The Inuit Circumpolar Council – Agent of Peacemaking for Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland

By

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) as a peacemaking tool in conflicts around climate change for Inuit in Nunavut/ Canada and Greenland. Climate change, a form of colonialism, exposes Inuit to conditions of structural violence. Processes of decolonization are needed for conflict transformation (CT). The question of whether the ICC is an agent of peacemaking was approached from two perspectives: the ICC/ international perspectives and the community/ local perspectives. This qualitative research is aligned with an Inuit research paradigm that is based on Inuit knowledge. It involved observation, content analysis, and quantitative surveys. The main research method was conversation (with ICC representatives from Greenland and Canada and with local Inuit from Maniitsoq/ Greenland and Panniqtuuq/ Nunavut). Decolonization as both processes of assimilation into the dominant structure and processes of resistance against the dominant structure is reflected in the Hybrid Peace model that incorporates local/ Indigenous conflict resolution approaches with imported/ Western peacemaking tools. This study's first key finding is that the ICC is an agent of Hybrid Peacemaking for Inuit in conflicts related to climate change because it combines pre-contact Inuit forms of conflict resolution rooted in Inuit knowledge (e.g. working collaboratively toward a common goal, pragmatism, conflict avoidance, and public conflict resolution) with typical Western conflict resolution mechanisms (e.g. establishing a non-governmental organization, dealing with political decision-makers, and actively co-creating the international political level to enhance the voice of Inuit). The second key finding is that there is a rich array of Everyday Peacemaking processes in both communities, wherein local Inuit have realized innovative and creative ways of coping with their daily challenges by sharing time with each other, developing and maintaining relationships, active listening, entertaining, and healing by being in nature. The third key finding reveals that the theory of a two-

way knowledge exchange between the ICC and local Inuit needs to be more extensively further put into practice: local perceptions of the ICC illustrated the NGO's importance but also a lack of knowledge about its work among local Inuit. To deal with this issue, the intermediaries between the communities on the local level and the ICC on the international level need to be studied further.

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Dedication

To the Inuit from whom I have learnt so much

Abbreviations

3PF	Three pillar framework
AAC	Arctic Athabaskan Council
AACA	Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic
AC	Arctic Council
ACAP	Arctic Contaminants Action Program
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AHDR	Arctic Human Development Report
AIA	Aleut International Association
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program
BC	Before Christ
CACAP	Canadian Arctic Contaminants Assessment Report
CAFF	Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna
CAIPAP	Canadian Arctic Indigenous Peoples Against POPs
CBD	Convention on Biodiversity
CFC	Chloro-fluoro-carbons
CIEL	Center for International Environmental Law
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CIWC	Circumpolar Inuit Wildlife Committee
CO2	Carbon Dioxide
COP-1	First Conference of the Parties
COP-11	11th session of the Conference of the Parties
COP-15	15th session of the Conference of the Parties
COP-19	19th session of the Conference of the Parties
COPE	Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement
CR	Conflict resolution
CT	Conflict transformation
DDT	Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane
DEW	Distant Early Warning (line)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMRIP	Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
EPPR	Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response
FAO	UN Food and Agriculture Organization
FIELD	Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development
GA	General Assembly
GCI	Gwich'in Council International
GHG	Greenhouse gas
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HFO	heavy fuel oil
IA	Inuit Ataqatigiit
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IQ	Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Council
ICCEC	ICC Environmental Commission
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICNI	Inuit Committee on National Issues
IIPFCC	International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INC	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee
IPEN	International Pollutants Elimination Network
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPO	Indigenous Peoples' Organization
IRCS	Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
ITK	Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IWC	International Whaling Commission
MA	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
MSV	Many Strong Voices
NCP	Northern Contaminants Program
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NORAD	North American Air Defense Command
OAS	Organization of American States
ODS	ozone-depleting substances
PACS	Peace and Conflict Studies
PAME	Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment
PCB	Polychlorinated Biphenyl
PECAP	Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy
POP	Persistent Organic Pollutant
RAIPON	Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SDWG	Sustainable Development Working Group
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SLCF	Short-Lived Climate Forcers
UN	United Nations
UNECE CLRTAP	UN Economic Commission for Europe Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution
UN-REDD	UN Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
UNCED	UN Conference on Environment and Development
UNCLOS	UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNDP-GEF	UNDP Global Environmental Finance
UNECE	UN Economic Commission for Europe
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNEP	UN Environment Programme

UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNDRIP	UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNNPFII	UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
US (A)	United States (of America)
UV	Ultraviolet
WANGO	World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WCS	World Conservation Strategy
WGIP	Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UN)
WHO	World Health Organization
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Chapter 1
Introduction

> Living in an innovative world takes courage and … innovation. As Inuit, we are determined to gather our strength and our wisdom in order to withstand the pressure from whatever source, be it environmentalists, animal protectionists or decisionmakers in Brussels, Ottawa, Washington, Moscow or Copenhagen. We take environmental protection seriously. We are Inuit. We are the new people in the "people's land."[1]

With this statement, Aqqaluk Lynge concluded his 1993 book on the history of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC).[2] In 2019, the ICC looks back over forty years of continuous advocacy and activism on behalf of the Inuit. Recognizing the ever-changing and developing character of the political landscape, if Lynge had made his statement today, he would probably also reference the ICC's lobbying work at the United Nations (UN) in New York and at the Arctic Council (AC). Inuit protest against colonial infringements and advocacy for self-determination started on the grassroots level in the 1970s and, over the years, has spiralled into the international arena. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) concluded at the end of the twentieth century that "the ICC is known in virtually every household across the circumpolar north."[3] However, the author's conversations with local Inuit in Greenland in 2010 and in Nunavut in 2011 revealed that knowledge about the ICC was rudimentary or did not exist—which sparked an interest to develop a better understanding of the non-governmental organization's (NGO's) work but also to inquire with local Inuit and find answers that could explain this apparent perception gap.

