and provides a perspective on policy recommendations based upon action that has already been taken. Approximately 65,000 Inuit currently live in Canada, and Indigenous knowledge and experience must be incorporated into Canadian policy due to their ancestral ties to the land.[7] This has already begun to happen in Canada with the establishment of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, which works to renew the relationship between Canada and Indigenous populations and to support Indigenous self-determination.[8] The co-development of *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* also provides an important starting point for further collaborative efforts between Indigenous groups and the Government of Canada.[9] Collaborative policies between governments and Indigenous people are necessary for moving forward with actions in response to climate change that will enable better futures for all.

Arctic Sea Ice Change

Our Task Force focused primarily on addressing policy on Arctic sea ice as its melting and thinning has implications for prospective economic gains for Arctic and non-Arctic states and directly affects Inuit life and culture. Sea ice is defined as frozen ocean water that forms, grows, and melts completely in the ocean.[10] It is a major component of the global climate system due to the albedo contrast between ocean water and ice cover. The presence (or lack) of sea ice determines how much of the sun's energy is reflected back into space.[11] Decreased sea ice extent feeds back into further sea ice loss, as less sea ice cover means that more solar energy is absorbed. Loss of sea ice can be measured with variables such as thickness, extent, concentration, age, as well as changes that occur seasonally. From 1980 to 2008, average sea ice thickness decreased from 3.64 meters to 1.89 meters.[12] Younger sea ice is thinner, often reforming only in the winter of each year, and therefore more prone to breakup and melting. Since the 1980s, Arctic sea ice extent has decreased approximately 12.85% per decade.[13]

Sea ice in the Arctic is vital for maintaining a functioning, healthy, and sustainable ecosystem. For Inuit, sea ice is an integral part of their identity and culture, not an impediment to economic opportunities, as it may often be considered by non-Inuit commercial interests.[14] Instead of sea ice being a separate entity from the rest of the land, it is viewed as an extension of their territory and provides important transportation routes for hunting.[15] Inuit view sea ice as living, and a place for temporary habitation during hunting trips that help to sustain their communities.[16] Since sea ice differs in meaning for Western and Indigenous cultures, it is important to take into consideration the perspective of Inuit who have lived on the ice for thousands of years.

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[7] "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, n.d., accessed May 21, 2020, https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/.

[8] "Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada," Government of Canada, last modified January 15, 2020, https://www.canada.ca/en/crown-indigenous-relations-northern-affairs.html.

[9] Government of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, last modified November 18, 2019, www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587#s6.

[10] "All About Sea Ice," National Snow and Ice Data Center, n.d., accessed May 21, 2020, nsidc.org/cryosphere/seaice/index.html.

[11] John Cook, "Climate Science Glossary," *Skeptical Science*, 2020, https://skepticalscience.com/earth-albedo-effect.htm.

[12] "SOTC: Sea Ice," State of the Cryosphere, National Snow and Ice Data Center, October 11, 2019, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/sotc/sea_ice.html.

[13] "Arctic Sea Ice Minimum," NASA, October 2, 2019, https://climate.nasa.gov/vital-signs/arctic-sea-ice/.

[14] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*.

[15] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 9.

[16] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 21.

During our research trip to Ottawa, Scott Weese, Manager, Prediction Service Operations, with the Canadian Ice Service, noted, "For those living outside the Arctic, sea ice is primarily an adversary in Operations, and the nature of the work of Canadian Ice Service is to ensure the safety of those traveling through ice-infested waters. But their work is also to repackage their data for the communities—for those that use sea ice as a highway."[17] By taking Inuit perspectives into account, more can be done to understand how sea ice loss affects Inuit communities and the Arctic as a whole. In a series of research interviews, Inuit Elders explain that sea ice acts as a connector for travel and hunting grounds.[18] Since sea ice is primarily an extension of the land, melting sea ice reduces Inuit ability to travel and survive on this territory.

The melting and thinning of Arctic sea ice is also increasingly attracting international interest as sea ice loss results in the opening of shipping lanes and makes resource extraction more readily possible. In fact, a recent report by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national Inuit organization in Canada, warned that "Arctic seas are now a battleground between Inuit, industry and environmental organizations" as more nation-states, groups with economic interests, and environmental activists become interested in the resources of the Arctic and how they are used.[19] The resources of the Arctic have largely remained untapped due to the ice and cold temperatures. With global warming occurring, it is now more desirable for non-Arctic states to lay claim to these areas. The opening of the Northwest Passage in particular means that nation-states, including those outside of the Arctic periphery, have a greater opportunity to use these shipping routes. Historically, the Northern Sea Route has been more accessible than the Northwest Passage, which is covered with more ice throughout the year, but open water means that travel would be safer via this route to connect to the Atlantic Ocean.[20] With this opening of the Northwest Passage, balancing economic and environmental interests while maintaining Inuit lifestyles has become a primary concern for the Government of Canada and Indigenous organizations, according to *Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy* (2017). Economic opportunity has caused non-Arctic states to attempt to stake a claim in shipping rights through the region as untapped resources would have a large economic boost for participating countries. An increase in large ship traffic in the Arctic would cause significant damage as the heavy fuel oil used is almost impossible to clean up and releases black carbon. Black carbon is a result of the combustion of fossil fuels and biomass, and the primary source of emissions for it include diesel engines, cook stoves, and forest fires.[21] According to Stephanie Meakin, Science Advisor for the Inuit Circumpolar Council, black carbon leads to further climate warming and is referred to as a "short-lived climate forcer."[22] However, the current increase in ships through the Northwest Passage is due to the large increase of fishing vessels and pleasure vessels that have come into the region and are harder to monitor,[23] given their small size and the fact that they do not show up on radar monitoring. These boats are causing problems as they can cause earlier breakup of sea ice and disturb the marine mammals that live and migrate in the region.[24] The Northwest Passage will continue to be a source of contention for multiple groups in the coming decades as it opens up and will affect the ecosystems of the northern Canadian Arctic.

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[17] Scott Weese (Manager, Prediction Service Operations - Atlantic and Ice, Canadian Ice Service), presentation to Arctic Task Force, Canadian Ice Service, Ottawa, January 28, 2020.

[18] Weese, presentation.

[19] Kuupik Vandersee Kleist, *Nilliajut 2: Inuit Perspectives on the Northwest Passage, Shipping, and Marine Issues* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018), https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/NilliajutTextPages_Draftv4_english_web.pdf.

[20] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 28.

[21] Center for Climate and Energy Solutions, "What Is Black Carbon?," April 2010, www.c2es.org/document/what-is-black-carbon/.

[22] Stephanie Meakin (Senior Science Advisor, Inuit Circumpolar Council), talk with the author, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[23] Alison Cook (Postdoctoral Researcher), "A Melting Arctic: Implications of Sea-Ice Loss on Governing the Arctic" [symposium talk], University of Ottawa, Ottawa, January 30, 2020.

[24] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 29–30.

Guiding Policy

For this report, it is important to acknowledge the collaborative work between the Government of Canada and Indigenous people that has already been done to combat the inequities Inuit experience living in the North. The visions that the Government of Canada and Inuit have for the future of the Arctic North are described in *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (2019), which includes improving living conditions and the environment for all Canadians, including Inuit populations. This policy report gives a recent overview of the issues and objectives that currently need attention. The Government of Canada has set the following objectives and goals:

- Canadian Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples are resilient and healthy
- Strengthen infrastructure that closes gaps with other regions of Canada
- Strong, sustainable, diversified and inclusive local and regional economies
- Knowledge and understanding guides decision-making
- Canadian Arctic and northern ecosystems are healthy and resilient
- The rules-based international order in the Arctic responds effectively to new challenges and opportunities
- The Canadian Arctic and North and its people are safe, secure, and well-defended
- Reconciliation supports self-determination and nurtures mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.[25]

Among the objectives and goals laid out in *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, there is an emphasis on helping the northern Indigenous communities thrive with the same level of infrastructure as implemented in the South. Also important is that the Government of Canada stresses the need to outline an international policy and generates a level of understanding for how the Arctic region functions and is regulated. In the chapters that follow, an aspect of each of these objectives will be addressed to provide the basis for an Arctic policy that addresses sea ice and environmental change.

Report Purpose and Chapters

In this report, our Task Force team seeks to understand and evaluate different aspects of how sea ice loss and Arctic environmental change impact Inuit communities as the Arctic region warms. Each chapter provides policy recommendations and thoughts on how to address the specific issue that is outlined and discussed.

From January 25 to February 1, our Task Force team had the opportunity to visit Ottawa and meet with Arctic scholars, scientists, authors, ambassadors, government officials, and Indigenous people. Our report and our perspective on Arctic issues was enhanced through these visits and connections. These visits greatly helped to solidify our chapter topics, which focus on pressing issues involving the Canadian Arctic, Indigenous populations, and the Arctic environment.

Our report is organized into three parts:

- Part I: Preserving the Arctic Environment
- Part II: Closing the Gaps in Societal Health
- Part III: Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge

[25] Government of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, last modified November 18, 2019, www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587#s6.

Part I discusses the implications of Arctic pollution and environmental change. In Chapter 1, Johnna Bollesen explores how sea ice loss is affecting different wildlife populations in the Arctic and how these changes affect Inuit communities that depend upon them for survival. Chapter 2, by Gabrielle Coueille, centers on waste management and infrastructure in northern Arctic communities and explores how they affect human and environmental health.

Part II discusses social issues that widely affect Inuit communities. Hsin Yi Chen examines international perspectives on resources and exploited workers primarily through mining problems in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, Kimiko Boswell argues that there is a need for suitable housing infrastructure within northern Inuit communities to maintain health and explores how to best met these housing needs in the face of thawing permafrost and melting sea ice.

Part III discusses how to best use Inuit knowledge to co-develop future policy regarding the Arctic region. In Chapter 5, Kendrick Lu describes how policy as a whole can be used as a tool to protect sea ice. Chapter 6, by Caitlin Clarke, addresses legal approaches to sea ice from an Inuit perspective. In Chapter 7, Nadene Paltep focuses on the land claim agreements in Nunavut, as well as Inuit struggles for sovereignty. In the final chapter, Bonnie Greer explores Inuit art in Arctic policy and how art can influence policy by bringing a distinct perspective to policy discussions.

Inuit art is incorporated in each chapter of our report to provide another perspective on the arguments made by the Task Force team. We acknowledge that as non-Inuit, we come from an outside perspective. Incorporating these art pieces into our report is not meant to be a substitution for Inuit voices or to speak on their behalf. Instead, in an effort of solidarity with Inuit, our Task Force recognizes the importance of Inuit knowledge in all forms and the need for it to be applied in the development of policy regarding the Arctic region.

Claire Cowan and Johnna Bollesen conclude the report by providing an overview of the recommendations made by our Task Force team regarding Arctic policy in relation to changes in sea ice and the Arctic environment.

Biography

Claire Cowan is an undergraduate senior in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington and originally from Kelso, Washington. She has a minor in Dance and her primary love is traveling.

Part I: Preserving the Arctic Environment

Part I addresses the effects of climate change and sea ice loss on the Arctic environment and infrastructure of northern communities. With the loss of sea ice in the Northwest Passage, there has been an increase in shipping that has disrupted Arctic wildlife, particularly bowhead whales and caribou (Chapter 1). Meanwhile, permafrost thaw, increased precipitation, and landfills have produced a waste management crisis in Inuit communities (Chapter 2). Addressing these issues is critical for producing long-lasting solutions that will protect the Arctic environment and sustain prosperous communities.

Chapter 1: Effects of Climate Change and Shipping on Arctic Wildlife

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ABSTRACT
Climate change and increased northern maritime traffic drastically disrupt the health of wildlife in the Arctic polar region. There have been clear and devastating impacts on many native species, as shown by growing endangered populations lists, changing hunting and breeding grounds, and shifting migratory patterns. These changes are especially destructive to bowhead whales and caribou—two of the primary resources that Inuit and northern Indigenous communities depend on. This chapter examines the threats confronting these two pivotal species at the heart of Inuit culture and livelihood, offers insight into the current policies in place to protect the delicate Arctic ecosystem, and provides a series of recommendations for strengthening the protection of bowhead whales and caribou.

INTRODUCTION

Melting sea ice has created more open waters, which has in turn led to increased maritime traffic, including smaller vessels such as jet skis and sailboats, as well as larger vessels such as icebreakers, merchant crafts, and cruise ships.[1] According to a recent study conducted between 2015 and 2017, an annual average of 132,828 trips were made through the Northwest Passage by over 5,000 different vessels.[2] This spike in shipping has had numerous negative effects on northern wildlife populations. Invasive species, pollution, and contaminants have been introduced, and hunting, breeding, and migratory patterns of both marine and terrestrial animals have changed.[3] Walruses have stopped returning to previous breeding grounds. Polar bears are having fewer cubs each year. Narwhals are becoming increasingly endangered. Seals are hunting in different areas.

For bowhead whales and caribou, two of the most vital resources to Inuit, the repercussions have been devastating to both the species and Inuit communities. Numbers of caribou in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago are rapidly declining, and their annual fall and spring migration is being disrupted by a growing presence of icebreakers that shatter the bridges of sea ice that herds use to travel between Victoria Island and the mainland.[4] Bowhead whales are more frequently colliding with pleasure vessels and straying away from their natural habitats due to ship noise.[5] These are just a few of the challenges that Arctic wildlife face with sea ice loss and the resulting increase in maritime traffic. The disruptions to this fragile ecosystem have grave consequences for both native animals and people.

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1 Gregory K. Silber and Jeffrey D. Adams, "Vessel Operations in the Arctic, 2015–2017," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 6 (September 2019): 573, https://doi.org/10.3389/fmars.2019.00573.

2 Silber and Adams, "Vessel Operations."

3 Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna, *Arctic Biodiversity Assessment: Report for Policy Makers* (Akureyri, Iceland: CAFF, 2013), 13.

4 Mathieu Dumond, Shane Sather, and Rob Harmer, "Observation of Arctic Island Barren-Ground Caribou (Rangifer Tarandus Groenlandicus) Migratory Movement Delay Due to Human Induced Sea-Ice Breaking," *Rangifer* 33, no. 2 (June 2013): 115, https://doi.org/10.7557/2.33.2.2533.

5 Michael Gross, "Arctic Shipping Threatens Wildlife," *Current Biology* 28, no. 15 (August 2018): R804, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2018.07.053.

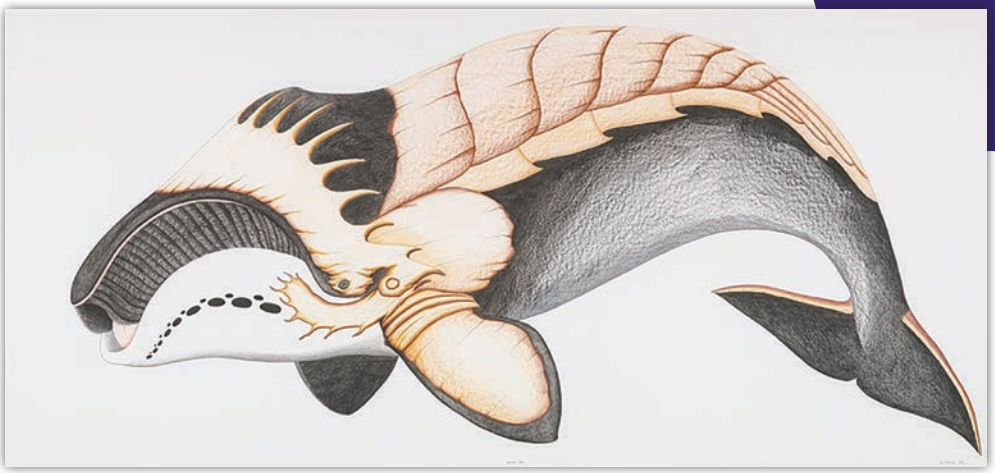
BACKGROUND

Decline in Ecological Health

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), atmospheric temperatures are warming in the Arctic two to three times faster than anywhere else in the world.[6] Rising sea levels, declining glaciers and snow, and thawing of permafrost are some of the defining environmental stressors wreaking havoc on northern wildlife.[7] Over the last four decades, the summer coverage of sea ice in the Arctic has receded at an alarming rate of ~13% each decade.[8]

This rapid decline in sea ice extent and thickness has enabled the possibility of ice-free shipping routes through the Northwest Passage. Thus, there now exists a greater economic incentive to exploit a region rich in resources and tourist opportunities, leading to more pleasure crafts, passenger vessels, and fishing boats transiting through the Northwest Passage. According to Stephanie Meakin, a Senior Science Advisor with the Inuit Circumpolar Council, "there is more fishing, shipping, and tourism moving North into an incredibly sensitive marine region."[9] Climate change and increased maritime traffic has had destructive impacts on bowhead whales and caribou.

Bowhead whales (*arviq*) along the Bering Strait, off the coast of Alaska, and at the other end of the Northwest Passage are directly exposed to maritime traffic. As more vessels travel through these areas, bowhead whales that pass through the Bering Strait to feed in the spring are at a high risk of colliding with ships, especially considering their behavioral tendency to feed at the surface.[10] Indigenous groups in Alaska, Greenland, and Inuit Nunangat that rely on the consistent presence of bowhead whales for hunting have expressed concern that shipping or a possible oil spill would threaten their livelihoods.



Tim Pitsiulak, ***Armoured Whale***, 2014
colored pencil and black ink on wove paper, 119 x 246 cm
Purchased 2015
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Photo: NGC.

In addition to the possibility of collisions, vessel traffic can cause acoustic disturbance to bowhead whales. Because whales rely on low-frequency sounds for communication, their calls may be easily disrupted by ship noises. According to Silas Elytuk Arngna'naaq, a former member of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, in the case of beluga whales, "There have been a number of occasions that [they] have followed small ships or barges into Baker

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[6] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Work Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,* ed. Thomas F. Stocker et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013):, 1535.

[7] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Climate Change 2013*, 1535.

[8] "Global Climate Change Evidence," NASA Global Climate Change and Global Warming: Vital Signs of the Planet, June 15, 2008, http://climate.nasa.gov/evidence/.

[9] Stephanie Meakin (Senior Science Advisor, Inuit Circumpolar Council), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[10] Gross, "Arctic Shipping Threatens Wildlife," R805.

Lake."[11] This highlights the risk that bowhead whales may also follow ships farther north away from their natural habitat.

For caribou (*tuktuit*), northern herds have suffered from climate change and icebreaking activity, which in turn affects the Indigenous people who depend on them for food and clothing. For generations, caribou have been at the heart of Inuit way of life and represent an important symbol of northern culture.[12] In Inuit Nunangat, "tuktuit are the most prevalent of country foods consumed, and remain interconnected with Inuit values, beliefs, and practices."[13] Researchers identified caribou as a northern species research priority in 2010, due to their prominent role in Inuit way of life.[14]

Recent caribou migration shifts illustrate the disruptive effects of icebreakers, which plow through bridges of sea ice through the Northwest Passage, causing caribou to fall through the ice, cutting off their access to food, and forcing herds to find alternative means of travel.[15] New roads and other transportation methods in the North have also disrupted the migration patterns of caribou herds around Baker Lake.[16] These migratory shifts have meant the depletion of a crucial resource to Inuit culture, knowledge, diets, and livelihoods.

According to the World Wildlife Fund-Canada (WWF-Canada), the Bathurst Caribou Herd is under immense threat. Since 1986, the herd's historic high of 472,000 caribou has plummeted—first to 186,000 in 2003, then to 34,690 in 2012, and now down to just 19,769.[17] The Baffin Island Caribou Herd lost 98% of its population, having started with a population high of 235,000 in 1991 and is now left with a meager 5,000.[18] The Porcupine Caribou Herd remains the only large North American herd to not have experienced a decline since the 2000s.[19]

Caribou are often considered "the canary in the coal mine"—an early warning sign about the state of the natural environment.[20] If this fast and substantial drop in numbers is any indication, the future well-being of the Arctic ecosystem is in peril.

Current Policies

What is being done to mitigate the threats to bowhead whales, caribou, and other vulnerable Arctic species? While some policies exist, Arctic wildlife need more protection as the climate continues to warm and shipping continues to increase. I have identified several key policies from *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework (2019) and Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021*, released by the Arctic Council Working Group, Conservation of Arctic Flora

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[11] Elytuk Arngna'naaq, "An Inlander's View of the Northwest Passage," in *Nilliajut 2: Inuit Perspectives On the Northwest Passage, Shipping, and Marine Issues*, ed. Karen Kelley (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kantami, 2017), 40.

[12] Gita Ljubicic et al., "Uqsuqtuurmiut Inuita Tuktumi Qaujimaningit (Inuit Knowledge of Caribou from Gjoa Haven, Nunavut): Collaborative Research Contributions to Co-management Efforts," *Polar Record* 54, no. 3 (May 2018): 213–33, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247418000372.

[13] Ljubicic et al., "Uqsuqtuurmiut Inuita Tuktumi Qaujimaningit," 213.

[14] Gita Ljubicic et al., "Inuit Approaches to Naming and Distinguishing Caribou: Considering Language, Place, and Homeland toward Improved Co-management," *Arctic* 71, no. 3 (September 2018): 309–33, https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic4734.

[15] Dumond, Sather, and Harmer, "Observation of Arctic Island Barren-Ground Caribou," 115–22.

[16] Arngna'naaq, "An Inlander's View," 40.

[17] "Decline of Arctic Caribou One of Canada's Greatest Wildlife Concerns, WWF-Canada Says." WWF-Canada, October 12, 2016, http://www.wwf.ca/?22601/decline-of-Arctic-caribou-one-of-Canadas-greatests-wildlife-concerns-WWF-Canada-says.

[18] "Decline of Arctic Caribou."

[19] Catherine A Gagnon et al., "Merging Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge Links Climate with the Growth of a Large Migratory Caribou Population," *Journal of Applied Ecology* (August 2020): 1, https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2664.13558.

[20] Candace Batycki et al., "A Brighter Shade of Green: An Agenda for Caribou, Climate and Conservation in Canada's Forests." *ForestEthics (now Stand.earth)* (May 2007): 1.

and Fauna (CAFF). After examining these policies, I will offer a list of recommendations for enhancing their range of environmental protection.

Outlined in Goal 5 of *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* are eleven objectives for mitigating climate change across the Arctic ecosystem and promoting adaptive efforts. From this goal, I call specific attention to Objective 9, which aims to ensure safe and responsible shipping practices.[21]

The *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021* focuses on safeguarding critical northern habitats primarily through combatting stressors on biodiversity, adapting to climate change, and incorporating local and traditional knowledge in research and policymaking. I will be focusing particularly on Recommendation 6, which aims to develop guidelines and implement appropriate spatial and temporal zones where necessary to reduce human activity outside protected areas, such as calving grounds, den sites, feeding grounds, migration routes, and molting areas; and Recommendation 14, which aims to further incorporate Indigenous ecological knowledge and surveillance into the assessment, planning, and management of Arctic biodiversity.[22]

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) New and Larger Protected Marine Corridors

Under Recommendation 6 of the *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021*, there currently exist two marine protected areas in the region as well as what the Government of Canada calls a low-impact corridor.[23] While these efforts aim to keep marine traffic out of heavily populated marine zones, they produce little impact, as vessels simply become displaced into neighboring areas with similar concentrations of whales.[24] To better avoid contact between vessels and marine life, I propose creating a corridor completely outside of known whale areas. This could significantly reduce the potential for ship strikes and acoustic disturbance on areas with high concentrations of bowhead whales.

(2) Stronger Shipping Regulations

According to WWF-Canada president David Miller, "shipping can have a very light environmental impact, but you do need to consider issues of fuel and the routes, and the intersections with marine mammals."[25] Despite efforts to regulate shipping under Goal 5, Objective 9 of *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, much of the shipping industry is still using highly toxic sulfur fuel oil, which releases harmful emissions, including black carbon.[26] In the event of a major spill, the pollutant forms a molasses-like sludge on the ocean surface that is extremely difficult to clean up.[27]

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[21] Government of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, Goal 5, last modified November 18, 2019, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587.

[22] Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna, *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity, 2013–2021: Implementing the Recommendations of the Arctic Biodiversity Assessment* (Akureyri, Iceland: CAFF, 2015), 5.

[23] Jackie Dawson et al., "Infusing Inuit and Local Knowledge into the Low Impact Shipping Corridors: An Adaptation to Increased Shipping Activity and Climate Change in Arctic Canada," *Environmental Science & Policy* 105 (March 2020): 19–36, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2019.11.013.

[24] William D. Halliday et al., "Tourist Vessel Traffic in Important Whale Areas in the Western Canadian Arctic: Risks and Possible Management Solutions," *Marine Policy* 97 (November 2018): 72–81, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2018.08.035.

[25] Levon Sevunts, "Caribou Decline, Arctic Shipping and Renewable Energy: WWF – Canada Looks Back at 2016," Radio Canada International, December 16, 2016, http://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/12/30/caribou-decline-arctic-shipping-and-renewable-energy-wwf-canada-looks-back-at-2016/.

[26] Malte Humpert, "IMO Inches Forward with Ban on Heavy Fuel Oil in Arctic," *High North News*, February 26, 2019, https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/imo-inches-forward-ban-heavy-fuel-oil-arctic.

[27] Humpert, "IMO Inches."

As of January 2020, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) has mandated that ships fuel with a sulfur content no greater than 0.5%, as opposed to the previous limit of 3.5%.[28] While this is a major step towards reducing harmful emissions in the Arctic, ships are still permitted to use fuels with higher sulfur contents so long as they install cleaning devices known as scrubbers.[29] Closed-loop scrubbers retain most of the water used for sulfur removal for disposal at ports, but open-loop scrubbers pump the water used for sulfur removal overboard, which could introduce harmful nitrates, cancer-causing hydrocarbons, and acidic sulfur to marine life.[30] To avoid this risk, I propose eliminating the installation of open-loop scrubbers, which will reduce sulfur deposits in Arctic waters.

With regard to vessel speed, ships typically travel at 25 knots.[31] Research suggests that lowering the speed limit of containers and cruise ships through northern sea routes would reduce acoustic disturbance and offer a greater reaction time in order to avoid collisions with bowhead whales.[32] To effectively act on these projections, I propose mandating the reduction of vessel speed through known whale areas from 25 knots to 15 knots.

(3) Enhance Conservation of Currently Unprotected Caribou Areas

While Recommendation 6 under the *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021* aims to reduce human disturbance around unprotected areas home to marine and terrestrial animals, these areas are still unprotected, which makes the migratory routes for caribou susceptible to maritime activity, including icebreaking. In addition to losing their migratory routes, caribou only have one calf per year at most.[33] Because their population numbers are slow to rebuild, it is imperative to protect their habitat. Thus, I propose declaring the migratory corridor of caribou and their calving grounds as conservation zones in order to better protect populations of northern herds.

(4) Continue Integrating Indigenous Voices in Policy

The goal of Recommendation 14 of the *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021* is to better enhance collaboration between the Government of Canada and Indigenous leaders. While both *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* and *Actions for Arctic Biodiversity Report, 2013–2021* acknowledge the need for reconciliation and a stronger Inuit presence in policymaking, there is still a lack of engagement with Indigenous leaders who are not included in pertinent forums and scientific research. According to the authors of *Inuit Knowledge of Caribou from Gjoa Haven, Nunavut*, "Despite co-management mandates to consider Inuit and scientific knowledge equally, the intertwined colonial legacies of research and wildlife management render this challenging."[34]

As demonstrated by several recent studies in which researchers and Inuit work together, the blend of traditional science and Indigenous knowledge yields new information that can be beneficial in policymaking. For example, in one study conducted between 2000 and 2010, a team of researchers worked alongside locals using Indigenous community-based monitoring programs to observe the population of the Porcupine Caribou Herd.[35] The ten-year

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[28] "Sulphur 2020 – Cutting Sulphur Oxide Emissions," International Maritime Organization, 2020, http://www.imo.org/en/MediaCentre/HotTopics/Pages/Sulphur-2020.aspx.

[29] Humpert, "IMO Inches."

[30] Humpert, "IMO Inches."

[31] Acoustical Society of America, "How to Reduce the Impact of Shipping Vessel Noise on Fish? Slow Them Down," *ScienceDaily*, November 5, 2018, www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/11/181105122452.htm.

[32] Acoustical Society of America, "How to Reduce the Impact of Shipping Vessel Noise?"

[33] "Decline of Arctic Caribou One of Canada's Greatest Wildlife Concerns."

[34] Ljubicic et al., "Uqsuqtuurmiut Inuita Tuktumi Qaujimaningit," 213.

[35] Gagnon et al., "Merging Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge," 1.

study yielded an improved ecological understanding of the exact environmental factors that influence spring and fall caribou conditions that were not previously understood by conventional scientific measures. Thus, it is essential to merge science and Indigenous knowledge to produce transformative field research and generate new multilateral policies that protect Arctic wildlife. Only then will the governing bodies of the Arctic be able to methodically and soundly safeguard what author Whit Fraser calls "the great Arctic Serengeti."[36]

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Climate change in the Arctic and increased maritime traffic has led to a desperate call for the protection of the Arctic ecosystem. Current policies in place made to protect bowhead whales, caribou, and other Arctic wildlife advocate for mitigating the effects of climate change, adapting to current and ongoing changes, and integrating traditional Indigenous knowledge toward understanding and addressing these changes. While these measures are necessary to protect northern marine and terrestrial animals, they are not enough, and it is essential to continue strengthening them.