Since the ICC is understood as an agent of decolonization for Inuit, and, given that decolonization is an all-encompassing process aimed at empowerment of and self-determination for all members of a given group, it became clear that this study would have to include both Inuit

[1] Aqqaluk Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference* (Nuuk, 1993), 116.
[2] Until 2006, the ICC was called Inuit Circumpolar Conference.
[3] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1996), 229.

groups—the ICC representatives and the local Inuit. However, for the project to be manageable, it needed to be limited in scope. The conflict around climate change was chosen as it constitutes an ongoing and serious issue for Inuit. Existing connections with Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut led to a research focus on these two regions, wherein the researcher visited Maniitsoq (Greenland) and Panniqtuuq (Nunavut). Based on the understanding of decolonization as a peacemaking tool, the following overarching research question guided this study: Is the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) an agent of peacemaking in climate change conflicts for Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut?

1.1 Research Objectives

A set of research objectives helps answer the research question. The first objective is to describe the local / community perspectives on the ICC's climate change input and to learn about local ways of dealing with climate change. With this objective in mind the question is: What are local Inuit's (suggested) ways of dealing with climate change? This objective also tests the RCAP's claim that "the ICC is known in virtually every household across the circumpolar north"; in this regard the question is: What do community members know about the ICC and its climate change work? The second objective is to examine the ICC's work to address climate change. The overall question is: What does the ICC do to reduce the impacts of climate change on Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut? The third objective compares the two groups' perspectives by asking: What are the overlaps and differences between local Inuit's and the ICC's (suggested) ways of dealing with climate change?

1.2 Research Paradigm: Indigenous Research

A research paradigm (or theoretical framework, lens, perspective) guides the actions of the researcher,[4] who, in turn, represents the research paradigm. The paradigm contains the broad principles that create a research framework and it determines the issues that are important to study, the collaborators needed for the study, and how results are written up and disseminated. Because paradigms deal with assumptions and beliefs about reality, they are value-laden and based in theory.[5]

In the past, research involving Indigenous people was often inadequate and/ or destructive for the Indigenous population.[6] Indigenous research paradigms differ from the major (Western) paradigms because they are based on Indigenous histories, experiences, values, cultures, thoughts, and interpretations of the world.[7] Collectivity, reciprocity, and accountability to one's relations are values in Indigenous cultures that are also reflected in Indigenous research paradigms where they create a sense of belonging and home.[8] To decolonize academia and research, this project was guided by an Inuit research paradigm that is respectful of Inuit knowledge systems. As Inuit learning and knowledge gathering takes place through observation and listening, these aspects

[4] Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony : Indigenous Research Methods* (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 13, 33.
[5] Wilson, 33; Margaret Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," in *Research as Resistance. Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, ed. Leslie Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005), 28.
[6] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nunvut Research Institute, "Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities. A Guide for Researchers" (Ottawa, Iqaluit, 2006), 4, https://www.itk.ca/publication/negotiating-research-relationships-inuit-communities-guide-researchers.
[7] Lester-Irabinna Rigney, "Internationalization of an Indigenous Anticolonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A Guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and Its Principles," *Wicazo Sa Review* 14, no. 2, Emergent Ideas in Native American Studies (October 1, 1999): 113; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 13, 33, 36–38; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 29, 56, 72.
[8] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 30–31.

were reflected in the research methods.[9] This research is based on respect, reciprocity, and mutual trust, and it aims at the creation of alliances and long-term relationships between the researcher and the collaborators. The Inuit research paradigm was applied on the local level (in Inuit communities) and on the international level (in the ICC organization).

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study developed in several stages. Initial research of the available literature allowed for an understanding of the status quo in the academic discourses on climate change, colonialism, decolonization, Indigenous/ Inuit Studies, and peacemaking. Literature on the impact of climate change in general and on the Arctic in specific is abundantly available.[10] However, climate change research focusing on the circumpolar north often largely ignored that the Arctic is home to Indigenous peoples and not just a "barren land" or a resource frontier.[11] Only in the last decade has the human face of the Arctic become increasingly visible in Arctic climate change research. The

[9] Jean L. Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," in *The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 155–81; Jean L. Briggs, "Expecting the Unexpected: Canadian Inuit Training for an Experimental Lifestyle," *Ethos* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 259–87; Jean L. Briggs, "The Origins of Non-Violence: Eskimo Aggression Management," LibraryThing.com, accessed December 4, 2013, http://www.librarything.com/work/14111734.

[10] Gunter Weller, "Impacts of Climate Change," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall (New York: Routledge, 2005); Manfred A. Lange, "Climate Change," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall (New York: Routledge, 2005); Huguette Young, "The Arctic: The New El Dorado. Climate Change, Oil and Geopolitics in the Arctic Circle," *Americas Quarterly*, 2010, http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1684; Aqqaluk Lynge, "Facing the Impact of Global Climate Change: Recommendations from the Arctic," in *Climate Change and Arctic Sustainable Development: Scientific, Social, Cultural and Educational Challenges*, ed. UNESCO (Paris: UNESCO, 2009); Duane Smith, "The Sea Ice Is Our Highway: The Importance of Sea Ice to the Inuit Way of Life," in *Climate Change and Arctic Sustainable Development: Scientific, Social, Cultural and Educational Challenges*, ed. UNESCO (Paris: UNESCO, 2009), 17–25; Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "The Arctic and the Global Environment: Making a Difference on Climate Change," April 1, 2006, http://inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=329&Lang=En; Victoria Tauli-Corpuz and Aqqaluk Lynge, "Impact of Climate Change Mitigation Measures on Indigenous Peoples and on Their Territories and Lands" (Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Seventh session, March 19, 2008), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/E_C19_2008_10.pdf.