I have argued that we must construct a larger corridor completely outside of highly populated whale areas, implement stronger shipping regulations that all vessels must comply with, ensure greater conservation efforts within caribou migratory routes and calving grounds, and work to better integrate Indigenous voices in policy discussions. With these solutions combined and enforced, the governing bodies of the Arctic can best protect the environment and northern wildlife.

Acknowledgements

I would like to give a special thanks to Stephanie Meakin, Whit Fraser, and the many other advocates for greater environmental protection in the Arctic whose help and support made this report possible.

Biography

Johnna Bollesen is a fourth-year undergraduate student at the University of Washington double majoring in International Studies and Communication with a focus in global media and technology. Johnna drew inspiration for her chapter from a short story she wrote about a polar bear cub. She hopes to combine her love for animals and passion for writing towards pursuing a career in environmental journalism.

[36] Whit Fraser, author of *True North Rising* and former CBC reporter, personal communication, January 29, 2020.

Chapter 2:
Arctic Solid Waste Infrastructure

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> *[Inuit] struggle with trash every single day in every single community*.
> —Kevin Kablutsiak, Director of Communications for Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami[1]

ABSTRACT

Climate change in the Arctic has exacerbated ongoing waste management crises among Inuit communities.[2] Difficulties with funding, technology, remoteness, and system implementation lead the majority of Arctic communities to collect residential waste in uncontained dumps, often paired with contained or uncontained burning. Permafrost thaw has presented additional difficulties for waste management practices in most Arctic communities.[3] Increased precipitation (both snowfall and rain) on unlined and uncovered municipal solid waste (MSW) landfills has created new threats to freshwater with increased leachate runoff (liquids in contact with waste).[4] Loss in snow and ice cover has increased the spread of trash in communities, making landfills an expanding source of pollution. A comprehensive waste management infrastructure plan is vital to the health and growth of remote Canadian Inuit Arctic communities. As climate change exacerbates the environmental health impacts of poor waste management methods, the need for comprehensive waste policy is increasing. Expansion in marine transport in Arctic waters has created a new opportunity for remote waste management methods, but also brings new challenges to Arctic waste infrastructure. Collaboration between territorial governments, the federal government, and community leadership is vital to create and implement infrastructure plans that meet Canadian federal environmental code. There is strong desire in among Inuit organizations and communities and the Government of Canada to increase the environmental health of remote Arctic communities and invest in improved Arctic infrastructure.[5]

INTRODUCTION

> *We are facing the biggest crisis of infrastructure our country has ever seen*.
> — Stephanie Meakin, Senior Science Advisor, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Canada[6]

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1 Kevin Kablutsiak, personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

2 Joan Nymand Larsen et al., "Polar Regions," in *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part B: Regional Aspects. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1583.

3 Guy Doré and Brian Morse, eds., *Cold Regions Engineering 2012: Sustainable Infrastructure Development in a Changing Cold Environment* (Reston, VA: American Society of Civil Engineers, 2012); John A. Warren et al., "Climate Change and Human Health: Infrastructure Impacts to Small Remote Communities in the North," *Impacts of Global Climate Change* 64, no. 5 (December 2005): 1–12, doi: 10.3402/ijch.v64i5.18030.

4 James Brand et al., "Potential Pollution Risks of Historic Landfills on Low-Lying Coasts and Estuaries," *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews* 5, no. 1 (2018): 1–12; Chelsea Whyte, "Forget Snow, Rain Will Become Main Precipitation in the Arctic," *New Scientist*, March 13, 2017, https://www.newscientist.com/article/2124366-forget-snow-rain-will-become-main-precipitation-in-the-arctic/.

5 Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy*, 2019, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ITK_Climate-Change-Strategy_English.pdf.

6 Stephanie Meakin, personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

Inuk artist Heather Campbell's painting *Nuliajuk in Mourning* shows a grieving Nuliajuk, the Inuit mother of sea creatures. This painting showcases the intimate relationship between the well-being of animals (and more broadly, the environment), and the well-being of Inuit. The health impacts of waste in the environment go beyond the physical, disrupting centuries of traditional living. When addressing reconciliation, the Government of Canada must recognize that colonization has imparted unsustainable systems of living within Inuit communities, without providing basic services of waste management to protect Inuit livelihood and environment.

Heather Campbell (1973-), ***Nuliajuk in Mourning***, 2018, ink on mineral paper, 71.1 x 50.8 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

Like many developed nations, Canada struggles to provide adequate waste management services to remote communities. Although Canada has strong environmental protection standards, these standards are more strongly upheld in southern provinces.[7] The Canadian Environmental Protection Act of 1999 specifies environmental health standards that all Canadian communities should reach, but these standards focus on only persistent organic pollutants (POPs), hazardous chemicals that remain in the environment for extended periods. It does not define municipal solid waste (MSW) standards or best practices—that is, ideal waste management and containment methods that protect the health of communities.[8] Because MSW collection is regulated at a munipal level, there are often allowances for poor waste management practices in remote communities.[9] Special permits are given to allow for open burning and uncontained storage of waste. Open and unregulated burning of waste is an environmental health hazard as it often occurs close to communities, with the elderly and young children at an increased health risk. For example, dioxins and furans, which are commonly found in MSW smoke, lead to an increased risk of cancer and liver dysfunction.[10] As the climate warms, there is increased precipitation, as well as increased permafrost thaw, both of which are contributing to a growing presence of leachates in watersheds. Rainfall is expected to increase by 60% over the next seventy years in the Arctic, at over double the rate than the rest of the world.[11] This contamination is an emerging threat to Inuit freshwater security and will raise the costs of water treatment.[12] It also adds to the long-term costs of healthcare and wellness in the Arctic.

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7 Laurie Giroux, *State of Waste Management in Canada* (Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment, 2014), https://www.ccme.ca/files/Resources/waste/wst_mgmt/State_Waste_Mgmt_in_Canada%20April%202015%20revised.pdf.

8 *Canadian Environmental Protection Act*, 1999 (S.C. 1999, c. 33), https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-15.31/.

9 Mary C. Hurley et al., *Bill C-33 Nunavut Waters and Nunavut Surface Rights Tribunal Act -- Rev.*, rev. ed., Legislative Summary, LS-408E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Parliamentary Research Branch, 2001).

10 "Open Burning of Garbage: Health and Environmental Risks," Government of Canada, September 10, 2015, https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/managing-reducing-waste/municipal-solid/environment/open-burning-garbage-health-risks.html.

11 Whyte, "Forget Snow."

12 Kiley Daley et al., "Wastewater Treatment and Public Health in Nunavut: A Microbial Risk Assessment Framework for the Canadian Arctic." *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 25, no. 33 (2018): 32860–72; Daniel Martin et al., "Drinking Water and Potential Threats to Human Health in Nunavik: Adaptation Strategies under Climate Change Conditions," *Arctic* 60, no. 2 (June 2007): 195–202.

Furthermore, waste composition in Arctic communities is more dynamic and potentially more harmful to the environment than urban MSW, as special waste categories are not regularly separated and individually disposed. In the Arctic, waste items typically characterized and treated as hazardous waste are very likely to end up in the main waste stream without special treatment due to lack of capacity and lack of integrated best practice systems. It is a priority in communities without the capacity to implement contained waste management to prioritize systems to separate, contain, and treat hazardous wastes.[13]

Inuit in Canada have comparatively poorer health than the majority of Canadians. For example, cancer and suicide rates in Inuit communities are very high, and demonstrate how poor infrastructure (housing, energy, transportation, communication, healthcare) can profoundly affect the overall health of a community.[14] Access to healthcare for Inuit living in the Arctic is more difficult and more expensive than among the majority of Canadian citizens, which exacerbates the impacts of poor health.[15] Inuit wellness is strongly connected to environmental wellness, so best practice standards for waste management are vital to improving Inuit health. Increasing ocean pollution (marine litter) and POPs have had a profound effect on wildlife, which, in turn, has had compounding effects on Inuit health as Arctic Inuit communities rely largely on subsistence sources of food. To increase environmental health and food security, Inuit communities must have contained waste management practices.

BACKGROUND

> *Whenever we found ourselves without a story, we could always write about the dump because there was always a crisis there*.
> —Whit Fraser, Author of *True North Rising*[16]

Transportation is one of the biggest barriers to implementing best practices in Inuit waste management. Only one out of the fifty-one Arctic Canadian Inuit communities are accessible by road, with other communities relying on transportation by plane, boat/ship, or ice roads.[17] It is difficult to coordinate waste hauling (shipping of trash to a place with more developed waste management practices) with these transportation barriers, and this option is very expensive. Backhaul Alaska, a project that facilitates partnerships to encourage suppliers who are visiting remote northern communities to haul out waste in Alaska, can be used as a model, but has limitations in Arctic Inuit communities.[18] Although this strategy has been successful in some communities, hauling out waste is expensive to coordinate and not a possibility for all Inuit communities, especially without the sponsorship of federal government. Because it is difficult and expensive to haul waste to areas with adequate infrastructure, communities are left to manage waste on their own. Hauling out waste by plane or boat is best utilized in the smallest communities where safe landfilling procedures are not an option.

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[13] Simone Sebalo and Lynn Zender, "Solid Waste Management in Small Arctic Communities," Barents Info, November 5, 2018, https://www.barentsinfo.fi/beac/docs/SWMinSmallArcticCommunitiesHELSINKInov5.pdf.

[14] Sarah L. Fraser at al., "Changing Rates of Suicide Ideation and Attempts among Inuit Youth: A Gender-Based Analysis of Risk and Protective Factors," *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 45, no. 2 (2015): 141–56; Gisèlem Carrière et al., "Cancer Patterns in Inuit Nunangat: 1998–2007," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 71, no. 1 (2012): 18581.

[15] Colin Martin, "Arctic Health-Care Architecture," *The Lancet* 384, no. 9946 (2014): 845, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(14)61475-6.

[16] Whit Fraser, personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[17] "About Canadian Inuit," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.itk.ca/about-canadian-inuit/; Quianquian Du, Amy M. Kim, and Yunzhuang Zheng, "Modeling Multimodal Freight Transportation Scenarios in Northern Canada under Climate Change Impacts," *Research in Transportation Business & Management* 23 (2017): 86–96.

[18] Jacqueline Shirley, "The Management of Open Dumps in Rural Alaska—the Continuing Need for Public Health Action: A Policy Analysis" (master's thesis, University of Alaska Anchorage, 2011), 20.

Iqaluit, the capital city of Nunavut, is a perfect example of the current pressures on Arctic community landfills. Although Iqaluit is the largest city in Nunavut in both population and size, with comparatively good access to transportation, it faces the same problems of more northern Inuit communities with populations of fewer than a thousand people. In 2010 the city had a major landfill fire that burned for over two months.[19] This fire resulted in the city's water license being revoked by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada in 2012, as tested drinking water was shown to contain ammonia and heavy metals.[20] In 2014 the uncovered, unlined landfill that the city uses for all its waste was on fire for over four months, causing harm to the community and resulting in periodic shutdowns of school and work due to toxic fumes.[21] The fire was caused by improper waste management and storage, and fed by various combustibles in the landfill. Current uncontained waste management practices in the Arctic create additional barriers for planning future waste infrastructure due to their cost and extended environmental impacts. For example, the most recent landfill fire cost almost CAD$2.3 million, and was put out with methods that posed a serious pollution threat to groundwater.[22] Despite the obvious negative impacts on health and safety, Iqaluit residents feel continued pressures to openly burn trash after this incident because of the lack of capacity in the dump. They cannot opt out of these harmful systems because of the lack of support by territorial and federal governments to create a strong and lasting infrastructure.

Informal landfills create a secondary issue as they have been built on permafrost, which is thawing and becoming more unstable. It is common for dumps to be located near the community in depressions or gullies in the land since digging is not an easy option in permafrost terrain. Because these dumps are often placed in depressions, they are natural spaces for watershed runoff and collection, increasing the danger and impact of Arctic landfilling practices. [23]

Waste streams (the various sources of waste) in the Arctic are primarily composed of goods shipped into communities by boat or plane, rather than produced there.[24] Because of the remote nature of these communities, it is incredibly difficult to have manufacturer responsibility for the non-degradable or reusable packaging, which is presenting a pronounced harm to Inuit environmental health. Recycling systems are simply not viable in Arctic communities as they are structured today. Canada's 2009 *Action Plan for Extended Producer Responsibility* encourages manufacturer responsibility for product end of life. This policy has expanded recycling across Canada, increased deposit schemes for packaging (small compensation for return of packaging to manufacturers), and encouraged more accountability overall for producers.[25] Because it costs more per ton for shipping than any repayment for materials (deposit payments), and there are limited opportunities to reuse recyclables in communities, it is necessary for manufacturers to increase material deposits for the goods that are shipped to remote communities.[26] This practice can promote partnerships between manufacturers and Arctic communities to the advantage of both parties.[27]

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[19] Sarah Zhang, "A 'Dumpcano' of Trash Erupted in the Arctic and Won't Stop Burning," *Gizmodo*, August 12, 2014, https://gizmodo.com/a-dumpcano-of-trash-erupted-in-the-arctic-and-wont-st-1618311907.

[20] Peter Worden, "A Volcano of Garbage in the Arctic Has Been Burning for Eight Weeks," *Vice*, August 2, 2014, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/kz5yjy/a-volcano-of-garbage-in-the-arctic-has-been-burning-for-eight-weeks.

[21] "Iqaluit's Infrastructure Struggles to Keep up with Growth," *CBC News*, November 22, 2011, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/iqaluit-s-infrastructure-struggles-to-keep-up-with-growth-1.1096808.

[22] Aaron Watson, "Iqaluit's Long-Smoldering 'Dumpcano; Garbage Fire Finally Out," *Globe and Mail*, May 12, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/iqaluits-long-smouldering-dumpcano-garbage-fire-finally-out/article20620273/.

[23] Sustainable Development Working Group, *Solid Waste Management in Small Arctic Communities*, March 2017, https://www.sdwg.org/activities/sdwg-projects-2017-2019/solid-waste-management-in-small-arctic-communities/.

[24] Sebalo and Zender, "Solid Waste Management in Small Arctic Communities."

[25] Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment, *Canada-Wide Action Plan for Extended Producer Responsibility*, 2009, https://www.ccme.ca/files/current_priorities/waste/pn_1499_epr_cap_e.pdf.

[26] Worden, "A Volcano of Garbage."

[27] Worden, "A Volcano of Garbage"; Kate Mckerlie, Nancy Knight, and Beverley Thorpe, "Advancing Extended Producer Responsibility in Canada," *Journal of Cleaner Production* 14, no. 6–7 (December 2006): 616–28, 10.1016/j.jclepro.2005.08.001.

As sea ice continues to melt and shipping seasons become longer, increased marine traffic will begin to have possible impacts on the waste characterization (the makeup of waste) in the Arctic. Because ships will be in the Arctic for longer periods, there will be an increased demand to offload trash into community waste infrastructure, bringing onboard waste accumulated on shipping journeys to local dumps.[28] It is common for vessels to dump trash in the Arctic (permitted or illegally), on ice or in the water, and it is expected that a growing number of boats, including the Canadian military, will want to offload trash into Inuit communities as well.[29] As the Canadian Environmental Protection Act prohibits the dumping and offloading of waste from marine vessels, and requires responsible treatment of marine waste, it is important to grow the capabilities of northern waste infrastructure with the emerging shipping growths.[30] If southern-based ships need to offload waste, they should also financially support the growth of waste infrastructure in Arctic communities. This support is essential so that increased presence of marine vessels (and their associated negative environmental impacts) do not have a compounding effect on the environmental health of Inuit communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

> *Current structures of territorial and federal governments aren't working to advance the Nunavut project; we need to start working on finding a structure that empowers Inuit leadership. We need to put Inuit at the center.*
> —Frances Abele, Academic Director of the Carlton Center for Community Innovation, Carleton University[31]

The problem of waste management infrastructure has tangible solutions that can have an immensely positive impact on the environment and health of Inuit communities. Although there are barriers to funding and implementation, communities have demonstrated creativity and dedication to address waste management issues. Here are five recommendations that could be readily implemented.

(1) Create programs to implement best practices for waste management in remote Inuit Arctic communities. Although best practices have been developed for waste management methods in the Arctic, there are still immense barriers to implementation that need to be addressed.[32] These programs should be co-developed in partnership between federal, territorial, and local governments, with the inclusion of key stakeholders for manufacturer responsibility. These efforts must be led within each community to have legitimacy and maintain Arctic sovereignty, but should be foundationally supported by larger institutions that have existing infrastructure to support these projects. Namely, the Arctic Council, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, and the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami all will be essential partners in encouraging the implementation of new standards within Arctic communities. Best practices address the creation of new waste management systems of physical infrastructure as well as standards in operations, vocational training, and encourage new norms for waste handling within the community.

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[28] Mark L. Mallory, "Marine Plastic Debris in Northern Fulmars from the Canadian High Arctic," *Marine Pollution Bulletin* 56, no. 8 (May 2008): 1501–04, 10.1016/j.marpolbul.2008.04.017.

[29] Canadian Press, "Inuit Oppose Rules Changes That Let Navy Dump Trash in Arctic," *Globe and Mail*, September 21, 2007, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/inuit-leaders-protest-dumping-of-waste-in-arctic-waters/article963742/.

[30] Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment, *Canada-Wide Action Plan for Extended Producer Responsibility*.

[31] Frances Abele, personal communication, Ottawa, January 27, 2020.

[32] Sustainable Development Working Group, *Solid Waste Management in Small Arctic Communities*.

(2) Create a comprehensive Arctic cleanup plan in partnership with Inuit communities, key Arctic economic stakeholders, and government partners to mitigate existing environmental health damage.

To address the current environmental health impacts of open dumping and burning, a clean start is needed in all Inuit communities. Current uncontained waste will continue to have impacts on land and water until an appropriate pollution response is developed. Creating a clean start will be one of the biggest barriers to containing Arctic waste, as there are many challenges with the cleanup process in the Arctic. It will require immense engagement from community members and education on proper waste handling techniques. This process in itself will require best practices for procedures of safety, and containment will need to be coordinated to ensure proper containment.

(3) Enforce stronger standards of extended producer responsibility for producers shipping goods into remote communities to make Arctic recycling viable.

All products with long post-consumer lives are being sent to the Arctic without the ability or possibility of recycling. Thus, there should be increased manufacturer accountability to support proper end-of-life practices for packaging. Further, there are increased environmental health impacts from all materials shipped into the Arctic due to current waste management practices. An increase in deposit incentives for recyclable packaging sent to the Arctic, and remote places in general, would increase the viability of haul-out programs in the Arctic. Partnerships in the Arctic with Inuit communities could be used to build brand recognition and respect for increasing environmental accountability.

(4) Increase waste creation and management standards for ships entering Canadian Arctic waters to ensure that no outside waste is being brought to communities without contributions to local waste infrastructure building.

The environmental health of the Canadian Arctic is crucial to Inuit communities, and standards of environmental protection for those traveling within it should be tighter. Ensuring that ships plan appropriate waste management methods for longer or more frequent journeys in the Arctic, and requiring contributions to waste infrastructure for those intending to dump, are necessary. As the Canadian Arctic is an emerging destination for tourism, fishing, shipping, and security operations, investment in infrastructure by those visiting will create a sustained ability for Arctic communities to host more visitors.

(5) Incentivize "haul-in/haul-out" programs with Arctic suppliers for small communities, using the model of the Backhaul Alaska program.[33]

Haul-in/haul-out programs can be an extremely viable program for smaller communities in the Arctic with the logistical help of federal and territorial governments. The current barriers of incentivization for haulers, and planning in areas of limited communication, can be overcome by partnerships in urban areas.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Waste management is an essential service for modern life. Enabling contained waste management practices in Inuit communities supports a basic standard of living that is already afforded to the majority of Canadians. Waste management systems are one part of a larger future for Inuit health. It is necessary and possible to address this disparity of basic utility access, which will be especially impactful on the health of Inuit communities. Because the Arctic is resource strained, partnerships are vital to support new infrastructure. While partnerships are necessary for

[33] Backhaul Alaska, accessed May 25, 2020, http://www.backhaulalaska.org/.

the success of these final recommendations, all initiatives must be led by and for the communities in which they are being implemented. Making waste management solutions Inuit-led will reinvigorate Inuit autonomy in environmental health standards in the Arctic.

Biography

Gabrielle Coeuille is a senior at the Jackson School of International Studies, focusing on international environmental policy. She has a special passion for waste management, and hopes to work in circular economic policy after graduation. She believes every community in the world can be empowered, rather than burdened, by its waste management practices.

Part II: Closing Gaps in Societal Health

Part II addresses the social issues related to climate change, permafrost thaw, and sea ice loss. The loss of sea ice increases access to natural resources and related mining activities in the Arctic. Many Inuit work in mines, including the Mary River Mine on Baffin Island, Nunavut. Though the extractive industry provides a major source of revenue for Inuit communities, it also has negative impacts, including insecure working conditions for contract workers and increased harassment and violence towards women in the surrounding regions (Chapter 3). In Inuit Nunangat, a persistant national housing crisis is complicated by the impacts of climate change. In addition to a shortage of housing and insufficient funding, permafrost thaw is beginning to destabilize existing housing (Chapter 4). It is crucial to address these issues as they directly affect the health and well-being of Inuit and act as a barrier to self-determination.

Chapter 3: Mining in the Arctic: Problems Associated with Economic Opportunity

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ABSTRACT
Mining is an important source of income for Inuit communities in the Arctic region, especially as decreasing sea ice cover allows for increased access to natural resources. However, mining can create major problems for people working at the mine and in nearby mining communities. This chapter focuses on one of the biggest mines in the Canadian Arctic region, the Mary River Mine. Although the Mary River Mine brings jobs and revenue to the area, it has also created problems such as increased violence and harassment of women working in or living around the mine, and unequal working conditions for contract workers. It is necessary to address these social problems to improve the quality of life for Inuit affected by the mines.

INTRODUCTION
As global warming becomes more severe, Arctic sea ice is melting. The decreasing range and thickness of sea ice is impacting shipping routes in the area. An article published by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration shows that the area of ocean with at least 15% sea ice at the end of the summer melt season in the Arctic decreased by over 2 million square kilometers between 1979 and 2018.[1] This change creates more open water for ships to access the Arctic, and several regions and ship routes have been impacted by it. For instance, the article suggests that the "Northern Sea Route along the coast of Siberia has begun experiencing summertime sea ice declines that may transform it into a reliable shipping route."[2] Melting sea ice is also leading to a longer shipping window between the spring, summer, and fall seasons. The opening of the shipping routes means that more mined resources can be exported in a given year. According to the Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment's *Arctic Shipping Status Report*, 25% more ships traveled through Arctic waters in 2019 than 2013.[3] The same report shows that ships are sailing much further distances through the Arctic.[4] These changes in shipping capabilities because of melting sea ice makes it more desirable for existing mines to expand and for new mines to open in the Arctic.

The first goal of *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, developed by the Government of Canada and several partners in 2019, is to ensure that "Canadian Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples are resilient and healthy."[5] It is crucial to protect everyone's physical and mental health wherever they live. However, it has not been easy to achieve

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1 Rebecca Lindsey and Michon Scott, "Climate Change: Arctic Sea Ice Summer Minimum," U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, September 26, 2019, https://www.climate.gov/news-features/understanding-climate/climate-change-minimum-arctic-sea-ice-extent.

2 Lindsey and Scott, "Climate Change."

3 Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment's Arctic Ship Status Report (ASSR) Project, *Arctic Shipping Status Reports*, March 31, 2020, 8, https://www.pame.is/projects/arctic-marine-shipping/arctic-shipping-status-reports/723-arctic-shipping-report-1-the-increase-in-arctic-shipping-2013-2019-pdf-version/file.

4 Elaine Anselmi, "New Report Illustrates Increase in Arctic Shipping," *Nunatsiaq News*, April 8, 2020, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/report-shows-25-per-cent-increase-in-arctic-shipping/.

5 Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (Ottawa: Northern Affairs Canada, 2019), https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587.

this goal in the North. During our visit to Ottawa, Icelandic Ambassador to Canada Pétur Ásgeirsson explained, "We need to recognize people in the Arctic need to have the opportunity to live like the people in the South."[6] Although not everyone who lives in the Arctic desires a southern lifestyle, those who do should receive the chance to have one. We cannot ignore the economic benefits—jobs and revenues—the mining industry has brought to the Arctic, which can improve livelihoods. However, we also cannot overlook the problems mining has brought to nearby communities.

This chapter focuses on the Mary River Mine, where Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation is considering expanding its mining operations, but also where two major problems are emerging. According to *The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory*, there are a number of issues associated with mining in Inuit communities, including language conflict, loss of tradition, and lack of cultural understanding.[7] This chapter focuses on two other issues that are often overlooked by mainstream media. The first problem is that women are harassed and go missing more frequently in communities that are close to the mine. The second problem is that contract workers at the mine are not receiving the same pay and rights as full-time employees. According to *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* and *Assessment of the Mary River Project: Impacts and Benefits*, it is essential to improve the quality of Inuit lives and to develop the local economy simultaneously.[8] The aforementioned issues impact the regions around the mine negatively, and it is crucial to develop strategies to remedy these problems to achieve the first goal of *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*.[9] This chapter discusses these two problems in the context of current mine operations at the Mary River Mine and future mine expansion as sea ice loss makes it possible to export more iron ore by ship.

BACKGROUND

There are numerous mines in Nunavut with various types of resources, including base metals, diamonds, gold, and iron.[10] Although there are dozens of mines operating in the area, only three of them operate all year, and the Mary River Mine is the only iron mine among them.[11] The mine was first discovered in 1962, but Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation began operating the mine in 2015 after approval by the federal minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada in 2014. *The Economic Impact of the Mary River Project on Nunavut and the Provinces of Canada* states that the estimated direct investment toward the project is CAD$4.1 billion from 2011 to 2040, while the iron ore production is estimated at $22.997 billion. In addition, "the project would use $1.685 billion of labour inputs, providing 21,080 person years of employment."[12] These figures indicate the scale of the Mary River Mine project and its economic impact.

Getting the mined product off the mine site is one of the most difficult steps for Arctic mines. For the Mary River Mine, it is more work to export the iron ore because of the remote location, sea ice cover, and harsh weather. According to the *Mary River Project Inuit Impacts and Benefits Agreement*, which was developed between Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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6 Pétur Ásgeirsson (Icelandic Ambassador to Canada), Icelandic Embassy in Canada, Ottawa, January 31, 2020.

7 Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and the University of British Columbia School of Social Work, *The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory* (Ottawa: Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2014), Figure 17.

8 National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*, volume 1a (Ottawa: National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019), https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/; John Loxley, *Assessment of the Mary River Project: Impacts and Benefits*, February 2019, https://oceansnorth.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Assessment-of-the-Mary-River-Project-Impacts-and-Benefits-final-draft.pdf.

9 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, modified November 18, 2019, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587.

10 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Nunavut, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, and Canada-Nunavut Geoscience Office, *Nunavut Mineral Exploration, Mining and Geoscience Overview* (Ottawa: CIRNAC, 2018), 2.

11 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada et al., *Nunavut Mineral Exploration*, 10.

12 Eric C. Howe, *The Economic Impact of the Mary River Project on Nunavut and the Provinces of Canada* (Oakville, ON: Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, 2010), 1.

and Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, the iron from the Mary River Mine is mainly shipped from Milne Port on Baffin Island.[13] Although there is a discussion about building a railroad to Milne Port to enable an increase in the amount of iron that can be shipped, the expansion has not been approved due to protests from Inuit. As an alternative, the company wants to extend the shipping window as long as the open-water season, defined by the Canada Shipping Act as approximately seventy-nine days from mid-July to October, although the actual window will depend on weather and ice conditions.[14]

In the past few years, there have been several changes to how the company ships out materials, including via roads or railroad year-round, or breaking up sea ice between November and March to extend the shipping season. In the proposed phase-two expansion of mining operations, the amount shipped out from the mine will increase to 30 million tonnes per year, with 12 million tonnes per year shipped out of Milne Inlet during open-water season. This additional export is made possible because sea ice around Milne Port is melting earlier and freezing later,[15] which increases the length of the shipping window. Unfortunately, there are problems associated with this expansion, as understood from documented problems related to current mining operations, and this chapter focuses on two of those problems.

Increased Violence toward Women

One of the objectives discussed in *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* is to reduce violence against Indigenous women and girls. It states that one of the reasons why Indigenous people have a projected life expectancy 10.5 years below that of the non-Indigenous population in Canada is "the likelihood of violent death being significantly higher for Indigenous than for non-Indigenous women."[16] Violence against Indigenous women has attracted significant research, policy, and popular attention recently. Research suggests that violence against Indigenous women and girls is especially severe in the regions around mines in the North.

The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory points out that there are significant problems of discriminatory behaviors against women associated with mines. A questionnaire conducted in 2014 states the rate of the violence is increasing, and that 49.2% women have been sexually harassed at the mines and 28.8% women have been sexually harassed in communities around the mines.[17] These high rates demonstrate that violence against Indigenous women in the mining context is a critical issue that requires immediate response.

Indigenous women workers at the mines as well as Indigenous women who live close to the mines can be victims of violence. The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls also links violence against Indigenous women with mining work camps: "High number of transient workers at mining camps can create working and living environments where sexual harassment and abuse of Inuit women take place."[18] Most of the people who live in work camps are "non-Indigenous young men with high salaries and little to no stake in the host Indigenous community."[19] Lacking entertainment, these workers have few things to do outside of work, which can lead to

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[13] Qikiqtani Inuit Association and Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, *Mary River Project Inuit Impacts and Benefits Agreement*, October 22, 2018, https://www.baffinland.com/_resources/document_portal/mary-river-iiba-signed-october-22-2018_2018-21-43-38.pdf.

[14] Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, *Technical Supporting Document 02: Project Description of Mary River Project Phase 2 Proposal* (Oakville, ON: Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, 2018), 64.

[15] NASA, "SVS: Weekly Arctic Sea Ice Age with Graph of Ice Age By Area: 1984–2019," accessed February 21, 2020, https://svs.gsfc.nasa.gov/4750.

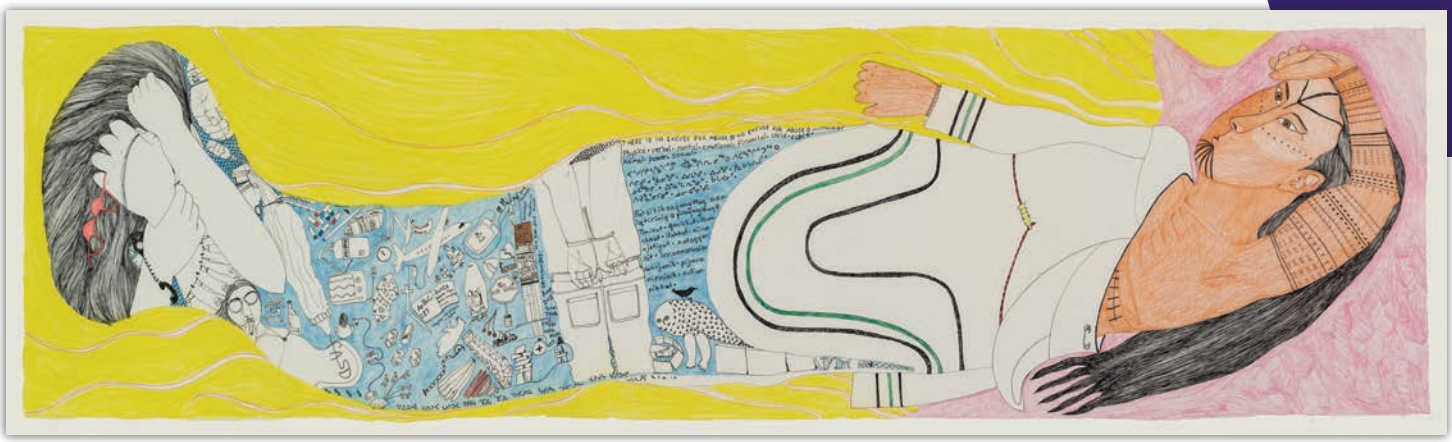
[16] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*.

[17] Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and the University of British Columbia School of Social Work, *Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families*, ii.

[18] National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, *Reclaiming Power and Place*, 521.

[19] National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, *Reclaiming Power and Place*, 593.

harassing women at work and in the neighboring communities. Furthermore, temporary workers are not physically or emotionally attached to the area; they have nothing to lose in the community and can leave anytime if they get caught. Given these circumstances, women who work at the mines or live nearby are harassed more often than those who live further from the mining sites.



Ningiukulu Teevee, ***Untitled (There is no excuse for abuse)***, 2015, graphite, colored pencil, ink, chalk pastel on paper, 63.7 x 214.8 cm Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery. Acquired with funds from the Estate of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Naylor, funds administered by the Winnipeg Foundation, 2017-82. Photo: Ernest Mayer.

Several survivors have shared their experiences publicly. *Aboriginal Peoples Television Network National News* (APTN News) reported on harassment at the Mary River Mine. Billie Jo Barnes, an Inuit woman working at the mine, shared her experience of being sexually and racially harassed at the fly-in camp where she worked in 2018.[20] The Me Too Mining Association, established in 2018, documents assault and harassment cases and provides support for survivors.[21] News outlets, including *Nunatsiaq News* and *APTN News*, have been publishing stories to call for action, and there is art that depicts the situation, such as the piece *Untitled (There is no excuse for abuse)* by Inuit artist Ningiukulu Teevee. However, these initiatives are not enough. Although more people are beginning to notice the problem, there is still much work to do to improve the environment for women who work or live around the mine.

Job Insecurity for Contract Workers

The unequal treatment of temporary contract workers in the Mary River Mine is another major problem. Contract workers are the first to be laid off if the mine is losing money. For example, forty-eight Inuit contract workers were laid off in December 2019 due to the uncertainty of getting approval for the phase-two expansion. The company did not provide the data about how many of the total contract workers are Inuit, but this decision certainly influenced many Inuit families. Although Baffinland said that there would be no more layoffs of Inuit contractors if phase-two expansion is implemented, there are no guarantees.[22]

The *Assessment of the Mary River Project: Impacts and Benefits* discusses how the Nunavut Impact Review Board, an organization established to protect the environment of Nunavut Settlement Area through the impact assessment process, stalled the final hearing on the phase-two expansion of the Mary River Mine by Baffinland in November

[20] Kathleen Martens, "Inuk Woman Says She Is Being Harassed at Nunavut Mine Site," *APTN News*, June 28, 2018, https://aptnnews.ca/2018/06/20/inuk-woman-says-she-is-being-harassed-at-nunavut-mine-site/.

[21] "About," Me Too Mining Association, accessed June 19, 2020, https://www.metoomining.com/about.html.

[22] Jim Bell, "Number of Laid-off Inuit Reduced from 96 to 48, Baffinland Says," *Nunatsiaq News*, December 11, 2019, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/number-of-laid-off-inuit-reduced-from-96-to-48- baffinland-says/.

2019.[23] The meeting was re-planned for April 2020, but was postponed because of the COVID-19 pandemic.[24] The main goal of the phase-two expansion is to gradually increase the production from 6 million tonnes per year to 12 million tonnes per year before 2023, then eventually increase to 30 million tonnes from 2025 to 2035.[25] However, the Qikiqtani Inuit Association states that the mine will be used up in 2035 and it cannot create a proportionate increase in benefits for Inuit if the expansion plan goes ahead.[26] Contract workers will be the first ones to be laid off as the mine begins running dry.

In addition, Inuit have a smaller portion of the jobs at the Mary River Mine, and expanding the development of the mine will only decrease Inuit work share.[27] Further development requires the company to prioritize hiring full-time laborers who are already familiar with the job; however, most of these workers are non-Inuit. Furthermore, Qikiqtani Inuit Association is not satisfied that Inuit workers do not make up the targeted 25% of total workers on the project.[28] Overall, phase-two development does not maximize benefits to Inuit, especially Inuit contract workers.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Mining creates revenue, but it also creates problems. The Government of Canada and Inuit organizations must work together to improve the situation for Inuit working at mines and living near mines. As the climate changes, melting sea ice brings both positive and negative impacts to the region. Although it can bring in more revenue to the region as more mined resources can be shipped out each year, mining brings social problems to communities such as those mentioned in this chapter.

Violence toward women working at or living around the mine is a significant problem. The rates of harassment and abuse are higher around the mining areas than other places in Canada. Although there are organizations to help the survivors, they do not have power to enforce any regulations to change the situation. The Government of Canada and the Baffinland Corporation need to improve this situation. Local Inuit communities and leaders need to collaborate with mining companies to prevent violence against Inuit women.

The transition of the mining workers is another important issue given that the mine is likely to be used up within the next two decades. The company should develop a thorough plan to help the workers to transition to other secure jobs because there will be no more mine to extract after 2035 if phase two happens. Assuming that phase-two expansion will eventually be approved (although the approval is still pending by the Nunavut Impact Review Board), there needs to be focus on finding solutions to the problems the expansion will bring to Inuit workers.

These two problems are not the only issues caused by mining. Regardless of the economic benefits, we cannot neglect the negative impacts to the communities as a result of mining. To achieve the first goal of the *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* to ensure the health and resilience of the people in the region, it is crucial to provide

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[23] Jim Bell, "Mary River: If Financial Viability Is a Factor, Then Prove It," *Nunatsiaq News*, November 20, 2019, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/mary-river-if-financial-viability-is-a-factor-then-prove-it/.

[24] Beth Brown, "Environmental Review of Nunavut Mine Stalled by Pandemic," *CBC News*, May 1, 2020, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-mine-environmental-review-stalled-1.5552156.

[25] Loxley, *Assessment of the Mary River Project*, 7.

[26] Loxley, *Assessment of the Mary River Project*, 5.

[27] Loxley, *Assessment of the Mary River Project*, 3.

[28] Loxley, *Assessment of the Mary River Project*, 22.

safe and secure opportunities for work, which are two basic rights that should not be violated. Meeting these goals will require that companies and governments collaboratively develop and implement new policies that benefit people and the economy.

Biography

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Chapter 4:
Inuit Housing Infrastructure

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> *Housing is a fundamental right. If you don't have safe housing, you are losing your fundamental rights.*
> —Stephanie Meakin, Senior Science Advisor, Inuit Circumpolar Council[1]

ABSTRACT
Inuit are facing a national housing crisis. In Inuit Nunangat, there is a shortage of housing for the growing population. Additionally, many housing designers do not include Inuit cultural practices, such as hunting, in the design process. Changing foundations due to thawing permafrost threaten the stability of already existing housing infrastructure. Even when there are proposed solutions, funding is often insufficient and inconsistently distributed. As Inuit population continues to grow, it is necessary for the Government of Canada to appropriately address this crisis, as secure housing is necessary for the health and well-being of Inuit communities.

INTRODUCTION
In 1959 Canada's Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources initiated the Eskimo Housing Loan Program. This project intended to provide large-scale housing for Inuit in newly forming permanent settlements.[2] However, this housing "lacked the research and planning necessary" to meet housing needs in the North.[3] Homes were too small, too expensive, and inadequate for climate conditions in the North.[4] Unfortunately, today, over sixty years later, housing problems for Inuit are little changed.

The 2019 *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy* emphasizes Inuit Nunangat's lack of adequate housing as a "national crisis."[5] High construction and shipping costs, alongside inadequate funding from the Government of Canada, prevent families from obtaining housing "without significant subsidies."[6] At least 31.5% of Inuit homes "require major repairs," and as climate change furthers the thawing of permafrost, the percentage of damaged homes is expected to grow.[7] Finally, the report addresses a need for "diversified housing options" to better meet the cultural needs of Inuit in Inuit Nunangat.[8]

The housing crisis in Inuit Nunangat has monumental effects on Inuit communities. Without sufficient housing, families of up to fifteen people live together, resulting in a faster decrease of housing quality.[9] Overcrowding also results

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1 Stephanie Meakin, personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

2 Sarah Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*, ed. Erik Anderson (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2006), 61.

3 Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*, 61.

4 Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*, 61.

5 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy* (Ottawa: Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, 2019), 6, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1554820296529/1554820324561.

6 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 6.

7 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 6.

8 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 7.

9 Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better: Housing in Inuit Nunangat, Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Senate of Canada, 2017), 5, https://www.nunivaat.org/doc/document/2019-12-19-02.pdf.

in an increased risk for infections, decreased mental state, and even decreased academic performance amongst adolescents.

Inuit have taken considerable measures to address the housing crisis. In addition to the *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, the *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* (2019) identifies infrastructure as Priority 4 of their plan for addressing the effects of climate change.[10] The report details the importance of closing the infrastructure gap and provides actions necessary to address the housing crisis. Furthermore, Inuit communities created reports to solve specific housing issues, such as *A Homeowner's Guide to Permafrost in Nunavut* (2013), which details best practices for supporting housing infrastructure that is on thawing permafrost.[11]

This chapter focuses on four issues within the housing crisis: 1) the lack of affordable housing, 2) the lack of adequate housing design, 3) the emerging threat that permafrost thaw presents to infrastructure, and 4) the problem of consistent funding from the Government of Canada to address housing needs. This chapter also provides recommendations to address these issues and provides successful examples.

BACKGROUND

Lack of Affordable Housing

While overall lack of housing infrastructure is a major problem in Inuit Nunangat, affordability "is one of the most significant issues affecting housing."[12] Affordability refers to the financial accessibility of housing for the average Inuit family. In Inuit Nunangat, houses are expensive to produce and therefore are expensive to buy. Additionally, maintenance and operational costs are much higher than in southern Canada. As a result, Inuit rely heavily on subsidized and public housing to have secure housing.

Living in Inuit Nunangat is very expensive. The cost of building in the North is "on average 150 percent higher" than the rest of Canada due to multiple factors.[13] Inuit must import their building materials from the South, as the North is limited in building supplies. Additionally, since Inuit communities reside in the high Arctic, sea ice limits the shipping season to a short period between "mid-summer to early fall."[14] Thus, building new homes is expensive and most Inuit are unable to afford them. In addition, heating systems can cost up to CAD$1000 a month, which is another barrier to affordable housing. As costs become unaffordable, Inuit rely on subsidized rentals for housing. In Nunavut alone, 57% of Inuit live in public housing.

As a result of inadequate affordable housing, 52% of Inuit in Inuit Nunangat live in crowded housing situations, compared to 9% of all Canadians.[15] Overcrowding can quickly decrease the quality of housing, for example, as ventilation systems are overworked and mold develops from moisture build-up.[16] Concerned parents in Igloolik have noticed painful sores develop on their kids due to persistent mold exposure.[17] Overcrowding can result in a multitude

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[10] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* (Ottawa: ITK, 2019).

[11] Government of Nunavut Department of Environment, *A Homeowner's Guide to Permafrost in Nunavut* (Yellowknife: Government of Nunavut, 2013).

[12] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Youth Perspectives on Housing in Inuit Nunangat* (Ottawa: ITK, 2016), 4.

[13] Kiley Daley, *Meeting the Northern Housing Challenge* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2017), https://www.canada.ca/en/polar-knowledge/publications/polarleads/vol1-no1-2016.html.

[14] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 6.

[15] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Inuit Statistical Profile 2018* (Ottawa: ITK, 2018), 6.

[16] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 18.

[17] Devi Lockwood, "Igloolik Children Covered in Sores Because of Black Mould in Public Housing Unit," *CBC News*, November 22, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mould-igloolik-nunavut-housing-1.4913795.

of health problems such as "respiratory infections, person-to-person transmission of pathogens, elevated measures of chronic stress and lower levels of self-reported general health."[18] For children, overcrowding also contributes to decreased academic success and lower rates of pursuing higher education.[19] With houses being overcrowded, many children do not have sufficient space to do their homework and focus on learning.[20] Additionally, due to competition for subsidized housing, some students may choose not to attend university to better qualify for subsidized housing.[21]

The lack of affordable housing infrastructure for the growing population is one of the biggest factors contributing to the housing crisis. Affordable housing is a necessity for the growing population and is important to continuing Inuit self-determination.

Inadequate Housing Design

Poorly designed housing is another factor in the housing crisis in Inuit Nunangat. Housing is currently not suitable for the northern climate and does not accommodate Inuit cultural practices and daily lifestyle. The North has greater annual snowfall and colder temperatures than the South. Yet design methods and materials used for houses still imitate southern housing design. Inuit value community and family. They hunt together, eat together, and may live together for many generations. The current design of houses does not reflect the needs of this lifestyle. Housing, while being built for Inuit, is not being designed with Inuit and Arctic life in mind.

Houses are also missing essential features necessary for the northern climate. In *We Can Do Better: Housing in Inuit Nunangat* (2017), the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples details some of the specific design flaws. For example, lack of insulation causes overheating in the summer and freezing in the winter, which leads to higher heating costs and mold accumulation.[22] Many structures have only a single entrance door, which often freezes over in winter and restricts accessibility.[23] Construction materials such as wood, which are not resilient to Arctic conditions, are used to construct houses. The materials "bend and sag under extreme temperature variations" and increase water leakage within the houses, which results in the need for a lot of maintenance and, occasionally, abandonment of homes.[24]

Housing infrastructure in the North has been described by the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples as "culturally unsuitable" for Inuit who occupy it.[25] Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada's 2008 report *Canada's Relationship with Inuit* notes that housing design "did not necessarily reflect preparing country foods, repairing hunting and transportation equipment, and entertaining."[26] Inuit had to make adaptations, such as dissecting animals in the living room and storing their meat in bathtubs, to accommodate the special restrictions (see *Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning*, 2006 by Annie Pootoogook).[27] In Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's 2016 *Youth Perspectives on Housing*

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[18] Daley, *Meeting the Northern Housing Challenge*.
[19] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Youth Perspectives on Housing*, 1.
[20] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Youth Perspectives on Housing*, 2.
[21] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Youth Perspectives on Housing*, 2.
[22] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 18.
[23] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 15.
[24] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 14–15.
[25] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 14.
[26] Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*, 63.
[27] Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*, 65.

in Inuit Nunangat, Inuit youth identified culturally insensitive design as an issue and "emphasized that buildings must be designed for traditional Inuit activities."[28] The lack of culturally appropriate housing design remains a problem for Inuit, who recognize it as a barrier to their cultural practices.

In a 2003 study on specific housing needs of Inuit, anthropologist Peter Dawson details the importance of housing designed with Inuit cultural beliefs in mind. The study emphasizes that such designs encourage "traditional cultural values of family solidarity, reciprocal assistance, and traditional renewable resource harvesting activities."[29] It is necessary that housing be designed by or in collaboration with Inuit community members.

Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016), ***Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning***, 2006, wax pastel and ink on Ragston paper, 50.9 x 66.2 cm. Courtesy of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.

Permafrost Thaw

Permafrost thaw is an emerging threat to housing infrastructure. With Arctic temperatures "rising faster than the global average," permafrost is expected to continue to decline in the Arctic.[30] Inuit Nunangat is above the permafrost line, which means that a majority of Inuit infrastructure is built on permafrost.[31] As permafrost thaws, existing housing infrastructure foundations will be vulnerable to cracking.

Permafrost is defined as "ground that remains at a temperature of 0 degrees Celsius or lower for at least two consecutive years."[32] It underlies roughly 50% of Canada and most of Inuit Nunangat.[33] But rising temperatures in the North have led to a rise in average permafrost temperature, leading to increased thawing. In Nunavik alone, the temperature of permafrost from 2000 to 2019 rose between 0.5 to 0.9ºC.[34] In winter, increased annual snow accumulation will also thaw permafrost, as snow insulates the surface from cold air temperatures.[35] Scientists now expect the area of permafrost to decrease 20% in the North by 2040.[36]

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[28] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Youth Perspectives on Housing*, 4.

[29] Dawson cited in Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*, 63.

[30] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Snow, Water, Ice and Permafrost: Summary for Policymakers* (Oslo: AMAP, 2017), 3.

[31] Emma Sowder, "Infographic | Above the Permafrost: Flows of Goods and People," Wilson Center, January 24, 2020, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/infographic-above-the-permafrost-flows-goods-and-people.

[32] "Permafrost 101: What Is Permafrost?" Canadian Permafrost Association, accessed May 28, 2020, https://canadianpermafrostassociation.ca/What-is-Permafrost.htm.

[33] Stuart A. Harris, "Permafrost," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, August 10, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/permafrost.

[34] Elizabeth Bush and Donald S. Lemmen, eds., *Canada's Climate Change Report* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2019), 236.

[35] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Snow, Water, Ice and Permafrost*, 12; Government of Nunavut, *A Homeowner's Guide to Permafrost in Nunavut* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut, 2013), 9.

[36] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Snow, Water, Ice and Permafrost*, 12.

The effects of permafrost thaw can already be seen in Inuit Nunangat. A warehouse in Inuvik was torn down in 2017 due to shifting foundations from permafrost.[37] Former mayor Jim McDonald expressed concern for the town, as permafrost "is destroying buildings" and changing the ways construction crews operate.[38]

As permafrost thaw is a relatively new issue in Inuit Nunangat, research is limited on how to address it. The Government of Nunavut details best practices for managing infrastructure as permafrost thaws in their report *A Homeowner's Guide to Permafrost in Nunavut*. However, there is currently no report on best practices for housing affected by permafrost thaw. In Nunavut, housing infrastructure is still designed "with the understanding that ground and permafrost under the home will remain solid," despite acknowledgement that this may not remain true.[39]

Short-Term Funding and Inefficient Resource Allocation

Inuit are "involved in the direct management of housing in their communities."[40] Inuit governments have strategies to deal with threats to housing security. However, over CAD$2 billion is required to fully address the Inuit Nunangat housing crisis.[41] Territorial and provincial governments in Inuit Nunangat do not have these funds and must rely on the national government for assistance. In their report *Barriers to Sustainable Housing Delivery* (2016), Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami identifies lack of sustainable funding as a key barrier to closing the housing gap.[42]

The Government of Canada provides funding through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Two programs, the Social Housing Agreements and the Investment in Affordable Housing Initiative, are meant to provide a variety of services, such as "new construction, renovation, homeownership assistance, rent supplements, shelter allowances, accessibility modifications and accommodations for victims of family violence."[43] Through short- and medium-term investments, the Government of Canada allocates money towards housing in various regions of Inuit Nunangat. In 2017 and 2018, the Government of Canada budgeted a total of CAD$640 million to Inuit territories, with $240 million allocated to Nunavut and $400 million to Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, and Inuvialuit over the course of ten years.[44]

While this funding might seem adequate, it is committed over a relatively short time, and funding needs are predicted to exceed this period. For example, Nunavut requires at least 3,500 units, costing a total of CAD$1.75 billion.[45] The money provided to Nunavut for housing is barely one-tenth of what is currently needed in Nunavut. Similarly, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, and Inuvialuit require at least 1,153 units, totaling CAD$443.6 million.[46] While the money allocated for these three regions is closer, the funding still falls short of what is necessary. With a growing population, these numbers will only increase.

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[37] David Lamb, "'It Scares Me': Permafrost Thaw in Canadian Arctic Sign of Global Trend," *CBC News*, April 17, 2017, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/it-scares-me-permafrost-thaw-in-canadian-arctic-sign-of-global-trend-1.4069173.

[38] Lamb, "'It Scares Me': Permafrost Thaw."

[39] Government of Nunavut, *A Homeowner's Guide to Permafrost in Nunavut*, 2.

[40] Canadian Geographic, n.d., "Housing," in *Inuit* vol. of *Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada*, accessed June 19, 2020, https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/housing/.

[41] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Barriers to Sustainable Housing Delivery* (Ottawa: ITK, 2016), 4.

[42] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Barriers to Sustainable Housing Delivery*, 8.

[43] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *We Can Do Better*, 12.

[44] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 5.

[45] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 26.

[46] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 26.

New investments need to efficiently reach Inuit communities and families. While there have been investments sent directly to Inuit governments, the funding has been "slow to reach Inuit, resulting in housing delivery delays."[47] Direct distribution of funds to Inuit governments is necessary to the development of Inuit-focused housing. Delays can prevent the funding from being useful because Inuit communities are limited by the amount of time in which they can purchase building materials. If funding from the government is distributed slowly, it becomes increasingly unhelpful.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Research affordable housing options

The 2019 *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy* identifies enhancing research, innovation, and statistics as part of their action plan.[48] Other global Arctic regions face challenges in affordable housing and can provide new solutions for similar problems. For example, lessons could be learned from Alaska's Cold Climate Housing Research Center, which works on a number of projects regarding housing security in Alaska. Nation-states with Arctic regions and northern communities could benefit from sharing best practices.[49]

(2) Involve Inuit in all aspects of housing design

In 2016 architect Alain Fournier from the architectural firm EVOQ created a public housing unit in Nunavik. The houses are designed with Inuit ways of life in mind. Kitchens are larger and have moveable islands to make cutting game or fish easier.[50] Larger space allows for better storage of hunting gear and family gatherings.[51] Fournier worked with the four major housing organizations in Nunavik and Québec to design the housing and consulted Inuit for further design revisions. While Fournier's work is a great example of culturally sensitive design, all future architects must involve Inuit in all aspects of housing design.

(3) Explore permafrost-thaw-resistant infrastructure

As thawing of permafrost is likely inevitable, new housing should be built to accommodate these changes. While drilling steel piles into bedrock is preferred in cases where traditional support methods fail, we need to consider new avenues, such as the use of thermosyphons. Thermosyphons are metal tubes that use pressurized carbon dioxide to maintain frozen ground. This passive system has already been used in mines and parking lots in the North, and could be a viable option for future construction of houses. A firm called Arctic Foundations pioneered thermosyphons and has used them for over forty years.[52]

(4) Directly allocate financial resources to regional governments

Funding is meant to be allocated for Inuit housing development and Inuit already have existing institutions for managing housing construction. Therefore, funding for housing should be directly distributed through a grant to allow Inuit governments to have "sufficient flexibility, certainty, and transparency."[53] Furthermore, emphasizing the 2019 *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, Canada's federal government must commit long-term funding for housing in Inuit Nunangat that is sufficient enough to meet housing needs.[54]

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47 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 11.

48 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 19.

49 Cold Climate Housing Research Center, https://cchrc.org/.

50 Morgan Lowrie, "Quebec Social Housing Agency to Test Unit Better Adapted to Northern Culture Social Sharing," *CBC News*, January 3, 2016, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-social-housing-agency-to-test-unit-better-adapted-to-northern-culture-1.3387630.

51 Lowrie, "Quebec Social Housing Agency."

52 Arctic Foundations, https://arcticfoundations.com/. More research about cost effectiveness is necessary as pricing is not provided.

53 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 11.

54 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy*, 18.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The Inuit national housing crisis is complex and multifaceted. A history of inadequate housing design and a shortage of sustainable housing infrastructure decrease the quality of life for Inuit. Changing landscapes due to permafrost thaw threaten existing housing infrastructure. Lastly, poor allocation of money slows the development of housing infrastructure in Inuit Nunangat.

It is important to note that the issues raised in this chapter are not the only factors that contribute to the crisis. Problems such as absence of a municipal waste system and urban Inuit homelessness also contribute to the Inuit housing crisis. Additionally, needs vary depending on the region of Inuit Nunangat. Each settlement has its own context that must be considered when proposing solutions.

Above all, it is critical to note that Inuit have proposed solutions for the housing crisis and have even implemented some solutions on a regional basis. As the Government of Canada continues to address the housing crisis, it is necessary to emphasize partnership with Inuit, not mere consultation.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking Nunavut Sivaniksavut, Inuit Circumpolar Council, and Inuit Tapariit Kanatami for their expertise on housing and infrastructure in the North. Special thanks to Stephanie Meakin, whose words I quote in the epigraph. Another special thanks to Major Conrad Schubert and John Clark for providing their knowledge on permafrost. This work has been benefited from the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Biography

Kimiko Boswell is a senior in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington. With a focus on the effects of climate change on communities and an interest in information technology, she hopes to utilize her degree to address the issues faced by affected communities.

Part III: Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge

Part III addresses the importance of incorporating Inuit knowledge into the discussion about human rights and international policymaking in the Arctic. Human rights and environmental law are inseparable, particularly in Arctic contexts and for Inuit communities, where sea ice plays a major role in Inuit culture, diet, traditional knowledge, and livelihoods (Chapter 5). To protect this human right and to build upon Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), Inuit traditional knowledge, an Arctic Inuit legal approach needs to be incorporated into international and domestic law (Chapter 6). The ultimate goal of bringing in Inuit qaujimajatuqangit is to continue the successful implementation of existing agreements, such as the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement between the Government of Canada and Inuit communities, to promote Inuit self-determination and self-governance, especially related to land use management, employment, and education (Chapter 7). Continued collaboration between Canada's federal government and Inuit is needed to achieve ongoing successful Arctic policies that are inclusive of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit. As a reflection of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit, art can influence policy that serves Inuit communities.

Chapter 5:
Inuit and Rights of the Environment

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> *Where I live, the sea ice never stops. It's a living thing.*
> — Jayko Oweetaluktuk, Unkjuak, Nunavik, quoted in Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*

ABSTRACT
Rising temperatures in the Arctic are threatening Inuit livelihood and culture. Inuit depend on sea ice for a variety of cultural practices, including hunting, fishing, and travel—and all of these cultural practices are in danger if the effects of climate change continue unchecked. This chapter analyzes two attempts by Indigenous groups to protect the environment through legal instruments: 1) the Te Awa Tupua Act of 2017, also known as the Whanganui River Claims Settlement; 2) and Sheila Watt-Cloutier's 2005 Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Both invoke the concept of rights to defend the environment in unique ways that might guide future environmental protection efforts. I begin by exploring previous uses of human rights instruments to defend the environment, and argue that the "slow" effects of climate change—particularly melting sea ice—require novel applications of rights-based approaches for us to effectively combat them. Next, I compare such novel applications by two Indigenous groups on different ends of the globe: the Māori in New Zealand, and Inuit in Canada's Arctic and northern region. Lastly, I consider how both of these movements center Indigenous knowledge as a way of knowing and ultimately challenge Western notions of rights to protect the environment.

INTRODUCTION

Environmental justice is often directly tied to human rights. The right to a healthy environment is part of the existing language of human rights. For example, article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976) states,

> The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The steps to be taken shall include those necessary for the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industry hygiene.[1]

In other words, environmental rights are foundational to these basic entitlements; one cannot enjoy the full extent of their human rights without a healthy environment.