[11] Robert M. Bone, *The Canadian North: Issues and Challenges*, Third Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

first Arctic Human Development Report (ADHR), published in 2004, was a major step in this direction.[12] Also contemporary studies of the North—involving Arctic Indigenous communities and their coping strategies in the face of climate change and other challenges caused by colonial infringements on their lives and culture—helped pave the way,[13] as well as (auto) biographical literature sharing the stories of Inuit leaders.[14]

According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, decolonization is "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms. This includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power."[15] Resistance to colonial structures is often adopted from the colonizing culture that involved decolonizing processes in a "complicity with the imperial powers from which they sought to emerge as free

[12] Betsy Annahatak, "Silatuniq: Respectful State of Being in the World," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 38, no. 1/2 (2014): 23–31; Joan Nymand Larsen and Gail Fondhal, *Arctic Human Development Report: Regional Processes and Global Linkages* (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2015), http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:norden:org:diva-3809.

[13] Peter Collings, *Becoming Inummarik: Men's Lives in an Inuit Community* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Peter Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal Cultural Politics in Denendeh and Nunavut* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005); David C. Natcher, Lawrence Felt, and Andrea Procter, eds., *Settlement, Subsistence, and Change Among the Labrador Inuit. The Nunatsiavummiut Experience* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/settlement-subsistence-and-change-among-the-labrador-inuit; Gerald M. Sider, *Skin for Skin: Death and Life for Inuit and Innu* (Duke University Press Books, 2014); Emilie Cameron, *Far Off Metal River. Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of Contemporary Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015); Lisa Stevenson, *Life Beside Itself: Imagining Care in the Canadian Arctic* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2014); John S. Matthiasson, *Living on the Land* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1992), https://utorontopress.com/ca/living-on-the-land-1; Alena Rosen, "Inuit Art, Knowledge and 'Staying Power:' Perspectives from Pangnirtung" (Master's thesis, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2013), http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/1993/22097/1/rosen_alena.pdf.

[14] Mini Aodla Freeman, *Life Among the Qallunaat* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Univ of Manitoba, 2015); William Iggiagruk Hensley, *Fifty Miles from Tomorrow: A Memoir of Alaska and the Real People* (New York: Sarah Crichton Books, 2009); Sheila Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold: One Woman's Story of Protecting Her Culture, the Arctic and the Whole Planet* (Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Allen Lane, 2015); John Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada: The Life Story of John Amagoalik*, ed. Louis McComber, vol. 2, Life Stories of Northern Leaders (Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007); William Lyall, *Helping Ourselves by Helping Each Other: The Life Story of William Lyall*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College, 2016); Louis Tapardjuk, *Fighting for Our Rights: The Life of Louis Tapardjuk*, ed. Jaypeetee Arnakak, Louis McComber, and Frédéric Laugrand, Inuit Leadership and Governance, volume 3 (Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Research Institute, 2013); Frances Abele, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Seidle, *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Powers and Prospects in Canada's North* (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009); Peter Kulchyski, "Inuit Country," *Canadian Dimension* 46, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 26–29; Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum*; Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

[15] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 2nd ed., Routledge Key Guides (London: Routledge, 2010), 56.

agents."[16] The forms employed to advance processes of decolonization can "reflect an energetic engagement with dominant practices." Furthermore, decolonization includes reviving and revaluing local languages and culture.[17] Igniting on a global scale at the end of the Second World War, decolonization discourse[18] is producing a growing body of literature authored by Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals who shape its contemporary discourse and theory.[19] Decolonization has spread across various aspects of life, including academia, where it has led to the creation of Indigenous Studies and has started to impact other fields (including literary

[16] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 56.
[17] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 57–58.
[18] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1st ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991); J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, 1st ed. (London: The Guilford Press, 1993); Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1REV ed. (New York: Grove Press, 1963); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Grove Press, 1952); Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: Currey, 1986); Peter Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," in *Dene Nation: The Colony Within* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 103–19; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 25th ed. (New York: Vintage, 1979); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*, 30th Anniversary Edition (New York: Continuum, 2009).
[19] Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Jeff Corntassel, "Who Is Indigenous? 'Peoplehood'and Ethnonationalist Approaches to Rearticulating Indigenous Identity," *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics*, 2003, 100; Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (University of Toronto Press, Higher Education Division, 2005); Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins; an Indian Manifesto.* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America*, Nineth edition (Anchor Canada, 2013); Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (University of Manitoba Press, 2010); Natan Obed, "The Path to Self-Determination," in *Surviving Canada. Indigenous Peoples Celebrate 150 Years of Betrayal*, ed. Kiera L. Ladner and Myra L. Tait (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2017), 63–76; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, 3rd ed. edition (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2017); Jack D. Forbes and Derrick Jensen, *Columbus and Other Cannibals: The Wetiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism, and Terrorism*, 1 edition (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008); E. Laroque, *Defeathering the Indian* (Agincourt: Book Society of Canada, 1975); Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, 2nd edition (Vancouver, B.C. : Seattle, WA: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999); Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*, 2nd ed. (Fifth House, 1989); Jeff Corntassel, "Toward Sustainable Self-Determination: Rethinking the Contemporary Indigenous-Rights Discourse," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 33, no. 1 (2008): 105–132; Jeff J. Corntassel and Tomas Hopkins Primeau, "Indigenous 'Sovereignty' and International Law: Revised Strategies for Pursuing 'Self-Determination,'" *Human Rights Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (May 1, 1995): 343–65; Peter Kulchyski, "Trail to Tears: Concerning Modern Treaties in Northern Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 35, no. 1 (2015): 69–81; Peter Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights Are Not Human Rights Essays on Law, Politics and Culture.* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2013); Kiera Ladner, "Understanding the Impact of Self-Determination on Communities in Crisis," *Journal of Aboriginal Health* 5, no. 2 (2009): 88–101; Kiera L. Ladner, "Visions of Neo-Colonialism? Renewing the Relationship with Aboriginal Peoples," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 21, no. 1 (2001): 105–35.