There have been several examples where human rights instruments have successfully defended the environment. In the case of *The Social and Economic Rights Action Center and the Center for Economic and Social Rights v. Nigeria* (2000), the Nigerian government exploited local oil reserves with no regard for the environment or the health of local

[1] United Nations General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (New York: UNGA, 1966), article 12, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx.

communities.[2] Subsequently, the African Commission on Human Rights found the Nigerian government in violation of the right to health and a clean environment, per article 16 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1986).[3] In *Guerra et al. v. Italy* (1998), the European Court on Human Rights successfully prosecuted an Italian factory that released toxic substances into nearby communities in the course of its production cycle, citing article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (1953).[4]

However, law is not static, and constantly evolves to respond to new challenges. The defense of the environment is one of these new challenges, as governments, transnational corporations, and other non-state actors threaten the environment in novel ways. Ecosystems are now being disrupted by slower, subtler forms of environmental degradation. Melting sea ice in the Arctic is one of these more subtle forms of environmental degradation, and addressing the issue is far from straightforward. How do we defend an environmental entity that simultaneously constitutes territory, is a platform for life, and is embedded in Inuit culture? How does one assign responsibility for carbon emissions when practically every human being is complicit in contributing to them? How do Qallunaaq (white people, or non-Inuit) reconcile our understanding of sea ice with the contrasting understanding held by Inuit?

The assertion of Indigenous knowledge into—as well as opposed to—Western legal frameworks may provide an answer. The defense of the environment against climate change has provided an opportunity for Indigenous groups to critically engage the realm of knowledge and theory as a site of struggle, and to even translate that theory into tangible legal practice. In 2005 Sheila Watt-Cloutier, former Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, submitted a petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR).[5] The petition sought relief from violations of the human rights of Inuit, claiming violations from greenhouse gas emissions by the United States. Watt-Cloutier's petition is an example of how traditional Indigenous knowledge has attempted to utilize Western concepts of legal rights to protect sea ice—a key step towards the greater goal of decolonization. If this process of decolonization is to continue, Inuit knowledge must continue to be centered in efforts that protect not only sea ice but Inuit culture as well.

More broadly, Indigenous knowledge must be centered in efforts to protect the environment around the world. The Māori, an Indigenous group living in New Zealand, have made progress in the protection of the environment by adopting such a strategy; they have successfully seen the New Zealand government grant legal rights *to* environmental entities that Māori co-exist with and depend on. The respective successes of Inuit and Māori demonstrate the efficacy of Indigenous knowledge in guiding efforts to protect the environment; governments around the world should therefore consider working more closely with local Indigenous groups in developing environmental protection efforts.

BACKGROUND

Existing Literature and Current Developments

Christopher D. Stone, the J. Thomas McCarthy Trustee Chair in Law at the University of Southern California, has written extensively on the possibility of granting the environment legal personhood in his 1972 book *Should Trees Have*

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[2] "Right to a Healthy Environment," Icelandic Human Rights Centre, n.d., accessed June 18, 2020, http://www.humanrights.is/en/human-rights-education-project/comparative-analysis-of-selected-case-law-achpr-iachr-echr-hrc/the-right-to-health/right-to-a-healthy-environment.

[3] "Right to a Healthy Environment," Icelandic Human Rights Centre.

[4] "Right to a Healthy Environment," Icelandic Human Rights Centre.

[5] Sheila Watt-Cloutier et al., Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Seeking Relief from Violations Resulting from Global Warming Caused by Acts and Omissions of the United States, December 7, 2005, http://climatecasechart.com/non-us-case/petition-to-the-inter-american-commission-on-human-rights-seeking-relief-from-violations-resulting-from-global-warming-caused-by-acts-and-omissions-of-the-united-states/.

Standing? In this collection of essays, Stone argues that the environment should be granted legal rights. He claims that anthropocentric centrality should be displaced and that legal personhood be extended to natural objects, such as rivers and forests.[6] Stone also outlines a system of representation for the environment in which legal guardians are appointed to represent the environmental object's best interests.[7]

This sort of creative legal thinking was demonstrated in the case of the Whanganui River in New Zealand, which was granted legal personhood status in 2017 through the passing of the Te Awa Tupua Act. This landmark decision, along with Watt-Cloutier's 2005 petition, illustrates how Indigenous knowledge can guide a shift in legal understanding that would allow the recognition of the rights of the environment.[8] The following sections will identify specific understandings, values, and beliefs in Inuit and Māori knowledge that help explain their unique relationships with and understandings of the environment. I will draw from Inuit and Māori testimonies and cultural practices to support my analysis and conclusions.

Māori Knowledge and the Whanganui River

The granting of legal personhood to the Whanganui River in New Zealand can provide insight as to how an Indigenous knowledge-based approach to environmental justice might inform an environment-centered understanding of rights. Measuring 290 kilometers long, the Whanganui River is a major river in New Zealand's North Island.[9] The river has enormous cultural and spiritual value for Whanganui tribes, as detailed in the 1999 *Whanganui River Report*: "For nearly a millennium, the Atihaunui hapu [ancestors of Māori] have held the Whanganui River…The river was central to Atihaunui lives, their source of food, their single highway, their spiritual mentor. It was the aortic artery of the Atihaunui heart."[10] Māori livelihood and the river are deeply intertwined.

Māori do not view the river, or the environment more generally, as a resource to be divided up for ownership. Instead, the river is to be protected, as its integrity is vital to their well-being. This belief manifests in traditional Māori family structures. The Māori organized their *hapū* (subtribes) around the river's *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship), structuring their very existence around the preservation of the river.[11] In many ways, the Māori's relationship with the Whanganui River illustrates the fundamental difference between an rights-of-the-environment-based approach, guided by Indigenous knowledge, vs. a human-rights-based approach.

As a result of British colonialism, however, Māori have not been able to fully assert their ownership or guardianship of the river. Historically, the New Zealand government (or Crown) has formally owned the river. With the arrival of British colonists in 1840, Māori signed the Treaty of Waitangi, which had the supposed goal of peaceful colonization.[12]

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[6] Christopher D. Stone, *Should Trees Have Standing?: Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects* (Palo Alto, CA: Tioga Pub. Co., 1988).

[7] Stone, *Should Trees Have Standing?*, 61–69.

[8] Kennedy Warne, "The Whanganui River in New Zealand Is a Legal Person," *National Geographic*, April 2019, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/04/maori-river-in-new-zealand-is-a-legal-person/.

[9] Erin L. O'Donnell and Julia Talbot-Jones, "Creating Legal Rights for Rivers: Lessons from Australia, New Zealand and India," *Ecology and Society* 23, no. 1 (March 2018), art. 7, https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-09854-230107.

[10] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Whanganui River Report* (Wellington: GP Publications, 1999), xiii, https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68450539/Whanganui%20River%20Report%201999.pdf.

[11] Elaine Hsiao, "Whanganui River Agreement—Indigenous Rights and Rights of Nature," *Environmental Policy and Law* 42, no. 6 (December 2012): 371.

[12] "Whanganui Iwi (Whanganui River) Deed of Settlement Summary," *New Zealand Government*, August 5, 2014, https://www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/whanganui-iwi/whanganui-iwi-whanganui-river-deed-of-settlement-summary-5-aug-2014/.

Competing versions of the treaty emerged between the English and Māori, which led to conflicting expectations "regarding the constitution and administration of 'law,'"[13] and resulted in river ownership essentially being handed to the Crown.[14] The New Zealand government made sizeable alterations to the natural state of the river, including headwater diversion, destruction of fisheries, metal extraction, all of which contributed to the deterioration of the river.[15]

With the passing of the Te Awa Tupua Act in 2017, the Whanganui River was granted legal personhood status, meaning that the river was recognized as a living entity and a legal person with rights that could be judicially enforced by appointed guardians. Duties of the guardians include the following:

> To act and speak for and on behalf of the river;
> To uphold the river's recognition and values as an indivisible entity and as a legal person;
> To promote and protect the environmental, social, cultural, and economic health and well-being of the river; and To take any other action reasonably necessary to achieve its purpose and perform its functions.[16]

In the example of the Whanganui River, Indigenous knowledge of the environment was key to reaching an agreement that bridged existing worldviews. One indicator of this collaboration is the use of Māori's Indigenous language for certain subsections of the Te Awa Tupua Act.[17] Another is the recognition of the inseparability of Māori's and the river's well-being: "Te Awa Tupua is an indivisible and living whole from the mountains to the sea, incorporating the Whanganui River and all of its physical and metaphysical elements."[18]

The settlement act also recognizes the river's own personality and life force: "Te Awa Tupua is a singular entity comprised of many elements and communities, working collaboratively for the common purpose of the health and well-being of Te Awa Tupua."[19] The language of the Te Awa Tupua Act recognizes the relationship that Māori share with the river and the environment as a whole—a relationship that embraces human and natural interconnectedness.

This compromise between colonialist Western law and traditional Māori knowledge is not without its faults. Ultimately, it represents only a small step towards the shaking off of colonialist structures of domination by Māori; it could be argued that the very notions of legal rights and personhood that Māori sought to grant to the river are a Western construct themselves. Māori have already demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the current state of reform, which illustrates how this act is not an end but a means to the greater goal of decolonialization.[20] However, the example of

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[13] Liz Charpleix, "The Whanganui River as Te Awa Tupua: Place-Based Law in a Legally Pluralistic Society," *Geographical Journal* 184, no. 1 (October 2017): 20, doi: 10.1111/geoj.12238.

[14] Evelyn Stokes, "The Treaty of Waitangi and the Waitangi Tribunal: Māori Claims in New Zealand," *Applied Geography* 12, no. 2 (April 1992): 176–91, https://doi.org/10.1016/0143-6228(92)90006-9.

[15] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Whanganui River Report*, 67–70.

[16] Aikaterini Argyrou and Harry Hummels, "Legal Personality and Economic Livelihood of the Whanganui River: A Call for Community Entrepreneurship," *Water International* 44, no. 6–7 (August 2019): 753, https://doi.org/10.1080/02508060.2019.1643525.

[17] New Zealand Legislation, "Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017," March 20, 2017, 1, http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2017/0007/latest/whole.html.

[18] New Zealand Legislation, "Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017," 15.

[19] New Zealand Legislation, "Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017," 15.

[20] Eleanor Ainge Roy, "New Zealand Rocked by Māori Protests on Child Removals and Use of Sacred Land," *The Guardian*, July 30, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/31/new-zealand-rocked-by-maori-protests-on-child-removals-and-use-of-sacred-land.

the Whanganui River *can* offer insight into how Indigenous communities might incorporate Indigenous knowledge to challenge entrenched Western notions of legality and rights.

Inuit knowledge has already been at the forefront of such a movement. In the Canadian Arctic, Inuit share a relationship with sea ice comparable to the one the Māori share with the Whanganui River. Sea ice is foundational to Inuit livelihood, culture, and physical survival—much in the same way as the Whanganui River is foundational to Māori livelihood, culture, and physical survival.

Inuit Knowledge and Sea Ice

Inuit have also centered their unique understandings of sea ice in efforts to protect the environment, as demonstrated by Sheila Watt-Cloutier's 2005 petition to the IACHR. The petition sought relief from violations of the human rights of Inuit, claiming that these violations resulted from greenhouse gas emissions by the United States.[21] While the petition was rejected, the commission agreed to a hearing at which Watt-Cloutier was invited to speak.

The petition represents a human-rights-based approach to defending environment, by tying melting sea ice to the infringement of Inuit human rights. In the petition, Watt-Cloutier identifies rights protected by existing human rights provisions, including the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. These include "their rights to the benefits of culture, to property, to the preservation of health, life, physical integrity, security, and a means of subsistence, and to residence, movement, and inviolability of the home"[22]—all of which are identified in Watt-Cloutier's petition as inextricably dependent on sea ice. Because the United States was, at the time of the petition, the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gases, Watt-Cloutier demanded that the United States act to protect the rights of the Inuit by curbing its emissions.[23]

In many ways, the petition was groundbreaking. Although it was ultimately rejected by the IACHR, the petition is credited with bringing a human face to climate change for the entire world to see. In fact, Watt-Cloutier was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for presenting the petition.[24] The petition also directly challenged the United States—a nation that has repeatedly shaped human rights in its own interests—to more closely adhere to international human rights law. Most importantly for the purposes of this paper, it used Inuit cultural knowledge and ways of knowing to try and achieve change through Western legal frameworks.

The petition depicts the same unique sense of human and natural interconnectedness present in the language of the Te Awa Tupua Act. Because of this interconnectedness, Inuit provide an excellent case study of the relationship between human rights and the environment, and how non-Indigenous policymakers can learn from Indigenous rights thinking. Many connections can be drawn between the relationship that the Māori have with the Whanganui River, and the relationship that Inuit have with sea ice. Inuit have described sea ice as "a living, breathing entity," a "highway,"[25] and a source of livelihood—all descriptions that the Māori also use for the Whanganui River. Both relationships have a

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[21] Watt-Cloutier et al., Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

[22] Watt-Cloutier et al., Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 5.

[23] Watt-Cloutier et al., Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 7.

[24] "Sheila Watt-Cloutier | Environmental, Cultural and Human Rights Advocate," accessed June 18, 2020, https://www.speakers.ca/speakers/sheila-watt-cloutier/.

[25] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014), i, iii, https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/project/the-sea-ice-never-stops-circumpolar-inuit-reflections-on-sea-ice-use-and-shipping-in-inuit-nunaat/.

quality of mutual benefit, and it is difficult to envision the effects that separation might have on Inuit or Māori should their natural lifeline be yanked away.

Also defended in Watt-Cloutier's petition is the right to freely enjoy culture, as guaranteed by article XIII of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.[26] Melting sea ice threatens many aspects of Inuit culture, including traditional diet, hunting practices, and traditional knowledge of sea ice. Because Inuit culture depends so heavily on sea ice, Inuit rights and sovereignty continue to be subverted as well. Through the IACHR's decision to reject the petition, Inuit knowledge was essentially rejected as a way of understanding human rights. We should ask ourselves whether the IACHR's refusal to accept Inuit knowledge tacitly supports the edifice of colonial Western dominance over Indigenous Peoples and cultures.

Barry Pottle (1961-), ***Setting the Table***, 2012, photo. Courtesy of the artist.

Indigenous knowledge is powerful, and can help policymakers develop stronger mechanisms for protecting the environment. This belief is reflected in Watt-Cloutier's 2005 petition, as well as in more recent publications by the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). For example, in *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, published in 2014, the ICC explains the strong connections between Inuit health and well-being and sea ice. *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway*, published in 2019, details the importance of sea ice to Inuit travel.[27] These documents depict an inextricable relationship between sea ice and Inuit livelihood and well-being, which will remain key to future attempts by Inuit to use legal tools to protect the Arctic.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The future of traditional Inuit life in the Arctic is under threat, and the linkage between Inuit life and culture and the presence of sea ice shows us why. However, that linkage also shows us how Inuit cultural knowledge can simultaneously defend Inuit rights, protect the Arctic, and refashion Western legal systems to equally serve Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

[26] American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, article XIII, accessed June 18, 2020, https://www.cidh.oas.org/Basicos/English/Basic2.american%20Declaration.htm.

[27] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway: An Inuit Perspective on Transportation in the Arctic* (Ottawa: ICC, 2008).

Similar to how the Māori have granted a natural entity legal rights, Inuit might seek to grant sea ice legal rights, based on claims of mutual interconnectedness. How successful might it be to grant legal personhood status to sea ice? Many challenges have risen in response to the creation of rights of the environment. While the Whanganui River's legal personhood remains mostly unchallenged, Ecuador's 2008 Constitution has been repeatedly tested—social and political realities of implementation have led critics to label the recognition of the environment's rights as little more than an aspirational political statement.[28] Political will is another potential obstacle, as rights of the environment have come into conflict with the financial interests of corporations seeking to exploit natural resources.[29]

It should also be recognized that granting legal personhood status to sea ice is a means, not an end. Using Inuit understanding of sea ice to redefine the West's definition of human rights would be an achievement, but only an initial step towards decolonization. This is a notion supported by Māori right now, as just last year, hundreds protested a planned development on sacred Māori land.[30]

Despite the legal and practical hurdles that such a shift would face, this sort of legal thinking is aspirational—and aspirations in a legal context are valuable. Implementing rights of sea ice would act as a directing principle and political statement, clearly pointing to a direction that future decisions regarding the environment will go. A basic human truth is that we are more likely to achieve our goals if we record them in writing. While we would unlikely be successful in fully defending the environment's rights, incremental improvements could be made to slow the inexorable march of climate change.

Granting rights to the environment would be major step as Inuit continue to assert their rights on a national scale, as well as the movement for Indigenous rights as a whole. In fact, this discussion has clear implications for the recent protests across Canada against the Coastal GasLink pipeline, another environmental justice and human rights issue.[31] Incorporating Inuit knowledge in defending the environment would empower other Indigenous groups in their struggles against the imperialistic structures that continue to inhibit them, as the Wet'suwet'en are doing at this very moment.

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[28] Carlo Ruiz Giraldo, "Does Nature Have Rights? Successes and Challenges in Implementing the Rights of Nature in Ecuador," *ConstitutionNet*, July 15, 2013, http://constitutionnet.org/news/does-nature-have-rights-successes-and-challenges-implementing-rights-nature-ecuador.

[29] Giraldo, "Does Nature Have Rights?"

[30] Roy, "New Zealand Rocked by Māori Protests."

[31] Amanda Colleta, "Why Protesters Are Shutting Down Canada's Rail Service," *Washington Post*, February 18, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/why-protesters-are-shutting-down-canadas-rail-service/2020/02/18/a5bf534e-51f2-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09_story.html.

Biography

Kendrick Lu is a junior at the University of Washington studying International Studies and English. He is especially interested in human rights, and plans to pursue some sort of related graduate program. Outside of school, he enjoys soccer, rugby, and weightlifting.

Chapter 6:
Inuit Legal Approaches in the Arctic

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> *The outstretched arms holding the lamp contrast eerily with the outsized grasping hand emerging from the base of the of the figure, suggesting the tensions between contrasting world views inherent in colonial relationships.*
> —Pierre Aupilardjuk, description of sculpture *Giving without Receiving*[1]

ABSTRACT
Legal norms have guided Inuit culture for thousands of years and continue to do so today.[2] However, international law in the Arctic does not fully recognize the significance of the knowledge that is held by circumpolar Inuit and upon which Inuit laws stand.[3] Similarly, the national legal system of Canada was developed without any consideration of the vast Indigenous knowledge that existed long before colonization began.[4] Inuit have an inherent right to their ancestral territory, which includes land, water, *and* sea ice.[5] The vastly changing Arctic and increased global interest in the circumpolar region illustrates the urgent need for an Inuit understanding of the Arctic, a place where Inuit have lived sustainably for thousands of years. Arctic sea ice is drastically changing and an Inuit legal perspective on the Arctic is more important than ever in partnering with the international community to better understand the global importance of the Arctic environment and how it is changing.

BACKGROUND

What Is an Inuit Legal Approach?

To evaluate an Inuit legal approach to the Arctic, one must understand that Inuit legal traditions exist in a very different form than what modern Western culture considers law. Inuit legal norms developed in the Arctic as a type of societal moral code. Traditional Inuit legal order was not written down, meaning that most legal regulation occurred through social and cultural norms in Inuit society.[6] These norms exist through legends, myths, and storytelling, which all contain Inuit knowledge and are transferred by oral tradition from shamans, Elders, and leaders within the community.[7] Inuit knowledge, or Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), incorporates many legal ideas that exist in Western legal frameworks. One example of this is the Inuit term *Papattiniq*, "the idea that nature is not a commodity."[8] This is just one example of the many Inuit concepts that translate very well to Western legal frameworks, especially relating to environmental law. This form of legal regulation, which is communicated through IQ, has continued to exist in Inuit culture even as colonization introduced an entirely different kind of legal approach.

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1 Pierre Aupilardjuk, *Giving without Receiving*, porcelain and smoke-fired stoneware, 2016, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, ON.

2 Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014), 24.

3 Jessica Shadian, "From States to Polities: Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Inuit Governance," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 3 (May 2010): 490, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109346887.

4 Christopher Alcantara, "Implementing Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements in Canada," *Canadian Public Administration* 60, no. 3 (July 2017): 327, https://doi.org/10.1111/capa.12219.

5 Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, ii.

6 Natalia Loukacheva, "Indigenous Inuit Law, 'Western' Law and Northern Issues," *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* 3, no. 2 (October 2012): 204.

7 Loukacheva, "Indigenous Inuit Law," 203.

8 Frank James Tester and Peter Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance," *Arctic* 61, no. 1 (2008): 51.

Inuit have a unique perspective of their homeland, rooted in the sustainable practices that have allowed them to thrive for thousands of years in a region that many would consider uninhabitable. This perspective of the Arctic informs Inuit legal thinking and is critical to our collective understanding on how to govern the Arctic region.[9] Current legal systems affecting the Arctic do not consider this invaluable knowledge, contributing to a missed opportunity in the international community's legal approach to the Arctic.[10] I argue that Inuit legal thinking exists in the Arctic through Inuit qaujimajatuqangit and is an integral aspect of achieving a peaceful and stable international circumpolar Arctic. This chapter will use the terms "Inuit legal order," "Inuit legal system," and "Inuit legal thinking" interchangeably to describe an Inuit perspective of law in the Arctic.

© Pierre Aupilardjuk (1961-), ***Giving without Receiving***, 2016. All rights reserved.

The Akitsiraq Law School is an excellent model for engaging both Inuit legal systems and national Canadian law in the Arctic region.[11] Akitsiraq Law School was created shortly after the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement formalized the territory of Nunavut in northern Canada. Negotiations of this land claims agreement included a provision of ample education and training opportunities for Inuit in Nunavut.[12] Over time, individuals in Iqaluit formed a coalition to create the Akitsiraq Law School Society, which eventually partnered with the Faculty of Law at University of Victoria. The Akitsiraq Law School is unique in that it gives Inuit students the opportunity to not only learn and practice domestic Canadian law, but also explore how an Inuit approach to law and IQ fit into the context of domestic law in Canada. This is an excellent example of two different legal perspectives being integrated into one approach to enhance the effectiveness of each system. Akitsiraq Law School has been a tremendous success. However, there is a need for more training programs to build capacity and ensure that Inuit legal perspectives are integrated into domestic Canadian law. This will improve Inuit self-determination and allow Canada the opportunity to learn from an Inuit understanding of the best way to govern the Canadian Arctic and sea ice.

Canada and Circumpolar Inuit Rights

Inuit are one people whose traditional homelands have been divided into four different countries: Canada, Russia, Greenland, and the United States. Even though the Arctic today is divided and claimed by many different nations,

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[9] Charlie Watt, "Inuit Rights to the Arctic," *LawNow*, May 7, 2015, https://www.lawnow.org/inuit-rights-to-the-arctic/.

[10] Brendan Tobin, "Custom Rising: Indigenous Law and Legal Philosophy as Catalysts for Intercultural Justice and Good Global Governance," in *Philosophy of Law in the Arctic*, ed. Dawid Bunikowski (Rovaniemi: University of the Arctic, 2016), 132.

[11] Serena Ableson, "Bringing Legal Education to the Canadian Arctic: The Development of the Akitsiraq Law School and the Challenges of Providing Services to a Nontraditional Law School," *International Journal of Legal Education* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 6.

[12] Ableson, "Bringing Legal Education."

each with their own legal system in place, "Inuit see themselves as one people."[13] Inuit legal thinking continues to exist across the Arctic regardless of the colonial law that has been implemented. As Inuit culture has persisted through colonialism, Inuit legal thinking and perspectives have endured along with it.

Canada is uniquely positioned to strengthen Inuit rights across the Arctic. Inuit consultation and collaboration in governance matters has occurred recently. The Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee, particularly *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (2019) produced through this partnership, has begun to lay the foundation for the integration of Inuit legal systems into Arctic governance. Canada is an ideal partner for supporting the rights of circumpolar Inuit due to this renewed commitment between the relationship of the Canadian government and Inuit in Canada. Acknowledging the importance of Inuit legal systems further legitimizes Canada's claim to the Arctic by supporting the perspectives of those who have lived there for thousands of years.[14]

While Inuit in Canada do share many commonalities and connections with Inuit across the circumpolar Arctic, Kevin Kablutsiak, Director of Communications for Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, stated about Inuit in Inuit Nunangat, "We love Canada, we love being Canadian."[15] In Canada, while the full implementation of land claims and achievement of self-determination are important issues that must be resolved, there is little interest in succession. Inuit in Canada have no desire to create an Inuit nation-state and are committed to defending their rights as both Indigenous Peoples who live within multiple national boundaries as well as Canadian citizens.[16] This means that, as global interest in the Arctic continues to grow, Canada has the opportunity to be an international leader in ensuring that Inuit rights to their homeland are protected across the entire circumpolar region.

International Recognition of Inuit Rights

Inuit rights have been gradually recognized and strengthened on the international stage. In 2007 the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, which affirmed the right to self-determination for Indigenous Peoples all around the world. Article 27 of this declaration explicitly declares that states shall give "due recognition to Indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems" as a fundamental aspect of Indigenous rights.[17]

Shortly after UNDRIP was adopted by the UN, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) released *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* in 2009, which outlines an Inuit approach to Arctic governance that utilizes Inuit self-determination and knowledge of the circumpolar region. It was drafted in response to heightened global interest in the Arctic due to climate change and increased availability of resources that were previously buried underneath the frozen ocean. Inuit across the Arctic were consulted over the course of six months in the creation of this declaration and it incorporates these gathered perspectives.[18] Notably, this ICC declaration highlights article 5 of the UNDRIP, stating that Inuit have "the right to maintain and strengthen [their] distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining the right to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of

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[13] Stephanie Meakin (Senior Science Advisor, Inuit Circumpolar Council), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[14] Mary Simon, "Inuit and the Canadian Arctic: Sovereignty Begins at Home," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 251.

[15] Kevin Kablutsiak (Director of Communications for Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[16] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *Inuit Arctic Policy* (Ottawa: ICC, 2010), 102.

[17] United Nations General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People* (Paris: UN, 2007).

[18] "Circumpolar Inuit Launch Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty," Inuit Circumpolar Council, April 28, 2009, https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/circumpolar-inuit-launch-declaration-on-arctic-sovereignty/.

states."[19] The UNDRIP and *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* are two examples of international frameworks that strengthen Inuit rights globally by acknowledging the importance of Inuit legal systems.

There have been many additional international developments in recent years on Inuit rights in the Arctic, most recently the Utqiavgik Declaration in 2018 that was drafted in Alaska on the thirteenth General Assembly of the ICC. This declaration highlights the most pressing issues for Inuit in the Arctic and specifically recognizes the importance of Indigenous knowledge.[20] Indigenous knowledge, or IQ in the case of Inuit, is an essential aspect of an Inuit legal approach because of the expertise that has culminated over thousands of years of Inuit presence in the Arctic.

Canada's Recognition of Inuit Rights

Canada's domestic legal system has also gradually recognized Inuit rights. Starting in the 1970s, Inuit land claim agreements were negotiated between Inuit in Canada and the Government of Canada. There are now four land claim agreements that make up Inuit Nunangat in Canada. These regions are known as Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. These four regions make up 35% of Canada's land mass and constitute half of the Canadian coastline.[21] They outline extensive rights of Inuit in their homeland and contribute to the importance of Inuit decision making in the Arctic. These comprehensive treaty arrangements are legally bound by the 1982 amendment that gives constitutional recognition of Inuit as an Indigenous Peoples of Canada.[22]

Furthermore, a study conducted in the mid-1970s, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project,* confirmed that Inuit use roughly 4 million square kilometers of land and ocean in the Northwest Territories. This report set the precedent for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA), which states, "Canada's sovereignty over the waters of the Arctic archipelago is supported by Inuit use and occupancy."[23] It has been argued by many Inuk leaders throughout Canadian history that Canada's best claim to international Arctic sovereignty is through Inuit historic use of lands and waters in the Canadian Arctic.[24] Senator Charlie Watt recently discussed this in response to Canada's failure to include Inuit knowledge in their submission to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) on Canada's extended continental shelf claim. Watt argues, "By not working with Inuit, Canada is missing the opportunity to strengthen its rights in the Arctic Ocean, as Inuit historical use and occupancy of the Arctic is a strong argument for Canada's sovereignty in the region."[25]

This conversation has been ongoing for many decades. As Canada attempts to strengthen its international sovereignty in the Arctic, Inuit must be fully engaged throughout this process. Incorporating Inuit legal thinking into Canadian law is one way to engage Inuit in the strengthening of Canada's Arctic sovereignty.

The Importance of Full Implementation

All of these declarations and agreements acknowledge and attempt to strengthen Inuit rights internationally and within Canada. However, the actual implementation of these promises has been less than fulfilling. Although the

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[19] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* (Ottawa: ICC, 2009).

[20] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *Utqiagvik Declaration* (Anchorage, AK: ICC, 2018), 6.

[21] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* (Ottawa: ITK, 2019), 29.

[22] Mary Simon, "Canadian Inuit: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going," *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (Autumn 2011): 885.

[23] *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act*, Statutes of Canada 1993, art. 15.

[24] Mary Simon, "The Role of Inuit in International Affairs," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 9, no. 2 (1985): 34.

[25] Watt, "Inuit Rights to the Arctic."