studies).[20] This process challenges Western epistemologies while developing and suggesting Inuit[21] and Indigenous research paradigms where appropriate. The act of decolonizing academia includes a serious and respectful consideration of Indigenous methodologies and methods used to collect information but also a reconsideration of the content that is being researched.[22] In recent years, the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) has become more interested in critical and emancipatory peacebuilding and the inclusion of local and Indigenous approaches as well. The

[20] Keavy Martin, *Stories in a New Skin: Approaches to Inuit Literature*, 1st ed. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012); Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, *Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/inuit-stories-of-being-and-rebirth; Renate Eigenbrod, *Travelling Knowledges: Positioning the Im/Migrant Reader of Aboriginal Literatures in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005).

[21] Janet Tamalik McGrath, *The Qaggiq Model: Toward a Theory of Inuktut Knowledge Renewal* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2019), https://www.amazon.ca/Qaggiq-Model-Inuktut-Knowledge-Renewal/dp/1897568584/ref=sr_1_fkmrnull_1?keywords=qaggiq+model&qid=1552054323&s=gateway&sr=8-1-fkmrnull.

[22] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies"; Margaret Kovach, "'Conversation Method in Indigenous Research,'" *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 5, no. 1 (2010): 40–48; Rauna Kuokkanen, "Towards an 'Indigenous Paradigm' from a Sami Perspective," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 20, no. 2 (2000): 411–36; Lesley Brown and Susan Strega, eds., *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, & Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2005); Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2012); Jiménez Vivian M. Estrada, "The Tree of Life as a Research Methodology," *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 34 (2005): 44–52; Charlotte Loppie, "Learning from the Grandmothers: Incorporating Indigenous Principles into Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Health Research* 17, no. 2 (2007): 276–84, https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732306297905; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2012); Evelyn Steinhauer, "Thoughts on an Indigenous Research Methodology," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 26, no. 2 (2002): 69–81,201; Shawn Wilson, "What Is an Indigenous Research Methodology?.," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 25, no. 2 (2001): 175–79; Kathleen E Absolon, *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know* (Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2011); Brown and Strega, *Research as Resistance*; Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Sage Publications, 2008); Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, eds., *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, 1 edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016).

models of Everyday Peace[23] and Hybrid Peace[24] are two results of this ongoing discourse. Both models oppose colonial silencing and marginalization of Indigenous practices by acknowledging and taking an interest in local Indigenous approaches to conflict. Reflecting the local turn in PACS, the Everyday Peace model focuses on the everyday social practices of individuals and collectives as they maneuver their lives shaped by direct and structural violence.[25] The Hybrid Peace model acknowledges that peace processes become hybridized when it comes to their practical implementation on the local level. The model combines old and new approaches together into a new pattern by including grassroots and bottom-up approaches.[26] Peacemaking cannot be applied as a one-size fits all template because conflicts are usually complex and have multiple actors, issues, and take place on multiple levels. In acknowledgement of this fact, Mac Ginty argues that

[23] Roger Mac Ginty, "Indicators +: A Proposal for Everyday Peace Indicators," *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Special Section: Rethinking Evaluation of Health Equity Initiatives, 36, no. 1 (February 2013): 56–63, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2012.07.001; Roger Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace: Bottom-up and Local Agency in Conflict-Affected Societies," *Security Dialogue* 45, no. 6 (December 1, 2014): 548–64, https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010614550899; Helen Berents, "An Embodied Everyday Peace in the Midst of Violence," *Peacebuilding* 3, no. 2 (May 4, 2015): 1–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2015.1052632; Helen Berents and Siobhan Mcevoy-Levy, "Theorising Youth and Everyday Peace(building)," *Peacebuilding* 3, no. 2 (2015): 115–125, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2015.1052627; John D. Brewer et al., "Everyday Life Peacebuilding," in *The Sociology of Everyday Life Peacebuilding*, ed. John D. Brewer et al., Palgrave Studies in Compromise after Conflict (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 199–254, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78975-0_6; Roger Mac Ginty, "Everyday Social Practices and Boundary-Making in Deeply Divided Societies," *Civil Wars* 19, no. 1 (2017): 4–25, https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2017.1343410.

[24] Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver Richmond, "The Fallacy of Constructing Hybrid Political Orders: A Reappraisal of the Hybrid Turn in Peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* 23, no. 2 (March 14, 2016): 219–39, https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2015.1099440; Roger Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Roddy Brett, "Peace Stillborn? Guatemala's Liberal Peace and the Indigenous Movement," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 222–238, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.783255; Roger Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," *Co-operation and Conflict* 43, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 139–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836708089080; Charles Thiessen, "Emancipatory Peacebuilding: Critical Responses to (Neo-) Liberal Trends," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 115–40; Elisa Randazzo, "Paths to Peace: Local Ownership beyond the Liberal Impasse," *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 3 (2014): 1–6, https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.938914; Rick Wallace, *Merging Fires: Grassroots Peacebuilding between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Peoples in Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2013); Lynne Davis, ed., *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-Non-Indigenous Relationships*, 2nd Revised edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2010).

[25] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 549.