UNDRIP was adopted by Canada in 2016, it still has yet to be fully implemented into domestic Canadian law. The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami released a position paper in 2017 that addresses exactly this issue. The Government of Canada's failure to fulfill their promise on implementation of the UNDRIP inhibits Inuit ability to exercise their international human rights and limits the scope of domestic law and treaties.[26] The 2020 Wet'suwet'en protests in northern British Columbia opposing the natural gas pipeline by Coastal Gas Link is one example of how Canada's failure to implement the UNDRIP continues to impact Indigenous Peoples across the country. The land claim organization of Nunavut, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) sent a message of solidarity: "Nunavut Tunngavik stands in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en land defenders, and all the Indigenous nations supporting them for their inherent right to govern their own territory and to protect their ancestral lands."[27]

These are rights solidified in the UNDRIP, and Canada's failure to implement this international human rights instrument has contributed to the inability for these rights to be protected at the federal level in Canada. To strengthen the protection of Indigenous rights in Canada, the UNDRIP must be fully enforceable within domestic Canadian law.

Furthermore, there have been serious concerns over the implementation of the promises made in the Inuit land claims agreements that currently exist in Canada. One example of this is the 2006 lawsuit by NTI against the Government of Canada for its failure to fully and fairly implement the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.[28] These land claims are comprehensive and complex and require considerable effort to be implemented both by the federal government and land claims organizations.[29] However, this does not change the fact that these agreements were made and are constitutionally enforceable.[30] The failure by the Government of Canada to fully and fairly implement Inuit land claims agreements has contributed to the lack of Inuit legal thinking in Canadian law. Inuit sovereignty is limited when resources are spent trying to navigate rights that already exist, rather than exercising these rights on a daily basis.[31] These attempts to strengthen Inuit sovereignty globally and within Canada have been important steps in achieving Inuit self-determination. However, without actual implementation, they appear merely as tokenistic gestures by the Government of Canada.[32] Recognizing Inuit rights is a step, but implementing and defending Inuit rights is where the real change occurs. The four Inuit land claim agreements in Canada are merely the first step in the process of achieving Inuit self-determination.

Inuit Legal Approach in Canada

Canada's claim to the Arctic is greatly strengthened by Inuit occupancy of Inuit Nunangat.[33] This is why any approach to governance in the Canadian Arctic must incorporate Inuit legal systems. However, the Government of Canada is already committed to extensive domestic and international legal frameworks that are designed to govern the Arctic region. These frameworks provide an essential baseline that future governance structures can build from. These two different legal approaches towards the Arctic region should be integrated and united under the same desire to exercise sovereignty in the Arctic.[34] The Government of Canada and Inuit in Canada have both aligned and competing

[26] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Position Paper: Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada," 2017, 3, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ITK-Position-Paper-Implementing-the-UN-Declaration-on-the-Rights-of-Indigenous-Peoples-English.pdf.

[27] Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, "NTI Stands in Solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en," news release, February 21, 2020, https://www.tunngavik.com/news/nti-stands-in-solidarity-with-the-wetsuweten/.

[28] Simon, "Canadian Inuit," 887.

[29] Terry Fenge, "Implementing Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements," *Policy Options* (Summer 2008): 82.

[30] Simon, "Canadian Inuit," 885.

[31] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy*, 30.

[32] Simon, "Canadian Inuit," 887.

[33] *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act*, Statutes of Canada 1993, art. 15.

[34] Dawid Bunikowski, "What Is Philosophy of Law in the Arctic?," in *Philosophy of Law in the Arctic*, ed. Dawid Bunikowski (Rovaniemi: University of the Arctic, 2016), 10–18.

sovereignty interests in the circumpolar Arctic. One way these different interests can be represented is through a domestic legal system in Canada that incorporates essential Inuit legal perspectives on the Arctic. The Government of Canada claims to be deeply committed to engaging Arctic Indigenous Peoples in all aspects of governance of the Canadian Arctic.[35] This level of engagement, outlined in *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (2019), raises the question of *how* to engage with Arctic Indigenous Peoples. Recognizing the significance of Inuit legal order in the Arctic is one means of achieving this desired level of engagement between the Government of Canada and Inuit.[36]

Inuit Perspective of the Arctic and Sea Ice

One way in which an Inuit legal approach can provide an entirely new perspective in domestic Canadian law is through the example of sea ice. Arising from thousands of years of Inuit relationship with the Arctic environment, Inuit have an inherent understanding of sustainability in Arctic ecosystems.[37] Within this extensive network of IQ exists an Inuit legal order that is distinctly tied to the existing relationship between Inuit and their homeland. This unmatched understanding of Arctic ecosystems by Inuit is extremely valuable to non-Inuit in understanding the importance of the Arctic globally. Inuit in the Arctic are significantly impacted by climate change. Sea ice thickness in the Arctic Ocean has declined by roughly 65% between 1975 and 2012. By some estimates, the Arctic may be completely ice-free in the summer by the late 2030s.[38] Inuit in the Arctic are acutely aware of the ways that climate change is and will continue to impact their homeland. The impacts of climate change on Inuit in Canada are detailed extensively in the *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* (2019). Food security, knowledge systems, and health and well-being in the Arctic are all being impacted by climate change and specifically sea ice melt.[39] Manager of Relationships at Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada Christopher Penney said, "the people that actually understand the issues on a day-to-day basis are the people that know how to deal with the issues best."[40] Therefore, as those with the most knowledge and understanding of the effects of climate change in the circumpolar region, partnerships *with* Inuit and leadership *by* Inuit must be a critical aspect of any efforts to combat the global climate crisis.

The interconnectedness of knowledge, law, and culture has helped to shape the Inuit perspective on the importance of sea ice as a point of access rather than a hindrance in their ability to move.[41] By understanding and applying Inuit legal thinking in regards to decision making in the Arctic, the importance of sea ice can be better understood outside of the Arctic and especially to non-Inuit. Inuit view sea ice as an essential aspect of the Arctic environment. To Inuit, sea ice is a source of life, a highway, and a place for familial and cultural interactions.[42] This conceptualization gives some insight into the way that Inuit legal thinking would approach sea ice. The land claims agreements that currently exist in Canada do not explicitly recognize sea ice and water as part of Inuit homeland.[43] However, an Inuit legal approach would allow for an entirely different perspective and capability in the Arctic region, and one that has existed sustainably for thousands of years. The international community would greatly benefit by learning from those who have thrived in the Arctic for so long. Canada has the unique opportunity to strengthen Inuit rights through the extensive network of Inuit land claim agreements that already exist and laws that protect Indigenous rights to ancestral territory.

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[35] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (Ottawa: CIRNA, 2019).

[36] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *Utqiagvik Declaration*, 6.

[37] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 24.

[38] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Snow, Water, Ice, and Permafrost in the Arctic: Summary for Policy Makers* (Oslo: AMAP, 2017), 4.

[39] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy*, 10.

[40] Christopher Penney (Manager of Relationships at Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada), personal communication, Ottawa, January 30, 2020.

[41] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 6.

[42] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 6.

[43] Watt, "Inuit Rights to the Arctic."

A Twofold Approach

Utilizing an Inuit legal approach in the Arctic through domestic Canadian law is one important aspect in addressing the lack of Inuit legal perspectives in Canadian law. Expanding models such as the Akitsiraq Law School are excellent generational solutions to the long-term issue of Inuit sovereignty and rights in the Canadian Arctic. However, sea ice is melting rapidly and at an accelerating rate.[44] Therefore, while long-term solutions are an essential part of any multifaceted approach to this problem, short-term solutions are just as important due to the urgency of the global climate crisis. The changes that are occurring in the Arctic due to climate change will not wait for the kind of generational shift that the Akitsiraq Law School and others like it aim to achieve. While these goals are essential and should be considered with equal importance, a more immediate approach is also necessary due to the urgency of climate change and melting sea ice in the Arctic.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Short Term: Implementation of Existing Frameworks

(1) The Government of Canada should fully and officially implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

This international human rights instrument is an essential document that must be fully enforceable at the federal level in Canada. The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's 2017 "Position Paper: Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada" provides extensive information on the importance of this fundamental document and outlines an implementation strategy.

(2) The Government of Canada must fully and fairly implement the promises made in the four existing Inuit land claims agreements

These comprehensive treaty agreements are supported by section 35 of the Canadian Constitution and it is the duty of the state to maintain its commitment to these treaties. It has been many years, decades in some cases, since these agreements were made. It is time for the Government of Canada to fulfill the promises made in these agreements. Extensive literature exists on how to implement these treaties and should be consulted in this process.[45]

Long Term: Incorporate Inuit Perspectives

(3) Increase educational opportunities for Inuit following models such as the Akitsiraq Law School[46]

Educational opportunities such as the Akitsiraq Law School are important aspects of including Inuit legal thinking into existing legal frameworks. By training Inuit lawyers, this vital perspective can be brought to the forefront of any new or developing Arctic law and governance. Highly trained Inuk scholars and leaders can contribute their unique perspectives of the Arctic in many different fields of scholarship throughout Canada, including law. These key Inuit perspectives must exist in every sector of Canadian society, including in the highest positions of authority.

(4) Prioritize Inuit knowledge through Inuit-led reports

Inuit self-determination can be supported through policies that incorporate Inuit perspectives on the issues that affect them most. There are many reports by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and other Inuit organizations that should be heavily consulted in the creation of any policy that affects Inuit and the Arctic region.

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[44] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Snow, Water, Ice*, 8.

[45] Alastair Campbell, Terry Fenge, and Udloriak Hanson, "Implementing the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement," *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* 2, no. 1 (2011): 25–51.

[46] Ableson, "Bringing Legal Education."

Examples include reports utilized throughout this chapter such as *The Sea Ice Never Stops* by the ICC and the *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* by the ITK. Creating policy that defines and explains an Inuit perspective will reflect Inuit knowledge both within Canada and internationally.

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Biography

Caitlin Clarke is a fourth-year undergraduate student in the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington. She has minors in Human Rights and Education, Learning, and Society. She is interested in law as well as the intersection of environmental and human rights and looks forward to seeing where this passion takes her personally and professionally.

Chapter 7: From Vision to Implementation: Self-Government in Nunavut

NADENE PALTEP
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> *Inuit are stewards of their own land and are the largest private landowners of land, sea, and ice in Canada.*
> — Kevin Kablutsiak, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) is a modern treaty established in 1993 by the Government of Canada, the Northwest Territories, and what is now known as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI).[2] This agreement is a starting point in discussing Inuit ownership of land[3] and self-determination for the 85%[4] Inuit-dominated population in the most northern parts of Canada. Through this agreement, the territorial and federal governments are making collaborative efforts to increase and promote Inuit self-determination in land use management, as well as to incorporate Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) into education, employment, and social services.[5] As of August 2019, self-determination, through the process of devolution, now includes transferring province-like powers from the Government of Canada to the Government of Nunavut, where the final decisions over public land, seacoast, and water will be made by Nunavummiut (Inuit in Nunavut).[6]

The goal of creating Nunavut was to establish a new territory with a government that would enable Inuit to work towards self-determination.[7] Although there are specific policies, such as NLCA's article 23 that discusses "Inuit Employment within Government," NLCA 12 that pertains to "Development Impact," and the most recent *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (2019) by the Government of Canada that puts forth a collaborative vision to promote northern and Arctic people to thrive in strong and safe community, there is still work to be done to ensure that these policies are implemented.[8] Additionally, *Nunavut's Vision*, part of the *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, describes Nunavummiut's visions of "protection and promotion of Inuit way of life in the modern world, with a strong sense of self-determination and control over Inuit governance,"[9] which should also be part of conversations about the

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1 Kevin Kablutsiak (Director of Communications, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

2 Government of Canada, "Backgrounder—Nunavut Land Claims Agreement ¿ Settlement Agreement," May 4, 2015, https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/05/backgrounder-nunavut-land-claims-agreement-settlement-agreement.html.

3 Annis May Timpson, "The Challenges of Intergovernmental Relations for Nunavut," in *Canada: The State of the Federation 2003: Reconfiguring Aboriginal-State Relations*, ed. Michael Murphy (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 210.

4 André Légaré, "Canada's Experiment with Aboriginal Self-Determination in Nunavut: From Vision to Illusion," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15, no. 2/3 (2008): 339.

5 Francis Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit Knowledge, Culture, Language, and Values in Nunavut Institutions since 1999," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 38, no. 1–2 (2014): 115–36, https://doi.org/10.7202/1028856ar; André Légaré, "An Assessment of Recent Political Development in Nunavut: The Challenges and Dilemmas of Inuit Self-Government," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18, no. 2 (1998): 285.

6 "Devolution," Government of Nunavut, accessed February 28, 2020, https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/information/devolution.

7 Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 343.

8 Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada* (Iqaluit: Government of Canada, 1993), 191–95, 101–21; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, "A Shared Vision," last modified November 18, 2019, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587.

9 Government of Nunavut, *Nunavut's Vision*, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavik, 2019), 6, https://www.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/arctic_and_northern_policy_framework_-_nunavut_vision_-eng.pdf.

devolution process and funding for a bilingual education sector. To address these concerns, the federal government must work toward fully implementing the NLCA and *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, which will include improving policies from articles 23 and 12 of the NLCA, as well as implementing Inuit self-government to allow Inuit to have decision-making power to improve infrastructures of employment and education, and incorporate IQ into government policies.

BACKGROUND

Nunavut is one of the four Inuit regions in Canada that make up Inuit Nunangat.[10] The Nunavut Territory is the largest political unit of Canada, covering one-fifth of Canada's land mass.[11] The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, now known as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), put forward the "Nunavut Project" in 1976 that sought an agreement for Inuit land claim and self-determination.[12] The NLCA was formed in alignment with *Canada's Comprehensive Land Claims Policy*, where Inuit agreed to relinquish to the Crown the cession and surrender of Aboriginal title throughout the settlement in exchange for financial compensation that would be used towards social services under the NLCA.[13] Although there was controversy in relinquishing title, Inuit viewed this arrangement as a historic opportunity to develop a relationship with Canada to secure their socio-cultural, political, and economic future as one people.[14]

Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

The NLCA was signed in 1993; the new territory of Nunavut was carved out of the central and eastern area of the Northwest Territories, and was established on April 1, 1999.[15] This new territory created the largest Inuit-owned land claim in the Eastern Arctic.[16] After the final negotiations, Nunavut encompasses 1.92 million square kilometers of land and 157,000 square kilometers of water in northern Canada.[17] However, currently 17.7% of Nunavut, 356,000 square kilometers, is Inuit-owned land,[18] based on the mutual exchange benefits with the Crown laid out in article 1, section 7.1, which states that "all their aboriginal claims, rights, title and interests…to lands and waters anywhere within Canada and adjacent offshore areas [is] within the sovereignty or jurisdiction of Canada."[19] In return, Canada transferred CAD$1.17 billion over fourteen years to compensate for the use of ancestral land and to support economic programs; these funds have been controlled by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI).[20]

Under the NLCA, the Government of Nunavut operates as a public government, exercising a delegated authority to represent all residents of Nunavut rather than a more independent form of self-government.[21] The purpose of establishing a public government was to achieve clarity with rights to ownership and to lay out the specificity of land

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[10] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "About Canadian Inuit," accessed January 24, 2020, https://www.itk.ca/about-canadian-inuit/.

[11] Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 337.

[12] Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 343.

[13] Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Comprehensive Land Claims Policy* (Ottawa: MIAND, 1986), 12; Jennifer E. Dalton, "Aboriginal Title and Self-Government in Canada: What Is the True Scope of Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements," *Windsor Review of Legal & Social Issues* 22 (2006): 51.

[14] Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 345.

[15] Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 336.

[16] Légaré, "Canada's Experiment," 336.

[17] Peter Kikkert, "Nunavut," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified January 27, 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/nunavut.

[18] Government of Nunavut, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 8.

[19] Kikkert, "Nunavut."

[20] michaelkarabinisguy, "Creation of Nunavut, 1999," *McGill Blogs: Moments That Matter: Canadian History Since 1867*, April 6, 2018, https://blogs.mcgill.ca/hist203momentsthatmatter/2018/04/06/creation-of-nunavut-1999/; Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada* (Iqaluit: Government of Canada, 1993), 217–18; Dalton, "Aboriginal Title," 39.

[21] Dalton, "Aboriginal Title," 39.

and resource management.[22] The NTI functions as the legal representative for Nunavummiut, working to ensure that the NLCA is respected and executed by both the federal and territorial governments.

Land claims agreement are useful vehicles for Inuit to engage in relationships with the government, as they contain a specific framework that governs many aspects of life.[23] One of the goals of creating a new territory was to establish a new government that builds a strong foundation for Inuit self-determination.[24] Article 23 is the cornerstone of the NLCA where the stated objective is to increase Inuit employment in government to the representational level, applying to all grade levels and occupational groupings.[25] The problem is not about the demand, but about how to provide opportunities to qualify Inuit for these positions by increasing education initiatives, such as encouraging students to continue postsecondary education, for most job positions have specific educational requirements.[26]

As of 2019, there are greater strides to achieve devolution in Nunavut that would give Nunavummiut more control over decision making and regional governance.[27] Devolution will give Nunavummiut a greater say in issues that affect them, as final decisions will be made in Nunavut, not Ottawa.[28] As of August 15, 2019, the Government of Canada, the Government of Nunavut, and NTI have signed an agreement-in-principle (AIP) that discusses main issues under negotiation, such as which parties will have jurisdiction over which responsibilities, that will lead to the final devolution agreement.[29] This process will take approximately five years from signing the AIP to formally transfer responsibilities.[30] The Government of Canada and Nunavut need to build long-term relationships with Inuit communities, and to focus this new energy on capacity building. In other words, additional funding and development efforts to implement training efforts in the education and employment systems are required before and after the transfer date.[31]

Existing Controversies with Self-Government

The Government of Canada recognizes that self-government negotiations are one way to advance self-determination, as self-government is a fundamental right of Indigenous populations, recognized under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.[32] Extending this act, *Canada's Inherent Right Policy* was launched in 1995 to help guide self-government negotiations.[33] From these policies, the Government of Canada recognizes that "Aboriginal peoples" have the right to govern themselves in relation to internal matters within their community in the Canadian federation.[34] Self-government is defined by the Government of Canada as putting decision-making powers into the hands of Indigenous

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[22] Dalton, "Aboriginal Title," 50.

[23] Kevin R. Gray, "The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the Future of the Eastern Arctic: The Uncharted Path to Effective Self-Government," *University of Toronto Faculty Law Review* 52 (1993): 302.

[24] Kath Clarida-Fry, dir., *Staking the Claim, Dreams, Democracy, & Canadian Inuit* (Ottawa: EnTheos Films, 2008).

[25] Thomas Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report: Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Implementation Planning Contract Negotiations for the Second Planning Period* (Ottawa: Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, 2006), 16.

[26] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, iii.

[27] "Nunavut Devolution," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, November 9, 2012, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1352471770723/1537900871295.

[28] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut, Accessed February 28, 2020, https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/information/devolution.

[29] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut.

[30] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut.

[31] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut.

[32] "Self-Government," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, November 3, 2008, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100032275/1529354547314.

[33] "Self-Government," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

[34] "The Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, November 3, 2008, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100031843/1539869205136.

governments, so that they can make their own decisions on how to deliver programs and services, protect culture, provide education, and manage their own lands, water, and resources.[35]

The process of devolution, once it comes into effect, will work to "transfer control of Nunavut's public (Crown lands) and resources to the Government of Nunavut."[36] Although Nunavut is over twenty years old, it is important to recognize that the cooperation between Inuit and the Government of Canada has continued to work toward the visions of self-government and self-determination in the region, and the process of devolution is one way to work toward these goals. Devolution has become an important process that started with the land claims settlement and shall be effected in a manner that respects existing rights of public lands. The devolution process works to give Nunavummiut a greater say over land use management, including the areas that extend through land-fast ice. The parties that signed the original agreement recognize that "Inuit are [the] current and traditional users of certain marine areas, especially land-fast ice zones."[37] When the devolution process is complete, the transfer of province-like power from the Government of Canada to Nunavut would include land-fast ice, ice that extends from land and is anchored to the shore or ocean bottom, within land management decisions.[38] However, the discussion about land use management should not only be exclusive to land-fast ice, but must also include sea ice, which is frozen ocean water that forms, grows, and melts in the ocean,[39] for Inuit also use sea ice, like land-fast ice, in a cultural and traditional manner. In other words, the discussion around sea ice should also have a specific article in the NLCA, as sea ice is important to Inuit identity, culture, and knowledge of land.[40] It is important to include sea ice in land use management because it shapes Inuit culture, hunting practices, and travel for traditional foods on ice during the wintertime, and during the summertime, the open sea is used for transportation, specifically for cargo ships that transport food and household goods to communities.[41]

In January 2005, the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was established in Nunatsiavut, one of the four Inuit regions. This agreement differs from the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement because it included "land and sea ice" in accordance with Inuit traditions and customs.[42] Nunatsiavut wanted to include the specific language of "land and sea ice" in discussion of self-government. This self-government agreement helps to avoid future conflict about land rights and management, funding, education, and employment.[43]

In Chapter 3, Part 3.1.1 of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, the Government of Canada recognizes that "Inuit…has traditionally used and occupied and currently uses and occupies the lands, waters and sea ice of the… Land Claims Area."[44] Additionally, Chapter 6, "Ocean Management," Part 6.6 states that Canada and the province

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[35] "Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

[36] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut.

[37] Kirk Cameron and Alastair Campbell, "The Devolution of Natural Resources and Nunavut's Constitutional Status," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 213.

[38] "Devolution," Government of Nunavut; Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area*, 1; "Fast Ice," National Snow and Ice Data Center, accessed February 28, 2020, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/glossary/term/fast-ice; "All About Sea Ice," National Snow and Ice Data Center, accessed February 28, 2020, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/seaice/index.html.

[39] "All About Sea Ice," National Snow and Ice Data Center.

[40] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014), i, 7.

[41] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, ii.

[42] Government of Canada, *Land Claims Agreement between the Inuit of Labrador and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Newfoundland and Labrador and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada* (Nain: Government of Canada, 2005), 1; "The Path to Self-Government," Nunatsiavut Government, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.nunatsiavut.com/government/the-path-to-self-government/.

[43] Christopher Alcantara, *Negotiating the Deal: Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 44, 57, 60.

[44] Alcantara, *Negotiating the Deal*, 30.

shall consult the Nunatsiavut Government prior to any development projects in "Marine Protected Areas," and shall take into consideration Inuit rights under the Agreement.[45] Furthermore, the Nunatsiavut Government may make recommendations to the minister about any potential impact on the integrity of land-fast sea ice from development projects.[46]

These are the same goals Inuit have expressed through their land claims agreement. Nunavummiut, NTI, and the Government of Nunavut are currently discussing land use management. Under article 15 of the NLCA that addresses "Marine Areas," it is recognized that Inuit are traditional and current users of land-fast ice zones.[47] However, through this context, section 15.3.4 holds that "the Government shall seek the advice of the [Nunavut Wildlife Management Board] with respect to any wildlife management decisions…which would affect the substance and value of Inuit harvesting rights and opportunities."[48] Although it is important to have consultation around land use planning and wildlife preservation, it is vital that this consultation also works to preserve land-fast ice and sea ice, especially when it comes to shipping in basic necessities during open water season.

Nunavut's Vision in the *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* recognizes that during the one-month to four-month period when the ocean is free of ice, basic necessities, such as food and household goods, are shipped, adding to the territory's high cost of living due to the lack of deep seaports.[49] Article 12 of the NLCA addresses "Development Impact," and it is the only article that includes shipping project proposals and "normal community resupply."[50] Additionally, insufficient marine infrastructure, most notably a lack of deep seaports, decreases the period when cargo ships can deliver and limits ocean access for Nunavummiut to participate in marine hunting, gathering activities, and offshore fisheries.[51]

Falling Short of the Agreement

The relationship between Nunavummiut and the Government of Canada is still unfolding, and the NLCA was the first major step of decolonization and opening discussions about self-government.[52] To fulfill the visions of self-government, priorities must now be on employment, for public service must be at the representative level, and education, for Inuit must be qualified and have the ability to participate in government work. One of the goals of the NLCA, under article 23, is to "increase Inuit participation in government employment…[to the] representative level," with 85% positions fulfilled by Inuit.[53] However, in 2006, only 45% of employees were Inuit.[54] As of December 2019, the government employment rate in Nunavut was about 50%, and as of October 2019, 13% of Inuit were unemployed.[55]

Because this quota was not fulfilled, in December 2006, NTI President Paul Kaludjak filed a lawsuit against the Government of Canada for breach of contract, which took nine years to settle.[56] The Government of Canada

[45] Alcantara, *Negotiating the Deal*, 88–98, 90.

[46] Alcantara, *Negotiating the Deal*, 90.

[47] Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area*, 135–36.

[48] Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area*, 136.

[49] Government of Nunavut, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 6.

[50] Government of Canada, *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area*, 101–21, 119.

[51] Government of Nunavut, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 16.

[52] Government of Nunavut, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 16.

[53] "Self-Government," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

[54] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, iii.

[55] Government of Nunavik, *Toward a Representative Public Services*, 5; "Statistics Home," Government of Nunavut, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.gov.nu.ca/executive-and-intergovernmental-affairs/information/statistics-home.

[56] "Ottawa to Pay Nunavut Inuit $255M in Settlement," *CBC News*, May 4, 2015, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/ottawa-to-pay-nunavut-inuit-255m-in-settlement-1.3057973.

benefited from the agreement in that Inuit occupancy supported Canada's sovereignty in the region. However, the Nunavummiut were still waiting for promises of self-government and other funding to be realized.[57] Nunavut leaders and Thomas Berger, the appointed conciliator, wrote to the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 2006 emphasizing that there needs to be more funding to train more Inuit and youth to take government positions: "the problem is that [the] supply of qualified Inuit is exhausted."[58] This nine-year dispute was settled in 2015 for $256 million for investments in educational training initiatives for the next eight years.[59]

Inuit Nunangat is the least infrastructurally developed geographical region in Canada.[60] There is a lack of basic infrastructure to address the long-standing and deep-rooted inequalities in education, language, employment, and health.[61] Inuit face disadvantages in educational attainment compared to their non-Nunavut counterparts, as there are many reasons for low education attainment. In 2018, 68% of Inuit in Nunavut did not earn their high school degree, which prevents them from employment in the government.[62] To make matters worse, there is a shortage of teachers in Nunavut who can speak both English and Inuktut, the language of Inuit. The education system is not producing graduates at a sufficient rate to replace any retired government workers and teachers.[63] For those who do go through the region's Nunavut Teachers' Education Program at McGill University, which qualifies teachers to teach grades 1 to 9, many graduates instead get recruited by the Government of Nunavut to work in non-teaching positions, as they meet the minimum college experience needed to fill the positions.[64]

The Government of Nunavut was created in part to emphasize IQ particularly in policymaking for Nunavummiut.[65] Inuktut is used to define and promote IQ within communities to encourage members to learn about cultural and ancestral knowledge from their Inuit Elders, and at the same time invite youth to gain modern training and education at school.[66] Given the demographics of Nunavut, Berger, in his letter to the minister on March 1, 2006, mentions that Inuktut should be the language of the governmental workspace and services, but it is not.[67] Although 89% of Inuit can converse in Inuktut, with 58% speaking Inuktut at home,[68] English is the language of government.[69] In response, Berger has proposed the "Nunavut Project," a project that aims to encourage homes, students, teachers, and employees to expand their knowledge of Inuktut in and outside the classroom. This project was proposed to also encourage Inuit Elders to pass on their language, Inuit teachers in classrooms to teach the language, and parents to do what they can to keep their children in school.[70] Additionally, through this project, Berger recommends that students should have Nunavut-specific curriculum that fosters a bilingual curriculum from kindergarten to grade 12, which would work toward establishing Inuktut as the regional government language.[71]

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[57] Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., "NTI Launches Lawsuit against Government of Canada for Breach of Contract," news release, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.tunngavik.com/news/nti-launches-lawsuit-against-government-of-canada-for-breach-of-contract/.

[58] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, iii.

[59] Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., "Settlement Agreement Signed in NTI Lawsuit," news release, May 4, 2015, https://www.tunngavik.com/news/settlement-agreement-signed-in-nti-lawsuit/.

[60] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: Inuit Nunangat* (Ottawa: ITK, 2018), 2.

[61] Government of Nunavut, *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 3.

[62] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Inuit Statistical Profile 2018* (Ottawa: ITK, 2018), 19.

[63] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 51.

[64] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 45.

[65] Frank James Tester and Peter Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance," *Arctic* 61, no. 1 (2008): 48.

[66] Tester and Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 52.

[67] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 34.

[68] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Inuit Statistical Profile 2018*, 21.

[69] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, iii.

[70] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, xi, 34.

[71] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 45.

The "Nunavut Project" was proposed to try to add a foundational infrastructure in the education system that would create positive outcomes and could help solve disparity in government employment. One of the original goals of the creation of Nunavut was to have 85% Inuit representation in government. To make that happen, the education system needs to support students from elementary school through high school. The current education system needs to be transformed to include IQ, which includes Inuktut, and needs to prepare students for what comes after high school, whether that is work or continuing education at college or university. Berger has also proposed that trade and vocational schools should be a valuable option for students; these schools would provide the necessary training to qualify Inuit for other employment.[72] Understanding that education is a key factor that can improve Inuit employment, the Government of Nunavut proposed Bill 37 in March 2017 to amend the Education Act and the Inuit Language Protection Act, a statute promising parents that children would be taught Inuktut from kindergarten to grade 3.[73] However, this bill has been criticized for recommending superficial changes when what it really needs is more teachers who can speak Inuktut and classroom resources. "The [government] wants to take control over language instruction, yet has taken no responsibil[ity] for the lack of planning…or the shortage of learning marterials."[74] As a result, discussions about a bilingual education system have been tabled.

An Embassy of Imagination project by Parr Josephee, Aoudi Qinnayuaq, Lachaolasie Akesuk, Cie Taqiasuk, Moises Frank and Julieta Arias, 2015. Produced and facilitated by PA System. Partners: Mural Routes and Nunavut Arts and Crafts Association. Photo by Tobin Grimshaw.

Because Inuktut and Inuit resources are not available to most students, there have been other ways for students to attain this knowledge by continuing their education after high school. Through federal funding, Inuit students have access to secondary education at Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS) in Ottawa. At NS, students can take courses in Inuit history, land claims agreement, Inuktut, and Inuit cultural studies.[75] Students can participate in Inuit cultural activities and have opportunities to travel abroad to perform international work. From NS, students can choose to continue their education at local universities, with the hopes of them returning to Nunavut to fulfill government positions[76] and to make the government office more conducive to Inuit lifestyle.[77]

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[72] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 53–54.

[73] Allyson Aritcheta, "Inside the Battle for Bilingual Education in Nunavut Schools," *This Magazine*, August 1, 2017, https://this.org/2017/08/01/inside-the-battle-for-bilingual-education-in-nunavut-schools/.

[74] Aritcheta, "Inside the Battle for Bilingual Education."

[75] "Courses," Nunavut Sivuniksavut, accessed February 7, 2020, http://www.nunavutsivuniksavut.ca/courses.

[76] Murray Angus (Founder, Nunavut Sivuniksavut), personal communication, January 27, 2020.

[77] Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 122.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Government of Canada imagines "a future where northern and Arctic people are thriving, strong and safe" and wants to ensure that Arctic residents are secured and well-defended.[78] A first step toward realizing these visions includes additional funds to implement specific development projects and training efforts around land use planning, employment, and education that will improve articles 12 and 23 of the NLCA. Additionally, the Government of Canada and Nunavut should continue to work towards implementing the visions of the NLCA and *Nunavut's Vision* in *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*. The goals of Inuit protection, promotion of Inuit participation, and self-government should not be the end point of discussions; rather, they should be seen as a starting point in the process of finding solutions to key issues in capacity building. It is important that Inuit self-government and self-determination should have a clear focus on implementing policies that are specific to the 85% Inuit in Nunavut. Thus, there is a need for an immediate call to action in three policy areas.

(1) Support Inuit Self-Government and Self-Determination

The NLCA pertains not only to land claims but to also self-determination and self-government. Given the focus of this Task Force on sea ice, and in an effort to link sea ice to this discussion, land use management should not be limited to just land and sea, but it should specifically entail responsibility of "land and sea ice," as it does in the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement. Inuit should have the ability to make decisions about land use management on their own. This decision-making power is evident in Chapter 6, Part 6.62 of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement. This section suggests that any recommendations about land and water use projects must also include land-fast sea ice when working in or adjacent to the zone.[79] Similar language pertaining to sea ice could be integrated into the NLCA specifically Article 12, Section 12.12 where community resupply is mentioned. Community resupply is expensive due to the combination of travel that cargo ships make, for major ports and markets are farther apart from one another.[80] With the overall goal to advance self-determination and self-government of Inuit in the Arctic, the lack of deep seaports that deliver basic necessities into communities must also be a priority in accordance with *Nunavut's Vision* in *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*. The devolution process should also include self-government efforts to allow Nunavummiut to invest and use funds that would address this concern. However, these development projects should also include the integrity of land and sea ice in this section because these projects could create potential harm to hunting grounds, routes, and communities. Additionally, since Inuit are recognized as the current and traditional users of the of this marine area, having the autonomy to make these decisions at home rather than in Ottawa would foster both Inuit self-government and Inuit well-being. Nunavummiut would have the decision-making capacity to invest, build, and maintain more marine infrastructure.

(2) Increase Employment Opportunities

Employment opportunities in Nunavut have traditionally been created by the government, and therefore, there is a limited job market for Inuit outside of the government.[81] Article 23 of the NLCA has a stated objective "to increase Inuit participation in government employment in the Nunavut Settlement Area to a representative level."[82] Economic planning must recognize that business development should be allocated to all communities, meaning that Nunavut must also address the rising concerns about the education system. The problem with fulfilling article 23 includes the

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[78] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*.

[79] Government of Canada, *Land Claims Agreement between the Inuit of Labrador*, 90.

[80] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, 48–49.

[81] Gray, "The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement," 325.

[82] Government of Canada, *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area*, 191.

fact that there are not enough qualified Inuit. Berger emphasized the need to open additional positions that would encourage more people, specifically Inuit students, to work in government.

To encourage more students to work in government, Berger has suggested offering more summer internships for high school students and career counseling that can help identify possible employment in different fields.[83] Exposure to government work at an early age might encourage more high school students to take an interest in government, teaching, or other social services, which might motivate students to continue their education at Nunavut Sivuniksavut, McGill University, or at another institution with the hopes that they would come back and work in the appropriate sectors in Nunavut. These new positions could be funded through the NTI lawsuit settlement of 2015. With these initiatives, there may be enough graduates to replace retirees and enough graduates to be placed in appropriate sectors. Specifically, if there are more students graduating from the Nunavut Teachers' Education Program or other teaching programs, there will be a greater pool of long-term bilingual teachers.

(3) Foster an Inuit-Specific Curriculum

Capacity building in Nunavut needs to include transforming and improving the current education system. For more Inuit to qualify for government jobs under article 23, the education system in Nunavut must be transformed from kindergarten to grade 12, specifically by instituting a bilingual education system. Most of the positions in government require some sort of postsecondary or professional qualification; therefore, the central objective of the Nunavut education system must be to produce high school graduates who are bilingual in English and Inuktut. When students have the ability to speak English, it enables them to enter colleges in southern Canada and achieve academic success in their programs, for instruction is taught in English.[84] The education system must also teach Inuktut to encourage college graduates to come back to teach Inuktut in the classroom, and enforce Inuktut as the language of government when graduates take these positions.[85] It is important to foster a bilingual education because if Inuktut is not practiced in schools, the language can get lost or cannot be translated into a student's ability to perform in Inuktut for academic and professional situations.[86]

Although bilingual education is a goal and vision that has been stressed, discussions are still on a hiatus. One of the main reasons why a bilingual education system has not been developed is that there is a shortage of bilingual teachers and Inuk classroom materials.[87] To address this concern, Bill 37 should be passed with a focus to increase the number of bilingual teachers.[88] Additionally, when there are more teachers trained in Inuktut, teaching can connect Nunavummiut youth with their culture, heritage, and language.[89] The goal of bilingual education will not be achieved unless schools employ teachers trained in Inuktut. The bill needs to be a starting point to bring together the government and Inuit leaders to understand how the education system transforms current students and high school graduates; the education system needs to be priority, for it can open more opportunities for students to gain an interest in pursuing summer internships, higher education, and teaching or government-related studies.

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[83] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 56–57.
[84] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 23.
[85] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, viii.
[86] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 23–24.
[87] Aritcheta, "Inside the Battle."
[88] Aritcheta, "Inside the Battle."
[89] Aritcheta, "Inside the Battle."

Having a bilingual education system may take several years to fully develop. Until there are more teachers who can speak both languages, teachers who want to teach in Nunavut should have training to become immersed in the community and language by partnering with local tradespeople, carvers, and other specialists who can speak Inuktut and give classes about their specialties.[90] This would give students and teachers the opportunity to practice their language in academic and professional settings.[91] Additionally, this exposure gives students an insight about attending trade or vocational school to gain employment in this realm.[92]

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Biography

Nadene Paltep is a graduate of the University of Washington who studied International Studies (Human Rights Track), with a double minor in Law, Societies and Justice, and Chinese. Nadene's hope is to use her knowledge, passion, and experience from her classes and this trip to find a career that combines human rights law, research, and policy.

[90] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 32.

[91] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 32

[92] Berger, *Conciliator's Final Report*, 32, 58.

Chapter 8:
Inuit Art in Arctic Policy

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> *I'm so filled with belief and hope because when I hear your voices at the table, I hear and know that the responsibilities that our ancestors carried…are still being carried…Even through all of the struggles, even though all of what has been disrupted…we can still hear the voice of the land.*
> —Anishinaabe Elder Mary Deleary, Traditional Knowledge Keepers Forum, 2012[1]

ABSTRACT
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) opened the door to discussions about how Indigenous Knowledge can be incorporated into governmental policy. Collaboration between Inuit and the Government of Canada is vital to the success of Arctic policy and requires deeper cultural understanding of Inuit. For Indigenous voices to be heard, the Government of Canada must create systems that are conducive to different ways of knowing. Effective reconciliation in Canada requires that knowledge holders be present at the table to speak and share their perspectives without the constraints of a colonial relationship. As the Government of Canada is in the early stages of reconciliation and reforming past detrimental laws such as the Indian Act (1876), it is important to prioritize Indigenous Knowledge systems and accommodate for cultural gaps.

Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)—that is, Inuit epistemology, or in direct translation, "that which Inuit have always known to be true"[2]—needs to be a vital pillar in the development of Arctic policy. One of the common mediums through which IQ is expressed is art: "this philosophy, applied to the arts, underscores that for Inuit, the way to respect our ancestors is to maintain our living traditional knowledge and to be resourceful and creative."[3] Since the Government of Canada has stated clear goals of how they wish to prioritize IQ in the construction of Arctic policy, our Task Force team has worked together to place Inuit art throughout our policy recommendations. This chapter argues that the presence of Inuit art in Arctic sea ice policy is one way to convey the complexity of the issue and will begin the conversation of how knowledge systems can be properly incorporated.

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous communities throughout Canada are looking for collaboration and equitable representation to create solutions to the existing problems they face. As reconciliation is a process preceded by a long history of social, cultural, and physical violence against Indigenous communities, the Government of Canada needs to acknowledge the lingering structures that are detrimental to Inuit communities and inconducive to Inuit documentation of knowledge. Although collaboration between Inuit and the Government of Canada is important, the process still follows Western constructions of ideas and knowledge. Creating Arctic policy in which IQ is not filtered or constrained by

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[1] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Winnipeg, MB: TRC, 2015), 7.

[2] Shirley Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," *National Collaboration Centre for Aboriginal Health*, January 2012, 1, https://www.ccnsa-nccah.ca/docs/health/FS-InuitQaujimajatuqangitWellnessNunavut-Tagalik-EN.pdf.

[3] Heather Igloliorte, "Curating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit Knowledge in the Qallunaat Art Museum," *Art Journal* 76, no. 2 (March 2017): 103, https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.2017.1367196.

Western constructs of information is vital to creating informed policy. Although IQ is documented in a variety of ways, art is pivotal to Inuit traditions and the continuality of their ancestral practices, and can be widely understood by Qallunaaq (non-Inuit).

BACKGROUND

Acknowledging History

Reconciliation and the prioritization of Indigenous Knowledge are relatively recent for the Government of Canada. Canada has historically participated in genocide (as mentioned twenty-one times within the TRC's Final Report)[4] and the destruction of Indigenous culture. Due to Canada's history, the integration of Indigenous values within governmental structures is an extensive undertaking. In 2014, six years after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was created, the UN Human Rights Council examined the Government of Canada's treatment of Indigenous communities and published the *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. They found that earlier structures imposed by Indian Act in Canada continued to be unfavorable to the inclusion of Traditional Knowledge.[5]

Canada's discriminatory history of the Indian Act demonstrated "notable episodes and patterns of devastating human rights violations, including the banning of expressions of Indigenous culture and religious ceremonies…[and] continues to structure important aspects of Canada's relationship with First Nations today, although efforts at reform have slowly taken place."[6] To understand the importance of effective inclusion of Traditional Knowledge, it is important to understand the previous structures and where they originated. The Indian Act and its repercussions controlled most aspects of Indigenous life, including "Indian status, land, resources, wills, education, [and] band administration,"[7] and was significantly harmful to Indigenous communities. Although the Indian Act did not directly apply to Inuit, it created a standard of the relationship between the Government of Canada and Indigenous Peoples. The consequences of the policy structures from the Indian Act can still be seen today. Early in 2020, protests across Canada broke out in support of the Wet'suwet'en people. Many are standing in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en people, including the University of Washington's Department of American Indian Studies, which recently stated, "We request that Canada and the provincial governments respect Indigenous rights as outlined in the Canadian Constitution, in countless court rulings, in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and in 'Anuc niwh'it'en (Wet'suwet'en law)."[8]

The continuation of violence against Indigenous Peoples and historic banning of Indigenous cultures shows lack of respect for Indigenous Knowledge and ways of life. Historical erasure of culture and knowledge systems must be addressed by the Government of Canada with special recognition and revitalization of Indigenous cultures. When discussing the current structures that exist between settler and Indigenous communities, Frances Abele, a Carleton University professor in Aboriginal–Canada relations and northern development policy, stated, "current structures of territorial and federal governments aren't working to advance the Nunavut project. We need to start working on finding a structure that empowers Inuit leadership. We need to put Inuit at the center and let everyone struggle

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4 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*.

5 James Anaya, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Council, 2014), https://www.refworld.org/docid/53eb3b774.html.

6 Anaya, *Report of the Special Rapporteur*, 4.

7 Isabelle Montpetit, "Background: The Indian Act," *CBC News*, July 14, 2011, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/background-the-indian-act-1.1056988.

8 "AIS Stands in Solidarity and in Support of the Wet'suwet'en People," American Indian Studies, University of Washington, accessed March 4, 2020, https://ais.washington.edu/news/2020/02/13/ais-stands-solidarity-and-support-wetsuweten-people.

to work around that."[9] As Canada is in the early stages of reconciliation, it is important to acknowledge remaining colonial governance structures and push beyond current understanding of knowledge sharing.

Reconciliation

Although the historical relations between the Government of Canada and Indigenous Peoples in Canada shows that reconciliation will be a difficult and extensive process, the Government of Canada has set ambitious goals to foster effective collaboration and inclusion. The TRC's Final Report (2015) acknowledges past human rights violations as well as the need to reconstruct governance structures to ensure that Indigenous voices are heard. As stated frequently within the TRC's Final Report, Indigenous voices are necessary for any steps moving forward regarding the future of the Government of Canada: "Canadians have much to benefit from listening to the voices, experiences, and wisdom of Survivors, Elders, and Traditional Knowledge Keepers—and much more to learn about reconciliation."[10] The government has stated its commitment to and prioritization of Indigenous inclusion.

The prioritization of Indigenous Knowledge continues to be an objective for the Government of Canada, specifically Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, as demonstrated in its 2019 *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*.[11] This report states eight clear goals, including that "reconciliation supports self-determination and nurtures mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples." The policy framework promises to "change federal practices and processes in support of increased self-determination and representation of Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples and recognize the unique operating environment of various Indigenous and public governments in the Arctic and North" and "reclaim, revitalize, maintain and strengthen the cultures of the Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples, including their languages and knowledge systems."[12] The Government of Canada understands the growing need to bridge cultural gaps that exist within knowledge regarding the Arctic. Indigenous self-determination and representation are outlined within Canada's government priorities, which discuss their growing need to increase efforts of purposeful inclusion. The Government of Canada, as expressed in this recent framework, is committed to the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge in the implementation of the Arctic policy.

The Government of Canada plans to be a champion on the international stage of the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge. The Canadian *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework International Chapter* states that "While there is a growing appreciation of how Indigenous knowledge improves our understanding of the Arctic and North, barriers remain to its equitable and respectful inclusion within international forums…Canada will champion the meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in international forums that make decisions affecting the Arctic."[13] As the Government of Canada recognizes the barriers that limit effective expression of Traditional Knowledge, it is vital to rework policy formats to be inclusive of various mediums of knowledge. To lead in the international discussion of effective inclusion, the Government of Canada must think beyond policy structures that are not conducive to IQ systems.

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[9] Frances Abele (Professor of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University), personal communication, Ottawa, January 28, 2020.

[10] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 9.

[11] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, 2019, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587.

[12] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, objective 4.

[13] *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework International Chapter*, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, October 22, 2019, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1562867415721/1562867459588.

Inuit Art in Policy

One of the ways Traditional Knowledge can have an impactful role within policy is through art. The UK Policy Lab is an organization funded by the United Kingdom Government to create data-driven policy focused on people-centered design.[14] In an article discussing the role art could play within policy, world-renowned artist Olafur Eliasson remarked, "facts are one part; just as guilt does not inspire initiative, people will not act on facts alone. We are inspired to act by emotional and physical experience."[15] Action on an issue requires an emotional and cultural connection. Artists, as skilled professionals, can trigger these emotions and illustrate or explain cultural practices. Facts and data about the Arctic and melting sea ice can be overwhelming, but Inuit art can play an important role in demonstrating connection to this land and bridging cultural gaps.

Art in general can have a critical role within policy, but the use of Inuit art is necessary when discussing the Arctic and the loss of sea ice. Inuk curator and associate professor of Indigenous art history at Concordia University in Montréal, Dr. Heather Igloliorte states that Inuit art "can be more accurately understood to encompass the complex matrix of Inuit environmental knowledge, societal values, cosmology, world views, and language."[16] Inuit art holds a deep meaning beyond emotional connection. It is a gateway into culturally understanding Inuit perceptions of the world. Inuit art has been used previously in guiding international discussions around policy. In 1999 then-president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) Sheila Watt-Cloutier brought an Inuit carving of a mother and child to UN negotiations in Nairobi, Kenya, to a discussion of banning persistent organic pollutants.[17] John Buccini, who was chairing the negotiations, placed the statue in front of him during negotiations and made an impromptu speech stating "that Indigenous peoples were the 'conscience' of the negotiations."[18] The statue's presence at an international meeting discussing persistent organic pollutants, which have a significant effect on Inuit way of life, brought a human dimension to the meeting.[19]Art can help inform policymakers of the emotional connection to an issue, and Inuit art is especially useful in explaining IQ and reconnecting artists with ancestral practices.

The need for further cultural understanding of Inuit Traditional Knowledge within policy came up during many of our meetings in Ottawa. I had the opportunity to ask several organizations about how they view the use of art within Arctic policy development, and their responses were overwhelmingly supportive. Inuit knowledge can be visually represented through art, which allows for Inuit voices to be present within our chapters. Stephanie Meakin, Senior Science Advisor at the Inuit Circumpolar Council, stated that within any discussion regarding the Arctic, "knowledge holders have to be at the table to speak…If you want to express the voice of people, then art is very important."[20] Recreating current structures is vital to the empowerment of Indigenous communities and will assist in cultural preservation. When our Task Force visited Crown–Indigenous Relations, I was able to ask Christopher Penney, a manager for Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, what he thought about the implementation of art in policy. He responded, "I think it would be incredibly beneficial to include art in the development and implementation of policy, particularly as a means of communication."[21] Proper inclusion of IQ within Arctic policy was widely acknowledged by many of the experts we met

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[14] Policy Lab, https://openpolicy.blog.gov.uk/category/policy-lab/.

[15] Olafur Eliasson quoted in Stephen Bennett, "A Role for Art in Policy-Making?" *Policy Lab*, October 10, 2018, https://openpolicy.blog.gov.uk/2018/10/10/a-role-for-art-in-policy-making/.

[16] Igloliorte, "Curating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 102.

[17] Noor Johnson, "Thinking through Affect: Inuit Knowledge on the Tundra and in Global Environmental Politics," *Journal of Political Ecology* 21, no. 1 (January 2014): 161, 170, https://doi.org/10.2458/v21i1.21130.

[18] Johnson, "Thinking through Affect," 170.

[19] Derek Armitage, Anthony Charles and Fikret Berkes, *Governing the Coastal Commons — Communities, Resilience and Transformation* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 242.

[20] Stephanie Meakin (Senior Science Advisor at Inuit Circumpolar Council), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.

[21] Christopher Penney (Manager for Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada), personal communication, Ottawa, January 30, 2020.

in Ottawa, many of whom recognized that the implementation of art within policy could be a step forward. Without equitable incorporation and accommodation of cultural barriers, parts of IQ will be missing from the conversation.

While our Task Force was in Ottawa, I also had the opportunity to interview several Inuit artists. Photographer Barry Pottle laid the foundation for my studies as he explained his relationship to photography: "My medium is not traditional but I'm using my values of what I know and don't know in my work." He continued, "If you look at Inuit art, it's very romanticized, but if you progress, you see ownership and land."[22] The ownership of the land is represented within Inuit art, through traditional methods or through contemporary methods like in Barry's work. The land is present and it is speaking. I also interviewed multimedia artist Heather Campbell, who explained that "part of the reason I do make art is because I want people to see it and feel something—I want them to have some kind of idea of what life is like in the North and what it would be like to have your oceans and land destroyed."[23] Inuit artists have a wealth of knowledge regarding the Arctic that could be greatly beneficial to policymakers when making decisions affecting Inuit communities.

The use of art will not only be an informative addition to understanding Arctic matters, but it will also empower Inuit communities. As the TRC states in its Final Report,

> Art is active, and "participation in the arts is a guarantor of other human rights because the first thing that is taken away from vulnerable, unpopular or minority groups is the right to self-expression." The arts help to restore human dignity and identity in the face of injustice. Properly structured, they can also invite people to explore their own world views, values, beliefs, and attitudes that may be barriers to healing, justice, and reconciliation.[24]

Niap, ***Untitled***, 2019. Photo: Feheley Fine Arts.

As previously expressed within *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*, reclaiming and revitalizing Inuit culture are some of the government's main priorities. Inuit art is a process of revitalizing Inuit identity. Niap, an Inuk artist from Kuujjuaq, Nunavik, celebrated the practice of Inuit tattooing through her exhibition *Ivalu*, for example. This exhibition included paintings of Inuit women's tattoos, featuring her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother.[25] Her exhibit celebrated the revitalization of Inuit tattooing and featured a Nunatsiavut skin poke artist, Jessica Coffey, who created a traditional tattoo for Niap and tattooed her arm in front of a live audience.[26] Inuit tattoos are an important example of the continuality of Traditional Knowledge and the revitalization of Inuit ancestral practices. Implementation of Inuit art would allow for people outside of the Arctic to further understand Inuit communities and legitimize IQ knowledge systems.

Although the inclusion of Inuit art is not a replacement for including Inuit in policy development, it will help to break down the cultural gaps. Previous collaboration and prioritization has been beneficial to Inuit communities. For example, as Jeannette Menzies, Senior Advisor, Nordic and Polar Relations, Global Affairs

[22] Barry Pottle (photographer), personal communication, Ottawa, January 29, 2020.
[23] Heather Campbell (artist), personal communication, February 21, 2020.
[24] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 280.
[25] "Niap–Ivalu: Tattooed," Feheley Fine Arts—Inuit Art Gallery, May 23, 2019, https://feheleyfinearts.com/niap-ivalu-tattooed/.
[26] "Niap–Ivalu: Tattooed," Feheley Fine Arts.

Canada, explained during our visit, "*Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* was co-developed with rights-holders and stakeholders in the Arctic. It was not developed and then sent out for comments. This was a challenging and lengthy process but critical to the development of an effective policy."[27] Continued collaboration between Inuit and the Government of Canada is vital to the successful implementation of appropriate Arctic policy.

The inclusion of Inuit art within Arctic policy requires close collaboration with Inuit artists and knowledge holders. A possible way this collaboration could be conducted is by asking Inuit artists to create pieces around the topic of the policy. This process would ensure IQ is appropriately incorporated and enriches the audience's understanding of the Arctic. The inclusion of Inuit art within Arctic policy is important, and it is vital that Inuit artists are a pillar in this process.

Inuit qaujimajatuqangit in Science

IQ has played an important role in Arctic science. *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* states, "Indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge will be equally considered in decision-making."[28] IQ has the potential to advance research in the Arctic and benefit policy development. Inuit hunters and Elders in Clyde River, an Inuit community on eastern Baffin Island, have been assisting National Snow and Ice Data Center researcher Shari Gearheard to understand environmental change. She explains, "Inuit forecasters equipped with generations of environmental knowledge are helping scientists understand changes in Arctic weather."[29] In another effort, a new facility called Canadian High Arctic Research Station located in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut, was created as a place for scientists and Indigenous Knowledge Keepers to collaborate.[30] When asked about art and Indigenous Knowledge within science, Jeannette Menzies used this facility as an example because of the design and art that is placed throughout, which assists the scientists in conducting research and emphasizing the importance of collaboration.[31] IQ has already played an important role within scientific research regarding Arctic sea ice and has encouraged productive collaboration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Inuit participation in the development of Arctic policy is a growing priority for the Government of Canada. There is a need for IQ within Arctic policy, but the question still remains of how the Government of Canada will implement proper inclusion. Although discussion of the necessity for inclusion is present, it is important for the Government of Canada to take the next steps toward their ambitious goals of proper Inuit inclusion. Art is one of the ways for us to begin to bridge cultural gaps, and government decision making regarding Arctic policy must recognize culture and incorporate IQ.

As reconciliation is a main priority for the Government of Canada, it is important to begin thinking about ways the structure of governmental collaboration can be conducive to Inuit culture. In hopes to begin the conversation of effective inclusion of IQ, the Government of Canada needs to think beyond political structural norms. The following are a few recommendations of ways in which this could be achieved:

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[27] Jeannette Menzies (Senior Advisor, Nordic and Polar Relations, Global Affairs Canada), personal communication, Ottawa, January 27, 2020.

[28] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework*.

[29] "Inuit Knowledge Helps Science Learn Something New About Arctic Weather," National Snow and Ice Data Center, April 7, 2010, https://nsidc.org/news/newsroom/20100407_gearheard.html.

[30] John Bennett, "The Canadian High Arctic Research Station Comes Online," *Canadian Geographic*, February 28, 2019, https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/canadian-high-arctic-research-station-comes-online.

[31] Jeannette Menzies (Senior Advisor, Nordic and Polar Relations, Global Affairs Canada), personal communication, Ottawa, January 27, 2020.

(1) Embed art within policy

Working with knowledge holders and artists to implement art in policy is important to the process of addressing cultural differences, and this will support the success of Arctic policy. Canada hopes to be an international leader in the prioritization of respectful inclusion on IQ. Embedding art within policy could be one of the ways in which Canada attempts to create more inclusive governance structures and policy practices. Implementation of art within policy could act in two ways: properly inform policymakers of cultural practices and IQ; and empower Inuit cultural practices.

(2) Engage in a consultation process to identify effective ways of representing IQ

Working with knowledge holders to identify other ways through which IQ can be presented will allow for Inuit to discuss the ways they wish to be represented. As Inuit art is not the only platform where IQ can be represented, it is important that the Government of Canada work with knowledge holders to explore various ways IQ is documented. Creating a space in which IQ can be represented in a variety of ways will ensure that the presentation of IQ is beneficial to Inuit. Not only will this encourage proper representation, but it will also empower Inuit communities and show them the government is prioritizing the inclusion of IQ.

(3) Engage in a consultation process to identify past collaboration tactics that have been beneficial to Inuit

Identifying effective means of collaboration and learning which tactics promote genuine collaboration are vital to creating new ideas. It is important to look at documents such as *Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* for ways to do this, as the creation of this policy framework included meaningful collaboration with Inuit communities. Facilities such as the Canadian High Arctic Research Station also contribute to these efforts by implementing art throughout their facilities to bridge the gap between Western science and IQ. It is important for the Government of Canada to engage in an open dialogue with Inuit regarding the efficacy of these collaborations. Assessing tactics that have been beneficial to Inuit and the government in other aspects of policymaking will promote effective collaboration in the future.

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without my two professors, Drs. Nadine Fabbi and Michelle Koutnik, who have helped encourage me, as well as the artists I had the pleasure of speaking with, Barry Pottle and Heather Campbell. Additionally, I would like to thank two influential American Indian studies professors at the University of Washington, Drs. Luana Ross and Joshua Reid, who introduced me to the topic Indigenous rights and continue to inspire me.

Biography

Bonnie Greer is an undergraduate senior majoring in International Studies and aspires to pursue a career in climate change activism. She aims to combat the environmental racism that exists with the green movement. She has garnered a strong understanding for proper collaboration within Indigenous communities and a great respect for the level of strength and activism that exists within Indigenous movements. This project nurtured her passion for elevating and supporting Indigenous voices within the climate change movement.

Conclusion

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> *We're more divided than ever, but we're not talking to each other.*
> —Whit Fraser

The title of this report, *The Right to Sea Ice: Canadian Arctic Policy and Inuit Priorities*, signifies the need for a greater Inuit presence in policymaking. As the Arctic polar region continues to change in the face of climate change and sea ice loss, it is crucial to embrace Inuit knowledge in research and policy discussions in order to implement long-term solutions that promote environmental sustainability and thriving northern communities. Each of our chapters addresses a critical issue related to Arctic environmental change in connection to human rights, environmental protection, and global awareness.