[26] Jessica Senehi and Sean Byrne, "Where Do We Go From Here?," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 397; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*.

instead of a liberal (top-down) or local (bottom-up) peace, peace is actually a constantly changing *hybrid* that interacts with local forms of security, civil society, economic organization, and governance. In fact, such local, hybrid, plural, and tolerant forms of peacemaking can be found in many societies.[27]

Indigenous world views that serve as the foundation for such everyday local and Indigenous practices are recognized as valuable for conflict transformation (CT). An increasing and rich body of case studies dealing with Indigenous peacemaking is developing new avenues for the PACS research.[28] This local turn has been largely influenced by a growing understanding of the role of culture in conflict resolution,[29] and it defines the field's own decolonization journey.

[27] Ibid., 10–11, 17. Both concepts (liberal and Indigenous peace) are complex and should not be understood as simplified categories. Traditional societies are almost never absolutely sealed off from the interdependent processes of globalization but are quite diverse (Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 151).

[28] Maureen P. Flaherty and Hamdesa Tuso, eds., *Creating the Third Force: Indigenous Processes of Peacemaking (Peace and Conflict Studies)* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), https://www.amazon.ca/Creating-Third-Force-Indigenous-Peacemaking-ebook/dp/B01N3W2D5A/ref=sr_1_5?ie=UTF8&qid=1520354446&sr=8-5&keywords=maureen+flaherty; Grace Kyoon-Achan, "Original Ways : An Exploration of Tiv and Inuit Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking" (Winnipeg, Manitoba, University of Manitoba, 2014); George E. Irani and Nathan C. Funk, "Rituals of Reconciliation: Arab-Islamic Perspectives" (Kroc Institute, 2000), https://www.academia.edu/352902/_Rituals_of_Reconciliation_Arab-Islamic_Perspectives_; Sharon Lang, "Sulha Peacemaking and the Politics of Persuasion," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 3 (April 1, 2002): 52–66, https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2002.31.3.52; Cathie J Witty, *Mediation and Society: Conflict Management in Lebanon* (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Daniel Karell, "Local Peace and Contemporary Conflict: Constructing Commonality and Exclusion during War in Afghanistan," *Social Science Research* 61 (2017): 75–97, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2016.07.002; Stephanie Phetsamay Stobbe, *Traditional Conflict Resolution Processes: Mediation and Rituals to Address Conflicts in Multi-Ethnic Cultures of Laos* (Winnipeg, 2011); Stephanie Stobbe, *Conflict Resolution in Asia: Mediation and Other Cultural Models* (New York: Lexington Books, 2018), https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781498566445/Conflict-Resolution-in-Asia-Mediation-and-Other-Cultural-Models.

[29] Kevin Avruch, "Culture," in *Conflict*, ed. Sandra Cheldelin, Daniel Druckman, and Larissa Fast (New York: Continuum, 2008), 167–80; David W. Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures* (Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox Press, 1992); John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

A large array of literature describes general local Inuit approaches to conflict,[30] but only few studies have been conducted to analyze Inuit peacemaking beyond the local level in general[31] and through the ICC specifically.[32] And, although research has recognized how traditional understandings of sovereignty are challenged by non-state groups like the Inuit,[33] in-depth analyses of peacemaking at the local level often miss what is occuring on the macro level.[34] Still, other literature focuses on institutionalized peacemaking in the Arctic but only on the international

[30] Kyoon-Achan, "Original Ways"; Grace Kyoon-Achan, "Indigenous Elders as the Mbasoron Tar (Repairers of the World) and Inukshuks (Way-Pointers) of Peace," in *Creating the Third Force. Indigenous Processes of Peacemaking*, ed. Hamdesa Tuso and Maureen P. Flaherty (New York: Lexington Books, 2016), 187–207; Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps"; Jean L Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Jean L. Briggs, "The Issues of Autonomy and Aggression in the Three-Year-Old: The Utku Eskimo Case," *Seminars in Psychiatry* 4, no. 4 (1972): 317–29; Briggs; Jean L Briggs, "The Origins of Non-Violence: Inuit Management of Aggression," in *Learning Non-Aggression: The Experience of Non-Literate Societies*, ed. Ashley Montagu (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), http://www.librarything.com/work/14111734; John Bennett and Susan Diana Mary Rowley, *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Bruce Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples: An Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993); Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*; Asen Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, Reprint edition (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Pr Inc, 1989); Asen Balikci, "The Netsilik Inuit Today," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 2, no. 1 (1978): 111–19; John Bennett and Susan Rowley, *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Hugh Brody, *The People's Land* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991).

[31] Gary N. Wilson, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Circumpolar North," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13, no. 3 (2007): 65–80, https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2007.9673443; Frances Abele and Thierry Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era: The Strengths of Multilateral Internationalism," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13, no. 3 (2007): 45–63; Frances Abele and Thierry Rodon, "Coming in from the Cold. Inuit Diplomacy and Global Citizenship," in *Indigenous Diplomacies*, ed. J. Marshall Beier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 115–85; Heather A. Smith and Gary N. Wilson, "Inuit Transnational Activism. Co-operation and Resistance in the Face of Global Change," in *Indigenous Diplomacies*, ed. J. Marshall Beier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 172–85; Jessica Shadian, "Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Indigenous Autonomy: A Case Study of Arctic Governance and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference" (University of Delaware, 2006), http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.lib.umanitoba.ca/wpsa/docview/59759634/139CD273AB62DBEB869/6?accountid=14569; Jessica Shadian, "Remaking Arctic Governance: The Construction of an Arctic Inuit Polity," *Polar Record* 42, no. 3 (2006): 249–59, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005316; Jessica Shadian, "From States to Polities: Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Inuit Governance," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 485–510, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109346887; Jessica Shadian, *The Politics of Arctic Sovereignty : Oil, Ice and Inuit Governance* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[32] Jessica Shadian, "Rethinking Westphalian Sovereignty: The Inuit Circumpolar Council and the Future of Arctic Governance," Working Papers on Arctic Security No.8 (Rovaniemi: Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, 2013), http://gordonfoundation.ca/publication/689; Gary N. Wilson and Heather A. Smith, "The Inuit Circumpolar Council in an Era of Global and Local Change," *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 66, no. 4 (December 1, 2011): 909–21, https://doi.org/10.1177/002070201106600417.

[33] Shadian, "From States to Polities"; Shadian, "Rethinking Westphalian Sovereignty: The Inuit Circumpolar Council and the Future of Arctic Governance."

[34] Wallace, *Merging Fires*; Davis, *Alliances*.

level.[35] Jessica Shadian's recent work focuses on the ICC's involvement with the international legal system and its relationships with other agents on the macro (transnational) level and looks at the ICC as a collective polity.[36] Yet, her research neglects the ICC work on the local level and lacks an analysis of the bottom-up forces that (should) influence, impact, and shape the ICC. However, the critical PACS literature provided a conceptual foundation that helped shape the research outline. In many ways, this study stands at the end of and builds on all the developments described above.

This doctoral thesis is significant because it contributes a case study on Hybrid Peacemaking and adds new indicators to the Everyday Peace model in PACS. It also charts new territory by applying an Indigenous research paradigm not only locally but also in the international context. This study adds more human stories to the field of Arctic and climate change studies, and it works toward decolonization as it encourages Inuit research collaborators to reflect on their (collective) strengths and the potential to initiate positive change in their lives.[37] Because reflection can lead to action,[38] this can have empowering consequences for individual participants but also for the community as a whole. The research collaborators or local Inuit research supporters (translators, community gatekeepers) were directly involved in the research project and this could foster an understanding of the research (processes). Moreover, research collaborators have ownership of the transcripts based on the audio-recorded interview material and research recommendations are directly informed by their conversations. This study also provides all Inuit

[35] Lydia Schoeppner, "The Role of International Institutions and Organizations in Sovereignty Conflicts in the Arctic:," *Journal for Peace and Justice Studies* 24, no. 1 (2014): 50–86, https://doi.org/10.5840/peacejustice20142413; Marjo Lindroth, "Paradoxes of Power: Indigenous Peoples in the Permanent Forum," *Co-operation and Conflict* 46, no. 4 (2011): 543–62; Rob Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World," *Foreign Policy for Canada's Tomorrow* 4 (2009): 44 pages; Terry Fenge and Bernard Funston, "The Practice and Promise of the Arctic Council," 2015.
[36] Shadian, *The Politics of Arctic Sovereignty*, 18–21.
[37] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.
[38] Freire.

collaborators a means to share their knowledge and wisdom with a larger audience. The study results will be shared with the ICC in Greenland and Canada. This allows for the locally collected voices to directly address the ICC, encouraging critical self-reflection. At the same time, the sharing of research results with research collaborators allows for a direct communication of the ICC with local Inuit. It is hoped that, taken together, these aspects of the research could contribute to Inuit empowerment by enhancing knowledge and encouraging critical reflection.[39]

The creation of positive, proactive, and sustainable peace around the globe requires more efforts to create relational knowledge through sustained dialogue and active listening to the different "small pieces of the truth" that make up this world. Such efforts can lead to finding common ground and exchanging the best[40] and wisest practices. This study is an effort to "more openly embrac[e] epistemological and methodological pluralism,"[41] to create relationships of learning, and to discover solutions and sustainable communities.[42] This work hopes to be one of the "foundation stones for a more genuinely inclusive and multicultural peace project."[43]

Privileging narratives of people who have been oppressed assists in reclaiming and honouring their personal histories and calls attention to contributions that have previously been written over or erased. This study helps advance processes of decolonization and empowerment as it is strength-based,[44] guided by an Inuit research paradigm, intends to establish alliances, aims at

[39] Michael Angrosino and Judith Rosenberg, "Observations on Observation," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Rsearch*, ed. Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2011), 474.
[40] Abdu 'l-Aziz Said, Charles O. Lerche, and Nathan C. Funk, "For the Need for New Thinking," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 11, no. 2 (2006): 106, 112, 113–15.
[41] Said, Lerche, and Funk, 116.
[42] Laura Brearley, "Deep Listening and Leadership: An Indigenous Model of Leadership and Community Development in Australia," in *Restorying Indigenous Leadership*, ed. Cora Jane Voyageur, Laura Brearley, and Brian Calliou, second edition (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2015), 123.
[43] Nathan C. Funk, "Building on What's Already There Valuing the Local in International Peacebuilding," *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 67, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 407, https://doi.org/10.1177/002070201206700208.
[44] Brian Calliou and Cynthia Wesley-Exquimaux, "A Wise Practice Approach to Indigenous Community Development in Canada," in *Restorying Indigenous Leadership*, ed. Cora Jane Voyageur, Laura Brearley, and Brian Calliou, second edition (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2015), 45.

the creation of long-term relationships, and encourages Inuit and the ICC to reflect about everyday realities, cultural resilience, and ways to improve their realities. This research will provide the ICC with valuable feedback and recommendations from Inuit which could foster critical self-reflection. Moreover, this project includes local Inuit perspectives on climate change—insights that help all parties understand the conflict better and which have often been neglected in academia in the past.