Our 2020 Task Force trip to Ottawa enabled us to engage in important conversations about international law, which helped us gain a new and unique perspective about northern affairs and climate change in the Arctic. Each of these interactions inspired the individual focus of our chapters. We have strived to draw attention to the current key issues taking place, but it is necessary to acknowledge the ongoing challenges that confront the health and well-being of the Northern region and its residents. As of the writing of this report, British Columbia is pushing for the construction of the Coastal GasLink pipeline, which would cut through Wet'suwet'en territories and have detrimental impacts on the land, water, and community. Under Wet'suwet'en law, the hereditary chiefs have authority over these traditional lands. Despite never consenting to the construction of the pipeline, there are still plans for the project to move forward.

Hazardous projects like these, and other future human-led disruptions, pose an immense threat to the Arctic and Arctic local communities. This report advocates for the need to listen to Indigenous voices and to review land claims rights in the face of adversity. Only by unifying Inuit knowledge with traditional policymaking discussions can effective policies be implemented that safeguard Indigenous communities and sustain the Arctic polar region.

CHAPTER 1: Chapter 1 discusses the effects of climate change and increased shipping through the Northwest Passage on native Arctic wildlife. These environmental impacts have threatened endangered species, changed hunting and breeding grounds, and shifted migration patterns. For bowhead whales and caribou, two fundamental resources of Indigenous communities, these changes are especially destructive. While there are current policies in place to protect Arctic marine and terrestrial animals, it is necessary to continue strengthening these policies through greater environmental conservation efforts, shipping regulations, and adding an Indigenous presence in policymaking.

CHAPTER 2: Waste management is a major environmental health threat in Arctic Inuit communities. With the warming of the Arctic, the long-used methods of open burning and uncontained landfilling are having an increasingly negative impact on both human and environmental health. This method is less viable and comprehensive, making contained waste infrastructure necessary. Comprehensive, contained waste infrastructure is necessary to allow for Arctic communities to thrive in the face of climate change. As the Arctic opens to new and increased traffic from with

ice extent loss, there are emerging opportunities to strengthen and standardize Arctic waste management. Solutions to waste problems could include creating haul-out programs with Arctic suppliers, implementing best practices for landfilling and burning, and coordinating clean-up initiatives to create a clean start within each community.

CHAPTER 3: As climate changes, the melting sea ice provides possibilities to expand the mining industry in the Arctic. The Mary River Mine is one of the Arctic mines where expansion is being considered. Although this development will provide economic opportunities for Inuit communities, it can also create several problems, including increasing rates of violence against Indigenous women in the region, and the unequal treatment of Inuit contract workers at the mine. Solving these problems requires collaboration between the Government of Canada and, in this case, Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation, which owns the Mary River Mine.

CHAPTER 4: Chapter 4 discusses the Inuit Nunangat housing crisis and the effects of permafrost on housing in the North. In addition to an overall shortage of housing in the North, the existing houses lack the infrastructural designs to support the ongoing changes in permafrost, thus contributing to vulnerable and foundationally unstable living conditions. Permafrost has already begun to threaten infrastructure in the North, and funding is limited and inefficiently distributed. While the Government of Canada, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and the various governments of Inuit Nunangat are working diligently address these issues, there is a need to increase consistent distribution of funding, create culturally specific housing, and research best new methods of building on thawing permafrost.

CHAPTER 5: Chapter 5 explores the relationship between human rights and the environment and considered the feasibility of granting legal rights to the environment. Inuit livelihood and culture are closely tied to sea ice. That relationship with sea ice can potentially guide new understandings of rights and to whom they apply. This chapter analyzes two case studies of attempts at environmental defense: 1) Sheila Watt-Cloutier's 2005 petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; and 2) the Te Awa Tupua Act that granted legal personhood the Whanganui River in New Zealand. These two case studies identify Indigenous knowledge as a possible key element to successfully protecting the environment.

CHAPTER 6: Inuit legal perspectives have largely been missing from international law and the domestic legal system of Canada. This omission is a significant oversight and a missed opportunity for current legal approaches in the Arctic region. Inuit legal thinking is a vital perspective to include in the governance of the Arctic region. An Inuit legal approach would provide a tremendous opportunity for the international community and the Government of Canada on Arctic governance. This would allow for an entirely new perspective and different capability in the Arctic, and one that has existed sustainably for thousands of years. The international community would greatly benefit by learning from those who have thrived in the Arctic for so long.

CHAPTER 7: The ultimate goal of creating Nunavut and settling the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was to promote Inuit self-determination and self-governance. Under the agreement, the federal and territorial governments need to uphold article 23 and transform the current education system to reach an 85% Inuit representation in government, with Inuit qaujimajatuqangit and Inuktut at the center of this transformation. Additionally, the devolution process and the discussion about land use management needs to include the discussion about the integrity of sea ice that can be added into article 12, as it is in the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement.

CHAPTER 8: Given the past history of violence against Indigenous communities by the Government of Canada, reconciliation will be an extensive project. With the current existing governmental structure, it is important to rethink the ways in which we perceive traditional knowledge and its incorporation within policy. Art is one such way that we can incorporate Inuit qaujimajatuqangit in Arctic policy and encourage the revitalization of Inuit culture.

Part IV:
UW ARCTIC FELLOWS

The Evolving Political Engagement of Permanent Participants: Senior Arctic Officials as Sea Ice Policy Audiences

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ABSTRACT
The creation of policy documents that Arctic actors use to identify and disseminate their concerns, interests, and recommendations is often state-centric and periodic, with most of the "Arctic Eight" releasing new policy documents every three to four years. However, the Inuit Circumpolar Council and Saami Council, both Permanent Participants in the Arctic Council, have also released policy documents outlining their strategies for the Arctic and interests in the region. This form of political engagement with other actors (states, intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations) is unprecedented among circumpolar Indigenous organizations. Notably, these Permanent Participant documents, *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* (2008), *The Sea Ice Never Stops* (2014), and *Saami Arctic Strategy* (2019), emphasize sea ice and its human dimensions. Because the release of policy documents by Permanent Participants is without precedence in the Arctic, there is a lack of knowledge and standard procedure among senior Arctic officials and foreign ministers about how to respond to these documents and how to integrate their content into interactions with the Permanent Participants inside the Arctic Council and in other regional organizations and fora. The policy documents hold different meaning when considered through a liberal or a constructivist lens of international relations. In analyzing the purpose of these policy documents, their thematic content, and their meaning within and outside regional governance organizations, three recommendations are given to Arctic officials to guide nation-state interactions in a way that facilitates partnerships and secures Arctic policy that is responsive to all Arctic residents and rights-holders.

INTRODUCTION

> *I find in the Arctic we have a real voice to make the world a better place. Cooperation with international partners will always include the Indigenous Peoples, as we have always championed the human dimension of the Arctic.*
> —Stephanie Meakin, Address to Arctic Task Force 2020, at Inuit Circumpolar Council, Ottawa, January 29, 2020

Policy and scholarship on the Arctic frequently reference a discourse of interconnectedness. Political issues and environmental changes are connected, as are the concerns and activities of states, Indigenous nations, and regional organizations. Similarly, the contemporary political behavior of Permanent Participants in the Arctic Council is connected to a much longer process of Indigenous internationalization.

This means that reports and recommendations created within the Arctic Council often have origins outside of the forum, while documents and policies released by Arctic actors are supplemented by activities and data-collecting efforts within the council. Three documents released by the Permanent Participants in the Arctic Council demonstrate the way Indigenous Arctic policy has origins in the Arctic Council, the region's largest governance forum. These

documents include *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2008), *The Sea Ice Never Stops* (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2014), and *Saami Arctic Strategy* (Saami Council, 2019).

There is a modest though compelling body of literature that discusses the role of the Permanent Participants in the founding of the Arctic Council. Yet, to date, there is little policy analysis that attempts to provide guidelines or recommendations on how international actors should respond to the Permanent Participants' newfound political agency as it expands beyond the Arctic Council, even as they continue to draw from (and contribute to) the council's research, recommendations, and working groups.

The recent appearance of Arctic policies originating from Permanent Participant policies prompts the question, why now? After all, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) was founded in 1977, and the Saami Council was founded in 1956. Each council was established to represent its transboundary nation members and promote their interests in domestic and international affairs, but neither released Arctic policy strategies until 2008. There is no precedence of this behavior in the Arctic, and there are degrees of uncertainty among senior Arctic officials and states' foreign ministers about how to respond to these documents.

This policy report provides an overview of the origins of the ICC's and Saami Council's policy papers before moving into a discussion of what these documents mean for senior Arctic officials and foreign ministers involved in work in the Arctic Council, as well as those in bilateral projects between states and the Indigenous associations. The report then provides three recommendations for senior Arctic officials and foreign ministers to guide consideration of the Permanent Participant policy strategies into their interactions with the Indigenous associations both within the Arctic Council and in other regional governance organizations.

BACKGROUND

In 2008 the ICC released *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* to provide an Inuit perspective on the human dimension of shipping and sea ice to Arctic Council authors of the 2009 *Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment Report* (*AMSA*).[1] *AMSA* is identified as one of the Arctic Council's most significant outputs.[2]

This was a novel form of political engagement for Permanent Participants. There is no precedence guiding state representatives in how they should treat and respond to the Arctic Indigenous policy papers, a consequence of the state-centric exclusive sovereignty that has guided Western diplomat behavior. While there is a history of nation-to-nation treaties in North America between settler-colonial nations and Indigenous nations, the ICC's *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* (2008), *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* (2009), and *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat* (2011) are arguably the first international policy papers created by circumpolar Indigenous nations for circumpolar audiences.[3] These were followed by *The Sea Ice Never Stops* (2014). Later, in 2019, the Saami Council released the *Saami Arctic Strategy*, elaborating Saami interests, current knowledge gaps, and research needs of the circumpolar community.

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[1] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway: An Inuit Perspective on Transportation in the Arctic* (Ottawa: ICC, 2008).

[2] Arctic Council, *Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment* (Tromsø: PAME, 2009); Jennifer Spence, "Shaping or Making Policy in a Melting Arctic: Examining the Institutional Effectiveness of the Arctic Council" (PhD diss., Carleton University, 2017); Anniken Celine Berger, "Agenda-Shaping in the Arctic Council: Projecting National Agendas in a Consensus-Based Regime" (master's thesis, University of Oslo, 2015).

[3] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* (Ottawa: ICC, 2009); Inuit Circumpolar Council, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2011).

However, lack of precedence in Indigenous international policy documents among the circumpolar Indigenous nations and associations has led to speculation and concern that the policies will not be treated as seriously as state policy documents, or that there will be discursive minimization of the significance or legitimacy of these statements.[4] Understanding the importance of these policy documents requires an understanding of their origins.

In addition to being created as a consultation document for the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme Working Group in the Arctic Council as it contributed to *AMSA*, *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* was preceded by the ICC's consultation—and lack thereof—in Canadian government policy papers. While previous iterations of the Canadian strategy for the far north documents had involved consultation with northern Indigenous communities, Stephen Harper's federal government did not consult with Inuit when constructing its northern strategy.[5] The introduction to *The Sea Ice Never Stops* explains that this second policy document was created to follow-up on the findings of *AMSA* and provide additional recommendations as well as a platform for the ICC as it engages with states outside of the Arctic Council.[6]

Neither the Norwegian nor Swedish governments engaged in extensive consultation with the Saami Council when creating their Strategy for the Far North policy papers.[7] Upon its release in 2019, the *Saami Arctic Strategy* contained an introduction stating that it should be understood in the context—and as influenced by—the 2017 EU Arctic Stakeholder forum.[8] The origins of both documents illustrate strategies that have been shaped by inner–Arctic Council deliberations, council outputs, bilateral interactions with states, and outputs from non-regional governance organizations.

What makes the content of the Permanent Participant policy documents notably distinct from those of the Arctic states is their focus on the human dimension of the Arctic. Human well-being is tightly linked to Saami and Inuit rights: their right to self-determination, the right to say approve or deny to a project that may affect them or their territories (secured in the United Nation's *Prior and Informed Consent in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*),[9] and the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the use of land or other resources. *The Sea Ice Never Stops* opens with acknowledgement that "the health and well-being of Inuit are inextricably tied to the Arctic environment."[10] In all three of the Indigenous policies, sea ice has meaning beyond industry, shipping, and safety; it is a geophysical feature upon which the Inuit identity is based, as the "entire culture and identity is based on free movement over the sea and sea ice."[11]

The policies are meant to be standalone perspectives, not "augmentations" of reports conducted in the Arctic Council, wherein perspectives of eight states and six Permanent Participants are negotiated to determine what gets page space. It is because of their unfiltered inputs that the policy documents have the potential to be particularly effective

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4 Alexandra Middleton, "The Sámi Arctic Strategy to Shake up Arctic Discourse," *High North News*, October 7, 2019, https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/sami-arctic-strategy-shake-arctic-discourse.

5 Government of Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Future, Our Heritage* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2009); M.A. Fortin, "The Harper Conservatives' Arctic Policy: Did It Really Make a Difference?" Canadian Forces College, Toronto, 2016, https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/318/305/fortin.pdf.

6 Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*.

7 Government Offices of Sweden, *Sweden's Strategy for the Arctic Region* (Stockholm: Government Offices of Sweden, 2011); Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Norwegian Government's High North Strategy* (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006).

8 Applica and Directorate-General for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, *Summary Report of the Arctic Stakeholder Forum Consultation to Identify Key Investment Priorities in the Arctic and Ways to Better Streamline Future EU Funding Programmes for the Region* (Brussels: European Union, 2017).

9 United Nations, *Free Prior and Informed Consent: Manual for Project Practitioners* (Brussels, 2016).

10 Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops: Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014), ii.

11 Inuit Circumpolar Council, *The Sea Ice Never Stops*, ii.

among Arctic Council actors while remaining transferrable in guiding interactions with external audiences. State Arctic strategies are largely oriented toward the protection of national sovereign interests, yet the Arctic Council excludes military security issues from its purview through its mandate. The Permanent Participant policies are human-centered, making them documents that contain information and recommendations that can be incorporated into Working Group outputs.[12]

Because the Arctic Council is a non-treaty-based organization—and not a legal personality—that largely focuses on the environmental and human dimensions of the Arctic, the policies put forward by the Inuit Circumpolar Council and Saami Council have the potential to be particularly effective at promoting interests and making recommendations that are applicable both within the Council and in external interactions with states, IGOs, and NGOs.

Legitimizing Permanent Participant Policies

This investigation and its recommendations are directed towards senior Arctic officials and the foreign ministers of the Arctic Council's member states, senior foreign diplomats, and other service members at the ambassador level who provide strategic direction and support to the Arctic Council's Working Groups. The representatives making up the Working Groups take direction from foreign ministers and turn it into more directed day-to-day operations.

The recommendations are meant to guide senior officials to respond to the Permanent Participant policies with the same consideration and legitimacy as the far north strategy documents put forward by states. For both Permanent Participants, their policy must be understood and treated past the association's involvement in Canadian, Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish government policies and strategy documents. They are conducive to political engagement that fits within the soft law governance precedence that has been set since 1993 and demonstrate the transcending of Permanent Participant political engagement from organization-specific activities to potential broader influence and audiences.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Effective policymaking requires senior Arctic officials to respond to the policy documents' content during interactions with the Indigenous associations outside of the Arctic Council. As the policy documents were shaped by internal and external events, they are a continuation of Indigenous internationalization processes *beyond* the Arctic Council, not documents meant to only be internally consumed. They are meant to affect decisions made outside of the Arctic Council. Moreover, they have the potential to affect state behavior beyond its purview by affecting decisions made by militaries or the construction of legally binding agreements.[13]

An inquiry into the modes of engagement Indigenous nations use in the Arctic Council also illuminates the question of what engagement matters in terms of expert resources, past work experiences, and value socialization within the Arctic region. The following three recommendations are intended to inform the ongoing interactions of senior Arctic officials and foreign ministers with Permanent Participant staff and representatives to promote productive outcomes and collegial problem-solving.

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[12] Indeed, "people" is the third-most frequent word used in the *Saami Arctic Strategy*, after "Arctic" and "Council."

[13] Piotr Graczyk et al., "Preparing for the Global Rush: The Arctic Council, Institutional Norms, and Socialization of Observer Behavior," in *Governing Arctic Change: Global Perspectives*, ed. Kathrin Keil and Sebastian Knecht (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

1) *Adopt the human dimension evident in the policy papers in the creation of future major Arctic Council reports, and recommendary outputs.*

The human dimension of sea ice is far more prominent in the Inuit Circumpolar Council's *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* (2008) and *The Sea Ice Never Stops* (2014) than other period outputs from the Arctic Council's Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme Working Group. Both of the ICC's reports were intentionally commissioned in the Arctic Council's Ministerial meetings. There is a longer pattern of the Arctic Council seeking Permanent Participant reports and policy stances to create reports that more comprehensively address the demographic and social reality of the far north, as was the case for the *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* in 2004, the Arctic *Marine Shipping Assessment Report* in 2009, and the *Arctic Biodiversity Assessment* in 2013. Each of these Working Group outputs evolved to incorporate "the human dimension" primarily through the contributions of Permanent Participants.

However, projects that most clearly address the human dimension of the Arctic are typically developed in the Council's Sustainable Development Working Group. Moreover, Indigenous inputs are usually commissioned for specific projects, and have a history of being under-transferred to other and future projects. There are some good arguments for minimal transferability. Frequently cited is the danger of Arctic states judging when Indigenous or traditional knowledge should be applied or when it is more broadly transferrable. Certainly, the findings of *The Sea Ice Is Our Highway* are contextual to Inuit regions, uses, and functions. For this reason, senior Arctic officials must make it a habit—part of their standard operating procedure when crafting reports or recommendations—to address the human dimension of the issue-area of concern.

2) *The foreign ministers of states with Inuit and Saami populations must familiarize themselves with the Indigenous policy documents.*

There have been instances of state representatives not knowing the content of the Inuit and Saami Arctic strategies and policies, and even cases of these representatives not acknowledging their existence.[14] This is concerning, as while the Indigenous associations act as representative bodies for the Indigenous nations, individuals and communities are still dually represented by the nation-states' officials in negotiations. Even in a constructivist international community, states typically hold greater sway in legal personalities and Westphalian institutions than they do in soft-law governance frameworks.[15]

Officials of states with Indigenous nations—particularly those of transboundary nations—must note points of congruence and variation between the Indigenous association policies and those of the state(s) they live in. The recommendations of the Permanent Participants are not just discursive content, but commitments made by national representatives. Pragmatic state Arctic officials may use their interest alignment with state commitments as strengthening and bargaining chips in negotiations with other states. Constructivist officials can craft harmonious strategies and commitments to demonstrate the shared values of the region's actors, and act as an indicator of normative socialization power of the Arctic Council.

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[14] Aleqa Hammond, Keynote address to Arctic Encounters (Seattle, April 18, 2018).

[15] Timo Koivurova, "Limits and Possibilities of the Arctic Council in a Rapidly Changing Scene of Arctic Governance," *Polar Record* 46, no. 237 (2010): 146–56, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247409008365.

3) *Adopt an Arctic stewardship system to promote sustainable business and transportation activity in the Arctic.*

While states have discussed an Arctic Investment Protocol as a solution for sustainable economic development,[16] the Permanent Participants' reports indicate a belief that voluntary compliance initiatives are unlikely to work in the Arctic, at least in part because businesses and corporations are not compelled by norms the same way that states are within the international community.[17] Senior Arctic officials must be reliable partners for the Permanent Participants, exerting influence as great states and norm entrepreneurs to compel other actors to commit to new frameworks.[18] There is a precedence of success in this area, as evidenced when the Arctic Council updated its Observer applicant requirements in 2011.

During this time, the Council underwent a multi-year discussion to evaluate what common criteria Observers should meet to be admitted as Observers—and to remain in good standing. Permanent Participants were concerned that an increase in Observers would dilute Indigenous influence and trigger a shift to a hard-law governance structure.[19] Consequently, the Permanent Participants solicited commitment from the member states that the new criteria would require the acceptance of applications conditional on a number of factors, including recognition of Arctic states' jurisdictional and sovereign rights, the legal force of the Law of the Sea and respect for Arctic Indigenous Peoples, their values, interests, and concerns.[20]

Through the collaboration of member states and Permanent Participants, new Observers must recognize the Permanent Participants' unique position within the Arctic Council; successful applicants must "respect the values, interests, culture and traditions of Arctic indigenous peoples and other Arctic inhabitants."[21] It is more likely an Arctic stewardship system would succeed with the explicit, active support of state senior Arctic officials, as other formally implemented standards have benefited from a united front in constraining state behavior.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The Inuit Circumpolar Council's and Saami Council's policy documents are noteworthy and novel forms of political engagement by Indigenous associations in the Arctic, clearly identifying and disseminating group recommendations. Because this strategy has only surfaced in the twenty-first century, and primarily on the human dimensions of sea ice and maritime topics, senior Arctic officials and foreign ministers have less experience responding to these documents as guiding Arctic strategies.

The recommendations provided here center on the prerogative of looking to the Permanent Participants to identify knowledge gaps and provide insights into filling these gaps. One of the Arctic Council's biggest functions is to conduct research in the Arctic, collecting data that guides its recommendations and the behavior of northern actors. Other organizations that make up the region's "rich mosaic of cooperation" also create and disseminate information, as do domestic expert groups from the Arctic eight.[22] Yet a great deal of data and knowledge is still lacking on Indigenous

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[16] Applica and Directorate-General for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, *Summary Report of the Arctic Stakeholder Forum*.

[17] Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.

[18] Lawson W. Brigham, "Environmental Security Challenges and the Arctic Council's Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment," in *Environmental Security in the Arctic Ocean*, ed. Paul Arthur Berkman and Alexander N. Vylegzhanin (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 157–73, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4713-5_16; Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *International Affairs the Department of International Relations International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004): 239–75, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818304582024.

[19] Andrew Chater, "Explaining Non-Arctic States in the Arctic Council," *Strategic Analysis* 40, no. 3 (2016): 173–84, https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2016.1165467.

[20] Arctic Council, "Arctic Council Observer Manual for Subsidiary Bodies" (Kiruna: Arctic Council, 2013), sec. 6.

[21] Arctic Council, *Senior Arctic Official (SAO) Report to the Ministers* (Nuuk: Arctic Council, 2011), sec. 50.

[22] Oran Young, "Governing the Arctic: From Cold War Theater to Mosaic of Cooperation," *Global Governance* 11, no. 1 (2005): 9–15.

demography, cultural heritage, and history. Indigenous Peoples' rights as they are connected to land, animal health, and ethics are also under-addressed in Arctic Council recommendations and state strategies.

As representative organizations with active connections and few barriers between leadership and communities, Permanent Participants are in a unique position to give direct guidance to researchers on what kinds of data are missing in both the social and natural sciences. It can be useful to think of their policy papers as targeted and unfiltered recommendations. In one sense, they are like the recommendations Permanent Participants offer for Working Group recommendations, but for wider audiences, including actors unaffiliated with the Arctic Council. As a form of political engagement, the policy documents are knowledge-based advocacy for sustainable, human-centered research and development in the far north.

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I wish to thank Nadine Fabbi, Christine Ingebritsen, and Lassi Heininen for their enlightening conversations and invaluable guidance in pointing me towards Indigenous voices in the literature on Arctic soft governance. I also want to thank Stina Fagertun, who was the intervention in my earlier Scandinavian studies that set me on the academic path leading me to the Arctic Council.

Biography

Ellen A. Ahlness is a PhD candidate in Political Science and Fellow with the Washington Institute on the Study of Inequality and Race. Her recent work has examined the internationalization processes of the Inuit Circumpolar Council and Saami Council, as well as art as political activism among circumpolar Indigenous communities, and appears in the *Arctic Yearbook, Current Developments in Arctic Law,* ***and*** *Managing Multicultural Scandinavia.*

Integrating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit for Stronger Policy and Governance: An Examination of Recent Cases in Inuit Nunangat

ELIZABETH WESSELLS
Department of Anthropology, University of Washington

ABSTRACT
This paper considers three cases of recent research focused on climate change's varied impacts on communities across Inuit Nunangat, and then considers the policy implications of each case in light of bureaucratic impediments to the formation of effective, evidence-based policy. The case foci include berry picking in Inuit Nunangat, fisheries co-management and resilience in Pangnirtung, Nunavut, and sea ice monitoring across Inuit Nunangat. These recent works highlight the difficulty of developing policy for holistic systems while working through discrete management bodies. Following the work of Francis Lévesque, professor of Indigenous studies at Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, which considers Nunavut governance and the integration of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), this paper suggests the further incorporation of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit into the principles and structures of governance across Inuit Nunangat offers a way to overcome barriers to a holistic model of evidence-based policy and management.

INTRODUCTION

The political mobilization and assertion of sovereignty by Indigenous nations since the 1970s have prompted major shifts in the ethical and legal mandates governing the conduct of research, the management of resources, and the practice of policymaking in settler-colonial nation states like the United States and Canada.[1] These shifts are seen clearly across Inuit Nunangat, where the negotiation of land claims agreements and the formation of Inuit representative organizations and governments have unsettled the historical power dynamics of provincial, territorial, and federal governments acting in the North.[2]

The legacies of disastrous colonial policies, unilateral decision making, and invasive research methods are still felt in Canada, lingering in the structures and practice of government, academia, and professional disciplines.[3] In the Arctic, many dedicated individuals and organizations have worked to disrupt these colonial legacies. The expansion of collaborative work between Inuit and non-Inuit organizations, communities, governments, and universities has led to an increasing body of literature centering and engaging traditional knowledge and cultural values, known as Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), rather than exclusively prioritizing Western scientific approaches.[4] This widening foundation of work has the potential to be critically utilized in the formation of effective, evidence-based policy in support of Inuit social, cultural, and economic strength. The opportunity represented by this body of knowledge, however, is confounded by historic structures of policymaking and resource management bureaucracy, which divide

[1] See Brendan Griebel, "Recharting the Courses of History: Mapping Concepts of Community, Archaeology, and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in the Canadian Territory of Nunavut" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2015).

[2] Lynn Peplinski, "Public Resource Management and Inuit Toponymy: Implementing Policies to Maintain Human-Environmental Knowledge in Nunavut" (master's thesis, Royal Roads University, 2000), 41.

[3] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Strategy on Research* (Ottawa: ITK, 2018), 9, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/National-Inuit-Strategy-on-Research.pdf.

[4] Frank James Tester and Peter Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance," *Arctic* 61, no. 5 (August 2009): 50.

holistic systems (such as physical and mental health, spiritual well-being, subsistence, environment, economy, and so forth) into disparate pieces and increase the challenge of implementing effective policy in response to far-reaching, interconnected issues.[5]

This paper explores three recent cases of published research coming out of Inuit Nunangat, and considers each work's policy insights in the context of colonial bureaucracy and Inuit-centered possibilities. Following anthropologist Francis Lévesque's analysis of traditional knowledge in Nunavut institutions, I argue that overcoming the bureaucratic barriers to effective and holistic policy implementation is possible through the further integration of IQ into the planning, decision making, and strategy of governance in Inuit Nunangat.[6] Expanding the centrality of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit will increase the unsettling of historic power dynamics and contribute to the strength of Inuit sovereignty in the Arctic.[7]

CASE: BERRY PICKING IN INUIT NUNANGAT

Focusing on the centrality of traditional foods to Inuit identity and culture, Boulanger-Lapointe and colleagues conducted close to two hundred interviews on berry picking in Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut.[8] While hunting of larger game such as caribou, grizzly, and polar bear often dominates debates on subsistence and policymaking, the authors found berry picking to be a common practice across Inuit Nunangat. The berry pickers interviewed possessed close knowledge of the ecology of the berry species around their birthplaces and current communities, and emphasized the social and cultural importance of the practice.[9] Berry picking is a chance to spend time on the land, be close to friends and family, engage in sharing practices, and maintain a spiritual relationship with the land—all aspects that have been identified to support mental health and personal well-being.[10] Additionally, berry picking is a form of traditional subsistence in which many ages can participate, and it does not necessarily require extensive travel or special equipment to pursue.[11] With all the benefits to personal, family, and community well-being from berry picking, Boulanger-Lapointe and colleagues found the practice to be impaired by increasing pressures from pollution, development, changing climate, and fluctuating wildlife populations, including geese, which eat the berries, and caribou, which trample the plants.[12]

Because berry picking contributes to cultural vitality and cohesion, family and social connections, and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, the authors recommend that decision makers consider berry picking during the planning and implementation of policy that might otherwise impact the extent and productivity of patches.[13] Such recommendations make immediate sense when the goal is evidence-based policy, but closer examination reveals how the existing structures and agencies that make decisions impacting berry picking are siloed and far-flung. In different departments and agencies wildlife are managed; agriculture and mining (which impact wildlife) are managed; roads, waste disposal, commercial and residential development are managed; programs for physical

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5 Peplinski, "Public Resource Management and Inuit Toponymy," 22.

6 Francis Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit Knowledge, Culture, Language, and Values in Nunavut Institutions since 1999," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 38, no. 1–2 (2015): 115–36.

7 Peplinski, "Public Resource Management and Inuit Toponymy," 41.

8 Noémie Boulanger-Lapointe et al., "Berry Plants and Berry Picking in Inuit Nunangat: Traditions in a Changing Socio-Ecological Landscape," *Human Ecology* 47, no. 1 (2019): 82.

9 Boulanger-Lapointe et al., "Berry Plants and Berry Picking," 84.

10 Ashlee Cunsolo Willox et al., "'From This Place and of This Place:' Climate Change, Sense of Place, and Health in Nunatsiavut, Canada," *Social Science & Medicine* 75, no. 3 (August 2012): 538–47.