It is necessary that PACS and (inter) national peace interventions continue to open up to Indigenous peacemaking and the conflict wisdom of different cultures by means of increasing research in the field of Indigenous peacemaking and by incorporating Indigenous peacemaking into their basic vocabulary. As Tuso states,"Indigenous processes of conflict resolution should be the new frontier for the profession of conflict resolution."[45] Inuit CT approaches are one of the many Indigenous processes that are currently and rightfully getting more attention in PACS. Awareness of how culture affects PACS practitioners and academics is necessary: ethical and effective CT can only be realized if conflict interveners are aware of their own "culturally constituted assumptions and presuppositions about the world"[46] and if they allow for cultural sensitivity and inclusiveness in their approaches. Last but not least, as Stevenson writes,"a close examination of the way specific cultural practices and beliefs confront the ideal of a universal humanity can teach us something essential about what it means to be human today."[47]

Such a strategy can broaden our horizons; support empowerment, decolonization, and reconciliation; and provide insight and understanding of different cultural conflict mechanisms that could be incorporated into and enrich the practices of PACS and increase chances for

[45] Hamdesa Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 265.
[46] Avruch, "Culture," 178.
[47] Lisa Stevenson, "Introduction," in *Critical Inuit Studies. An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 3.

sustainable peace. Adding culture to conflict resolution approaches also resonates with the goals of PACS to enhance social justice and to make the world a better place,[48] and it can assist in the ongoing search to discover general principles of conflict resolution[49] because we can gain and learn a lot from each other.[50]

1.4 Inuit Nunaat and Inuit

According to Nuttall, the Arctic is a "large, multifaceted, and important area of the Earth's surface, encompassing a range of landscapes and seascapes, climate differences, rich biodiversity, and vibrant cultural diversity."[51] It is composed of the Arctic Ocean, surrounded by three continents, and includes eight nation-states: Canada, USA, Russia, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. Although the circumpolar north constitutes one of the least populated regions of the world, it is home to approximately four to five million inhabitants (hunters, herders, urbanites, and Indigenous peoples[52]) and among them there are 500,000 Indigenous people who call the Arctic their home.[53] Inuit are a distinct Indigenous people who call parts of the Arctic "Inuit Nunaat"—"the land of the Inuit."[54] In today's political conceptualization of the world, Inuit Nunaat covers the northern parts of Canada, Alaska (USA.), Chukotka (northeast Russia), and Greenland (Denmark). But, of course, Inuit also live outside of Inuit Nunaat.

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[48] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 6; Douglas P Fry and Kai Björkqvist, "Preface," in *Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution. Alternatives to Violence*, ed. Douglas P Fry and Kai Björkqvist (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997), XIII–XIV.
[49] Fry and Björkqvist, "Preface."
[50] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 9.
[51] Mark Nuttall, "Preface," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 1 (New York: Routledge, 2005), XLII.
[52] Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004), 6.
[53] Frank Sejersen, *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the Era of Climate Change: New Northern Horizons* (London: Routledge, 2015), 17.
[54] Despite their small population number, Inuit call a large territory their own.

The Inuktitut term "Inuit" means "the people,"[55] and one person is referred to as "Inuk."[56] Inuit are a transnational/ multi-state/ non-state nation[57] of about 160,000 individuals. They make up a diversity of groups across the Arctic: the Kalaallit, Iit, and Inughuit in Greenland; the Inuit and Inuvialuit in Canada; the Inupiaq, Yupik, and Alutiiq in Alaska; and the Yupik in Chukotka, a federal subject of Russia. In 1977 the ICC decided to use the umbrella term "Inuit" in its advocacy work.

Scientific evidence suggests that Inuit have their origins in Siberia or Central Asia. Inuit followed the bowhead whale migration across the Bering Strait, along the coast of Alaska over to the Canadian Arctic, and eventually to Greenland.[58] Inuit arrived in North America around 4,000 before Christ (BC).[59] The first encounters between Inuit and Europeans happened towards the end of the first millennium (AD) when the Norse (Vikings), who had previously travelled from Norway to Iceland, met the Thule people in Greenland and Labrador (Canada). The Thule, ancestors of the modern Inuit, were called "skraelings" by the Norse.[60] After the Norse peoples' mysterious disappearance, the next regular contacts between Europeans and Inuit in Greenland and Canada occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. At this time explorers arrived in search of the fabled Northwest Passage, but also whalers and fur traders—who soon turned into colonizers—arrived in

[55] Since "Inuit," already means "the people," additions like "the"or "people" are not required.
[56] Mark Nuttall, "Inuit," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 990.
[57] Wilson, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Circumpolar North," 2007, 66.
[58] Nuttall, "Inuit," 991–92.
[59] Alan D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada: An Anthropological Overview*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1995), 259; Hugh Brody, *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), 25, 27. The earliest archaeological sites in the Arctic date back to between 2500 BC and 2000 BC, and earliest occupa-tion in the eastern and central Subarctic can be dated back to 7500 BC. The region's native people entered the North American continent via the Bering Strait 4,000 years ago, but archaeologists claim that North America was also populated by immigrants from Asia who arrived via a land bridge which once connected North America and Siberia as far back as about 25,000 BC (Ibid.).
[60] Peter Keith Kulchyski, *The Red Indians: An Episodic, Informal Collection of Tales from the History of Aboriginal People's Struggles in Canada* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2007), 32–34; Peter Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 1, Volume 1 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 405; Nuttall, "Inuit," 992 The Norse settlement in Greenland started with the arrival of Erik the Red, an Icelander who had been banished from Iceland, in AD 985. He established two colonies in the south and southwest of Greenland (Ibid.).