11 Boulanger-Lapointe et al., "Berry Plants and Berry Picking," 88.

12 Boulanger-Lapointe et al., "Berry Plants and Berry Picking," 90.

13 Boulanger-Lapointe et al., "Berry Plants and Berry Picking," 90.

and mental health are managed; climate change is fiercely debated and somewhat managed.[14] This bureaucracy of provincial, territorial, and federal governments, which was bequeathed to Inuit governments through land claims settlements, is a direct legacy of colonial decision-making practice and Western knowledge systems.[15] Following Lévesque's assessment of the integration of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit into governance, in those places where Inuit governments and organizations have more fully adopted IQ in decision making and priority setting, IQ has become a means of taking control of legacy colonial structures and adapting them in service of Inuit goals.[16] The work of Boulanger-Lapointe and colleagues reveals the insufficiency of a colonial model in determining and maintaining policy in support of Inuit society. Their work suggests that the further integration of traditional Inuit knowledge and cultural values into policy and management will not only strengthen Inuit sovereignty but also lead to policies that better support Inuit culture and society.

CASE: COMMUNITY RESILIENCE AND FISHERIES IN PANGNIRTUNG, NUNAVUT

Pangnirtung, Nunavut, is a coastal community on Baffin Island, remarkable for its subsistence and commercial fisheries. Galappaththi and colleagues conducted interviews and focus group discussions with more than one hundred Inuit fishers over two years, to get a sense of the changes experienced and adaptations pursued by Inuit engaging in subsistence and commercial fishing activities around the Cumberland Sound.[17] Approaching the Arctic char subsistence fishery and the turbot/halibut commercial fishery as nested units of study within the broader social-ecological system of Pangnirtung, the authors identified key forms of change witnessed by Inuit fishers and the resilience strategies they have used in response.[18] The concerns of interviewees centered on climate change, weather, and sea ice conditions, changes in fish stocks and market prices, and broader variations in the landscape and seascape of Pangnirtung.[19]

Like Boulanger-Lapointe et al.'s research on berry picking, this work highlights the breadth of variables impacting the cultural, social, and economic practices in Inuit communities today. Among the strategies of resilience used by individual Inuit fishers, collective organizations, and the whole community to respond to these fluctuating variables, Galappaththi and colleagues identified co-management as a critical method.[20] Gaining favor in Canada over the past three decades, the co-management model has become a common and even preferred framework for decentralizing decision-making power and endowing more authority in the people closest to, and arguably most invested in, the resources and lands being managed.[21] In Inuit Nunangat, co-management creates space for IQ to infuse the planning and implementation of policy.[22] In Pangnirtung, decisions made through co-management, incorporating the collective voice of the community, have led to more satisfactory policies supporting the community's ability to subsist, persist, and thrive in the face of change.[23] While the concerns of Inuit fishers connect to many areas of policy and management, the expansion of the co-management model—guided by Inuit qaujimajatuqangit—charts a path forward through the unprecedented circumstances of climate change.

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[14] Gary N. Wilson and Per Selle, "Indigenous Self-Determination in Northern Canada and Norway," Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montréal, February 5, 2019, 18, https://on-irpp.org/2YRa9Sk.

[15] Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 127.

[16] Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 127.

[17] Eranga K. Galappaththi et al., "Climate Change and Community Fisheries in the Arctic: A Case Study from Pangnirtung, Canada," *Journal of Environmental Management* 250 (2019): 4, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2019.109534.

[18] Galappaththi et al., "Climate Change and Community Fisheries," 3.

[19] Galappaththi et al., "Climate Change and Community Fisheries," 5.

[20] Galappaththi et al., "Climate Change and Community Fisheries," 9.

[21] Nils A.A. Lokken et al., "Inuit Attitudes towards Co-Managing Wildlife in Three Communities in the Kivalliq Region of Nunavut, Canada," *Arctic* 72, no. 1 (2019): 59.

[22] Emily Villanueva, "Inuit Co-Management Strategies in the Arctic," *Earth Common Journal* 7, no. 1 (2017): 99.

[23] Galappaththi et al., "Climate Change and Community Fisheries," 9.

CASE: SEA ICE MONITORING AROUND INUIT NUNANGAT

The focus of this year's University of Washington Arctic Task Force, and centerstage in Arctic affairs, is the state of sea ice in the North. Kaiser and colleagues discuss the outcomes of a joint sea ice monitoring project between Ocean Networks Canada, communities in Inuit Nunangat, Nunavut Arctic College, the University of Victoria, and the federal agencies of the Canadian Ice Service and Fisheries and Oceans Canada.[24] The project tracks changes in sea ice (growth, decay, thickness, timings of freeze up and thaw out) as observed by Inuit communities, and seeks to identify how these changes impact the subsistence, transportation, recreation, and other activities of those communities.[25] An important reciprocal aspect of the project is the creation of sea ice products by the Canadian Ice Service, tailored for community use.[26] As it is described by Kaiser and colleagues, this sea ice monitoring project represents a collaborative and sustained system of data collection and knowledge generation—informed by community interests and goals—and capable of ultimately informing effective, evidence-based policy.

Changes in sea ice touch all aspects of Arctic life: wildlife migration and presence, hunting and fishing activities, mobility, livelihoods, and the ability of Inuit communities to engage in other practices vital to social and cultural well-being.[27] The major challenge to which this project alludes is how to ensure the gathered evidence is recognized and understood by all the different policy and decision makers throughout the human-centered and environmental bureaucracies in local, regional, and national government. As with the work of Boulanger-Lapointe et al., Kaiser and colleagues are effectively highlighting the interconnectivity of life, culture, nature, and environment in the Arctic, and calling on individuals and agencies with decision-making power to pay attention. Through stronger integration of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit into the operations of the structures of management, the daunting task of connecting diverse and siloed decision makers with the collaborative and reciprocal knowledge generation in the sea ice monitoring project becomes a feasible step on the way to stronger policy and more effective management.[28]

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Evidence-based policy is strong policy.[29] As Inuit representative organizations and governments drive the ethical conduct of research forward, and Indigenous systems of knowledge, including Inuit qaujimajatuqangit, gain recognition as equally valid to Western systems of thought, the breadth and quality of evidence available to Arctic policymakers expands exponentially.[30] While Inuit governments have inherited legacy bureaucracy from the Canadian federal government, the integration of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit into decision making asserts Inuit control over those colonial bureaucratic structures.[31] With Inuit qaujimajatuqangit as the unifying guide, the daunting structural barriers to creating effective policy dissipate and a holistic systems view becomes apparent.

People working in and across management agencies might find the recommendation to diminish bureaucracy unrealistic, given the slow-moving, ingrained nature of government. While reorganization is an option, unsettling historic flows of power and decision making does not necessarily require drastic structural change of government.[32]

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[24] Brooks A. Kaiser et al., "The Importance of Connected Ocean Monitoring Knowledge Systems and Communities," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 6, no. 309 (2019): 2.

[25] Kaiser et al., "Importance of Connected Ocean Monitoring," 8–9.

[26] Kaiser et al., "Importance of Connected Ocean Monitoring," 9.

[27] Inuit Circumpolar Council, The Sea Ice Never Stops: *Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat* (Ottawa: ICC, 2014).

[28] Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 128.

[29] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, 11.

[30] Meghan Elizabeth Buckham, "Barriers and Facilitators to Indigenous Knowledge Incorporation in Policy Making: The Nunatsiavut Case" (master's thesis, Trent University, 2014), 11.

[31] Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 129.

[32] Tester and Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," 52.

Just as Inuit governments can assert control over colonial structures by weaving traditional knowledge and values into government practice, so too can researchers, agencies, and organizations outside Inuit Nunangat contribute to the formation of holistic and effective policy by actively disrupting historic modes of thought and practice. And here, I suggest the University of Washington's Arctic Task Force as a case unto itself in how diverse areas of focus and bodies of expertise might be brought together and synthesized to form a holistic picture of concerns, challenges, opportunities, and directions relating to sea ice today. Through collaboration in the true sense of the word, Inuit and non-Inuit organizations, governments, programs, and individuals can—through intentional focus on Inuit qaujimajatuqangit and Inuit sovereignty—build the body of evidence critical to policy that moves us forward together.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Nadine Fabbi and Dr. Michelle Koutnik for their support and guidance throughout the process of the Arctic Task Force, as well as all the professionals, specialists, and knowledge bearers who shared their time and experience with the Task Force during our time in Ottawa this January, 2020. Qujannamiik!

Biography

Elizabeth Wessells is an Archaeology PhD student in the Department of Anthropology. She is a two-time recipient of the Canada Studies Center's Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship in Inuktitut, studying with Alexina Kublu and Mick Mallon. Her research interests center on Indigenous systems of knowledge, traditional and contemporary landscape management, and decolonizing methodologies in archaeology and museums.

APPENDIX A: OTTAWA PROGRAM

Research Study Tour to Ottawa, Canada – January 25–February 1, 2020
JSIS 495H Arctic Sea Ice and International Policy
The Donald C. Hellmann Task Force Program, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies,
University of Washington, Seattle
Faculty: Drs. Nadine Fabbi, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and
Michelle Koutnik, Department of Earth and Space Sciences
Graduate Assistants: Ellen Ahlness, Department of Political Science and
Elizabeth Wessells, Department of Anthropology

The Arctic Ocean: A photograph of the Arctic Ocean taken at 87 degrees north latitude. Photo: Diane Tuft.

Saturday, 25 January 2020

8:10	Depart Seattle
6:11	Arrive in Ottawa! Ashbury House Bed and Breakfast, 303 First Avenue

Sunday, 26 January 2020

8:00-9:00	Breakfast discussion with Dr. Joanne Muzak, Professional Editor and Writing Consultant, "Taking Notes on the Go" Student Host: Elizabeth Wessells, University of Washington
10:30-Noon	Indigenous Walks tour of Ottawa led by Jennifer Brunet-Rentechum, Tour Guide, Âjagemô Art Space, 150 Elgin Street Student Host: Bonnie Greer, University of Washington
Noon-1:30	Lunch discussion with Dr. Muzak, Byward Market
1:30	Free time, Canadian Museum of History or National Gallery of Canada
4:00-5:30	"Policy Writing Workshop," Dr. Muzak, Ashbury House

5:30-6:00 "Making Environmental Policy: Working with Stakeholders," Eric Finke, US Environmental Protection Agency (retired)

Monday, 27 January 2020

7:30 Breakfast

9:30-12:30 Global Affairs Canada, Robert Kadas, Deputy Director and Senior Advisor to the Arctic Council; Emma Jia, Policy Officer; and Eugenie Panitcherska, Coordinator for Organization of American States, 111 Sussex Drive, Room S7-214
Student Host: Ellen Ahlness, University of Washington

12:30-2:30 Lunch discussion with Dr. Muzak

2:30-4:30 Nunavut Sivuniksavut, Morley Hanson, Coordinator, 450 Rideau Street, Suite 201
Student Host: Nadene Paltep, University of Washington

Tuesday, 28 January 2020

8:00 Breakfast

10:00-11:30 Frances Abele, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University, Richcraft Hall, 5th Floor, 9376 University Drive
Student Host: Caitlin Clarke, University of Washington

1:30-4:00 Canadian Ice Service and Environment and Climate Change Canada, Dr. Paul Yang, Associate Director of Prediction Services Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division; Scott Weese, Dean Flett, Suzanne D'Amours, Katherine Wilson, Tom Zagon, 719 Heron Road
Student Host: Claire Cowan, University of Washington

Wednesday, 29 January 2020

7:30 Breakfast

9:30-10:30 Inuit Circumpolar Council, Stephanie Meakin, Senior Science Advisor, 75 Albert Street, Suite 1001
Student Host: Kimiko Boswell, University of Washington

11:00-1:00 Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Kevin Kablutsiak, Director of Communications, 75 Albert Street, Suite 1101
Student Host: Kendrick Lu, University of Washington

2:30-4:00 Whit Fraser, author, *True North Rising*, Ashbury House
Student Host: Johnna Bollesen, University of Washington

5:00 Dinner with Barry Pottle, Inuk photographer, Ashbury House
Student Host: Bonnie Greer, University of Washington

Thursday, 30 January 2020

7:30 Breakfast

9:30-11:30 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, Barry Pottle, Senior Aboriginal Awareness Officer, Learning and Well Being Directorate, Human Resources Work Services Branch; and Christopher Penney, Manager, Relationships, Inuit-Crown Partnership Directorate, Reconciliation Secretariat, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, 10 rue Wellington, Gatineau, Québec
Student Host: Kimiko Boswell, University of Washington

1:30-4:00 University of Ottawa Symposium, "A Melting Arctic: Implications of Sea-Ice Loss on Governing the Arctic," University of Ottawa, Taberet Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 319
Student Host: Winnie Chen, University of Washington

1:30-2:30 Military Operations and Arctic Sea Ice Loss
Moderator: Mark Salter, University of Ottawa
Lieutenant Commander Sylvain Bernier, Royal Canadian Navy
Major Conrad Schubert, Vice Commander, Joint Task Force North

2:45-4:00 Arctic Reporting, Shipping and Governance
Moderator: Nadine Fabbi, University of Washington
Eilis Quinn, Reporter, Eyes on the Arctic
Alison Cook, Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Ottawa
Mathieu Landriault, Research Associate, Center for International Policy Studies; Research Fellow, Centre for the Study of Canada, Trent University

Sponsors: Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa; International Policy Institute, Canadian Studies Center and the Center for Global Studies, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; Institute for Science, Society and Policy, University of Ottawa; North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network; and Observatoire de la politique et la sécurité de l'Arctique, École nationale d'administration publique.

Friday, 31 January 2020

6:30 Breakfast

8:45 Embassy of Finland, Jyrki Nissila, Minister-Counsellor, Deputy Head of Mission, 55 Metcalfe Street, Suite 850
Student Host: Mackenzie Vezina, Carleton University

11:00 Embassy of Iceland, Ambassador Pétur Ásgeirsson, 360 Albert Street, Suite 710
Student Host: Elizabeth Wessells, University of Washington

1:30-3:00 Embassy of the United States, Lonzell 'Bud' Locklear, Special Adviser in Energy and Environment Section, 490 Sussex Drive
Student Host: Johnna Bollesen, University of Washington

3:30-4:30 Delegation of the European Union to Canada, Thomas Gilbert, Communication Officer, 150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1900
Student Host: Gabrielle Coeuille, University of Washington

7:00 Celebration Dinner/Reception, Ashbury House

Saturday, 1 February 2020

9:00 Breakfast
Noon Leave for airport
2:00 Flight departs Ottawa
7:38 Flight arrives at SeaTac airport Seattle!

The Research Study Tour to Ottawa is part of the Don C. Hellmann Task Force Program, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle—the capstone experience in the undergraduate International Studies Program, and the Jackson School's International Policy Institute.

Funding was made possible by a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York; and by the Canadian Studies Center and Center for Global Studies with Title VI grant funding administered by the International and Foreign Language Education office in the Office of Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education.

APPENDIX B: OTTAWA HOST OFFICES AND DELEGATES

The Task Force wishes to thank the following offices and individuals for their time and their insights shared with the Task Force student delegation to Ottawa.

FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS

Canadian Ice Service, Meteorological Service of Canada, Environment and Climate Change Canada

Paul Yang, Associate Director, Prediction Service Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division, Meteorological Service of Canada

Scott Weese, Manager, Prediction Service Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division, Meteorological Service of Canada

Dean Flett, Senior Manager, Applied Science and Development Section, Prediction Service Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division, Meteorological Service of Canada

Eric Vaillant, Training and Standards Manager, Ice Field Service, Prediction Service Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division, Meteorological Service of Canada

Tom Zagon, Acting Manager, Applied Science and Development – Ice, Prediction Service Operations, Atlantic and Ice Division, Meteorological Service of Canada

Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada

Barry Pottle, Senior Aboriginal Awareness Officer, Learning and Well Being Directorate, Human Resources Work Services Branch

Christopher Penney, Manager, Relationships, Inuit-Crown Partnership Directorate, Reconciliation Secretariat, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada

Jyoti Bhargava, Senior Analyst, Intergovernmental and International Relations Directorate, Indigenous and External Relations Branch

Mackenzie Vezina, Junior Policy Analyst, Intergovernmental and International Relations Directorate, International and External Relations Branch, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada

Marko DeGuzman, Student Policy Analyst, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

Global Affairs Canada

Jeannette Menzies, Senior Advisor, Nordic and Polar Relations, Global Affairs Canada

Ana Maria Araujo, Senior Policy Analyst, Nordic and Polar Relations, Global Affairs Canada

Christina Nguyen, Senior Policy Analyst, Defence and Security Relations

Simon Cridland, Deputy Director, Oceans and Environmental Law, Global Affairs Canada

INUIT ORGANIZATIONS

Inuit Circumpolar Council (international Inuit organization)

Stephanie Meakin, Senior Science Advisor

Carole Simon, Executive Assistant

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (national Inuit organization)

Kevin Kablutsiak, Director, Communications

James Kuptana, Manager, Environment and Wildlife

Nunavut Sivuniksavut (Inuit post-secondary school)
Murray Angus, Co-Founder, Instructor
Shelton Nipisar, Arviat, Nunavut, 2nd-year student
Lilly Parr, Cape Dorset, Nunavut, 2nd-year student
Mary Sarah Nikki-Pisco, Iqaluit, Nunavut, 2nd-year student

UNIVERSITIES

Carleton University, Public Policy and Administration
Frances Abele, Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy and Administration, Academic Director of the Carleton Centre for Community Innovation, Fellow of the Centre for Governance and Public Management, and Research Fellow at the Institute for Research on Public Policy, Carleton University
Robert Hammitt, PhD student, Public Policy and Administration

University of Ottawa Televised Symposium
A Melting Arctic: Implications of Sea Ice Loss on Governing the Arctic
Panel #1: Military Operations and Arctic Sea Ice Loss
Moderator: Mark Salter, Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa
Lieutenant Commander Sylvain Bernier, Royal Canadian Navy
Major Conrad Schubert, Vice Commander, Joint Task Force North, Canadian Forces

Panel #2: Arctic Reporting, Shipping and Governance
Moderator: Nadine Fabbi, Canadian Studies Center/International Policy Institute, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington
Eilis Quinn, Reporter, *Eye on the Arctic*
Alison Cook, Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Ottawa
Mathieu Landriault, Research Associate, Center for International Policy Studies; Research Fellow, Centre for the Study of Canada, Trent University

Sponsored by the Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa; International Policy Institute, Canadian Studies Center and the Center for Global Studies, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; Institute for Science, Society and Policy, University of Ottawa; North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network; and Observatoire de la politique et la sécurité de l'Arctique, École nationale d'administration publique.

EMBASSIES

Delegation of the European Union to Canada
Eva Palatova, Head of Political and Public Affairs Section, Counsellor (Czech Republic)
Thomas Gilbert, Political and Public Affairs Section (France)
Asa Corneliusson, Intern (Sweden)

Embassy of Finland
Jyrki Nissilä, Minister-Counsellor, Deputy Head of Mission

Embassy of Iceland
Pétur Ásgeirsson, Ambassador
Ólöf Dögg Sigvaldadóttir, Attaché

Embassy of the United States of America
Lonzell 'Bud' Locklear, Special Adviser for Energy and Environment
Robert Tibbetts, Environment, Science and Technology, and Health Officer, and Arctic Officer
Joseph Crook, Embassy Spokesperson (Jackson School alumnus)
Susan Bridenstine, Cultural Affairs Officer
Stephen Sztuk, Analyst, Legal Attaché Office

INDIVIDUALS

Eric Finke, US Environmental Protection Agency (retired), Bellingham, Washington
Whit Fraser, author, *True North Rising*, Ottawa
Hunter Mckenzie (Métis/Cree/Mohawk), Indigenous Walks Guide
Joanne Muzak, Professional Editor and Writing Consultant, Montréal
Barry Pottle, Inuk photographer, Ottawa

APPENDIX C: OTTAWA REPORT

The following provides a short summary of each visit in Ottawa.

FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS

Canadian Ice Service (CIS), Meteorological Service of Canada, Environment and Climate Change Canada

"We were given the incredible opportunity to visit the Canadian Ice Service office, an organization that specializes in ice information regarding Canada's navigable waters. At this meeting, we had different presentations engaging us in the partnerships, work, and scientific research of the organization. Associate Director Paul Yang and the CIS team provided us valuable insight into how abnormalities are detected and reported, ensuring the safety of Canadian travelers, their property, and the environment. This visit showed how Canadian Ice Service provides an important resource in data about sea ice and how that affects sea travel through the Arctic region."

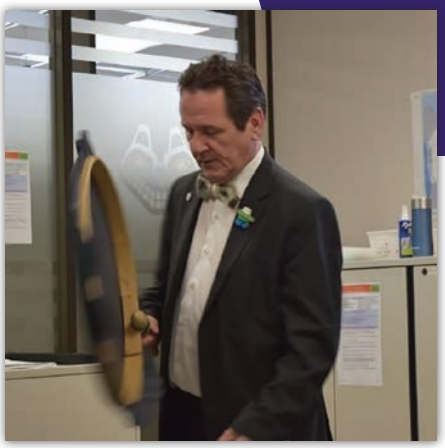
– Claire Cowan

Global Affairs Canada

"We spent a morning at Global Affairs Canada, hearing from senior policy analysts and advisors from Nordic and Polar Relations, Defence and Security Relations, and Oceans and Environmental Law. In these conversations, the Task Force learned about Canada's fundamental role in the creation of the Arctic Council, and its ongoing interests and activity in the intergovernmental forum. The insights and experiences the analysts shared during this meeting furthered the Task Force members' understanding of the interactions between the Canadian government's interests and commitments and those of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and the broader Arctic community."

– Ellen A. Ahlness

Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada



"We had the great honor of joining Barry Pottle at Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. He began by introducing himself as the Senior Aboriginal Awareness Officer and giving a demonstration of the *qilaut*. He proceeded to give an overview of what Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada does and passed around materials on different Indigenous groups represented in Canada. We also had the opportunity to learn from both Christopher Penney and Jyoti Bhargava, who shared their involvement with the organization."

– Kimiko Boswell

INUIT ORGANIZATIONS

Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

"At ICC, Canada we had the opportunity to talk with Senior Science Advisor Stephanie Meakin, who guided us through a comprehensive talk on subjects ranging from housing to collaboration with the ICC. She spoke about the importance of representing all four Inuit groups, Inuit sovereignty, and the pragmatic approach of Inuit to access in the Arctic. She enlightened us on how Inuit are open to collaboration and access of the Arctic by non-Arctic entities, and their awareness of how their policies and actions may affect other people."
– *Kimiko Boswell*

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)

"We were welcomed by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) to visit their offices in Ottawa, which was a wonderful opportunity to see the work of the national organization that is working to advance Inuit rights, health, and well-being across Canada. We spoke with Kevin Kablutsiak (*center*), Director of Communications of the ITK, who gave us an overview of key events in the Inuit political movement during what is known as Canada's darkest chapter. Kevin also shared with us the current priorities of the ITK; as we had already read the ITK's *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: Inuit Nunangat*, we were able to ask Kevin many questions about ITK's current positions on important issues. We also met with James Kuptana, Manager, Environment and Wildlife (*left*). Overall, the visit provided helpful insights into the way Inuit work with the Canadian government to advance Inuit well-being."
– *Kendrick Lu*

Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS)

"We had an amazing opportunity to visit Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS), a school that is dedicated in continuing secondary education for Inuit students from Nunavut, and to talk with Inuit students studying there. At the school, we had the chance to watch performances that included throat singing and traditional dances. In our discussions with the students, we were able to learn about why continuing education in college is important to them and what NS means to them. At NS students learn about Inuit history through courses that cater to their interests. The connections that we have made at NS is one that each of us will cherish as we continue to learn more about Inuit culture."
– *Nadene Paltep*

UNIVERSITIES

Carleton University

"Our Task Force was given the wonderful opportunity to meet and speak with Dr. Frances Abele at Carleton University. Dr. Abele is an expert in northern policy and economic development, with her research mostly focusing on the political and economic well-being of the Indigenous Peoples of the Canadian North. Dr. Abele helped us all acquire meaningful insight into the ways that modern treaty organizations utilize their rights through land claims agreements in Canada. This has had a significant impact on our policy writing and greatly contributed to our overall understanding of Inuit rights in Canada."

– Caitlin Clarke

University of Ottawa Televised Symposium—A Melting Arctic: Implications of Sea Ice Loss on Governing the Arctic

"The symposium included two panels discussing sea ice loss from different perspectives, including security, media, and governance. The panels also addressed the role of Canadian government in the Arctic as well as insights as to how Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic and the Canadian federal government can work together on major issues. We thank Mathieu Landriault, Research Associate, Center for International Policy Studies (*left*), for organizing this symposium."

– Hsin Yi (Winnie) Chen

EMBASSIES

Delegation of the European Union to Canada

"Meeting with Eva Palatova and Thomas Gilbert was a true pleasure at the Delegation of the European Union to Canada. We discussed the complexities of the European Union's relationship to the Arctic Council, and the role and interest it has within the Arctic as a whole. This was an important and incredibly interesting perspective on Arctic sea ice policy, and most assuredly enriched our policy discussions."

– Gabrielle Coeuille

Embassy of Finland

"We had the pleasure of visiting the Finnish Embassy, meeting with Jyrki Nissilä (*right*). During our visit, we were able to learn about Finland's role in the Arctic Council, and the policies and visions they proposed during their chairmanship between 2017 and 2019. This meeting gave us an opportunity to talk with a permanent member of the Arctic Council, learn about the work of the permanent members, and understand the importance in implementing the Council's priorities into international policies."

– Mackenzie Vezina

Embassy of Iceland

"At the Embassy, Ambassador Pétur Ásgeirsson welcomed us and engaged in a discussion regarding the initiatives and goals advanced during the Icelandic Chairmanship of the Arctic Council, 2019–2021. As the Icelandic economy relies on fisheries, tourism, and aluminium smelting, our group discussed how safe transit, environmental health, and social well-being are all critical concerns when thinking about the Arctic. He discussed how many of the problems confronting the Arctic begin at much lower latitudes; while we may work on creative and culturally appropriate solutions for the North, perhaps our attention should also focus on our local and regional contexts, and the implications for how southern actions impact the Northern lived experience."

– Elizabeth Wessells

Embassy of the United States of America

"We had the exciting opportunity to speak with representatives of the United States Embassy, including Special Adviser Bud Locklear and Arctic Council representative Robert Tibbitts. In our meeting, we discussed the position of the United States on policy in the Arctic related to infrastructure, waste management, and alternative energy solutions. This meeting gave us a wealth of insight into the priorities and initiatives of the United States when it comes to protecting Indigenous populations and native Arctic wildlife."

– Johnna Bollesen

INDIVIDUALS

Eric Finke, US Environmental Protection Agency (retired)

Eric Finke taught us about the roles stakeholder play when working with the government and different organizations when creating new policies. From this talk, we learned that including more stakeholders into the conversation can lead into collaborative governance because there is greater understanding of the issues and of the different perspectives between all parties.

Whit Fraser, author, *True North Rising*, Ottawa

"We had the unique and exciting opportunity to speak with renowned author and reporter, Whit Fraser, who spoke to us about his experience reporting for CBC in Canada. Whit also read to us a few pages from his book *True North Rising*, detailing his firsthand account of when Nunavut was created. This visit was enlightening and insightful, as it equipped us with a new perspective about past and ongoing challenges facing the North and Indigenous communities."

– Johnna Bollesen

Hunter Mckenzie, Indigenous Walking Tour Guide
"We were able to start our journey in Ottawa with an enriching tour through the city led by Hunter, a Métis and Mohawk woman. This tour gave us an Indigenous perspective on Ottawa and its history before and after Canada's reconciliation agenda. We stopped at various landmarks along the way that illustrated the complexity of a city that resides on Algonquin land. This opportunity benefited our group greatly by laying the foundation of Indigenous experiences living in Ottawa."
– Bonnie Greer

Joanne Muzak, Professional Editor and Writing Consultant
Joanne Muzak provided a writing workshop for us that gave us an insight on how to approach writing policy recommendations. Through the workshop, we learned that our policy recommendations need to be precise, with a problem clearly defined, and that our recommendations need to be actionable and are valuable to policymakers.

Barry Pottle, Inuk photographer, Ottawa
"We had the amazing opportunity to welcome Barry Pottle to the B&B for pizza. We spent our time asking him questions about what it's like to be an urban Inuk artist as well as discussing the importance of art within Inuit culture. Since our group is focusing on Inuit art, this was an enriching experience to hear about Traditional Knowledge from an Inuk artist. Overall, this experience allowed us as a group to not only meet Barry but to understand the importance of Traditional Knowledge within our Task Force."
– Bonnie Greer

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Back Cover Artist Credits (from top to bottom)

- Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016), ***Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning***, 2006, wax pastel and ink on Ragston paper, 50.9 x 66.2 cm. Courtesy of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.
- Barry Pottle (1961-), ***Setting the Table***, 2012, photo. Courtesy of the artist.
- An Embassy of Imagination project by Parr Josephee, Aoudi Qinnayuaq, Lachaolasie Akesuk, Cie Taqiasuk, Moises Frank and Julieta Arias, 2015. Produced and facilitated by PA System. Partners: Mural Routes and Nunavut Arts and Crafts Association. Photo by Tobin Grimshaw.

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