the Arctic.[61] Traditionally, Inuit practiced subsistence lifestyles that involved fishing and hunting marine and terrestrial animals.[62] Inuit lifestyle and identity are historically closely connected with the water, the land, and the environment.[63] Moreover, Inuit have successfully passed on their expertise and skills from generation to generation: "With luck one can last about five days in the Arctic. Lasting five thousand years takes skill, knowledge, attitudes and practices of conservation, and cultural mechanisms to reinforce such attitudes and practices and pass them on to succeeding generations."[64] Today, Inuit live in mixed economies that still hold fishing and hunting relevant, but other economic activities—such as oil-related business, commercial fishing, financial enterprises, and sheep farming (in southern Greenland)—have become increasingly important.[65] Across the Arctic, Inuit continue hunting and relying on marine and terrestrial animals for subsistence. The concepts of sharing, high regard for all living things, and maintenance of familial and communal relationships are some of the central elements of Inuit culture.[66] Like other Arctic cultures, Inuit currently face threats to their homelands, cultures, and livelihoods from environmental challenges. These challenges include pollution, climate change, rapid cultural and social change, large-scale industrial activity, and other exogenous activities like campaigns by environmental and animal rights groups against Inuit hunting practices.

[61] Nuttall, "Inuit," 992.
[62] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004.
[63] Michael Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*, First Edition (Vancouver: Douglas & Mcintyre, 2009), 13; McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada*, 313.
[64] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy" (Kotzebue: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 1986), 44.
[65] Nuttall, "Inuit," 990.
[66] Nuttall, 996.

1.5 The Two Inuit Communities

Inuit form the majority of the population in both communities chosen for this study. Due to their picturesque surroundings, both communities are visited by a considerable number of tourists each year, even though they can only be reached by plane or by boat. Maniitsoq has about twice as many inhabitants as Panniqtuuq.

1.5.1 Maniitsoq, West Greenland

Maniitsoq is located on an archipelago in west Greenland, 320 kilometres north of Greenland's capital city Nuuk. From there, it can be reached in 30 minutes by plane or in 3.5 hours by boat. Because of its relative closeness to Nuuk, Maniitsoq is a particularly attractive as a place to live.[67]

Archaeological records indicate that the area's settlement dates back about 4,000 years. Maniitsoq is located in the Qeqqata municipality with its municipal centre in Sisimiut, which is about the same distance away from the community as Nuuk, but to the north. Currently the sixth-largest town in Greenland, Maniitsoq was founded in 1755 and is home to about 2,800 inhabitants. The Greenlandic name "Maniitsoq" means "the uneven place" or "place of rugged terrain," referring to the many hills and small mountains that shape the layout of the community and its surroundings. Its beautiful scenery and surrounding waterways give the community its informal title of "Venice of Greenland." There are no roads connecting the settlements in Greenland, but a ferry and regular flights allow for travelling. From Maniitsoq, one can easily journey far inland to

[67] Sejersen, *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the Era of Climate Change: New Northern Horizons*, 131.

hunt muskox or caribou. Fishing grounds can be found in the smaller fjords around the archipelago or by accessing the nearby Kangerlussuaq fjord. Inuit have set up cabins on the land that they use as bases for hunting and fishing.[68]

Maniitsoq was a major trading centre for reindeer hides in the nineteenth century.[69] Between 2008 and 2010, American industrial company Alcoa had planned to build an aluminum smelting plant near the community. This project would have provided jobs for about one percent of the Greenlandic population.[70] Eventually the project was abandoned but had it been constructed, it would have led to a multitude of climate change problems. The hydroelectricity that was supposed to provide the power for the plant would have been directly derived from the melting ice cap. The smelter would also have had significantly contributed to Greenland's carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions and, according to Sejersen, "position Greenland in a political predicament with respect to global climate."[71]

1.5.2 Panniqtuuq, Nunavut, Canada

> Today, Pangnirtung is a vibrant community known world-wide for its carvings, tapestries and prints and world class scenery as well as its access to Auyuittuq National Park. Pangnirtung is one of only three Nunavut Communities with a fish processing plant and a robust Arctic Char and Greenlandic Turbot Fishery. As such, Pangnirtung became the first community in Nunavut to obtain funding to construct a small craft Harbour.[72]

[68] Sejersen, 131.
[69] Visit Greenland, "Maniitsoq - with Angling, Whale Watching and Heliskiing Trademarks - [Visit Greenland!]," Visit Greenland, accessed August 3, 2018, https://visitgreenland.com/destinations/maniitsoq/; "Maniitsoq," in *Wikipedia*, September 12, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Maniitsoq&oldid=859262713.
[70] Only one research collaborator mentioned the aluminum smelter in our conversation—it seemed that the mega project had already been forgotten by the community in 2016.
[71] Sejersen, *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the Era of Climate Change: New Northern Horizons*, 5.
[72] History, Hamlet of Pangnirtung, http://www.pangnirtung.ca/history (accessed on April 1, 2012).

Pangnirtung, as the community is known today, is a poor spelling of its Inuktitut name Panniqtuuq, which means "place of the bull caribou."[73] Panniqtuuq is an Inuit community in the Canadian territory of Nunavut just 50 kilometres south of the Arctic Circle, and located on the northern shore of Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island. The community rests on permafrost[74] and is home to about 1,500 individuals.[75] Prior to the creation of the new territory of Nunavut ("Our Land") in 1999 Panniqtuuq was a community in the Northwest Territories.[76] Since 1973, Panniqtuuq has been a self-governing municipal government.[77] There are no roads outside the community. The only means to move in and out of Panniqtuuq by land is on a skidoo or a sled.[78]

Panniqtuuq is famous for its Inuit art, and it is home to an Aboriginal print shop.[79]

The Cumberland Sound area has been inhabited by Inuit for over 1,000 years. Since 1818, the area has been engaged in organized whaling involving European whalers and Inuit. In 1838, William Penny, a Scottish whaler arrived in the area. This eventually led to the arrival of other American and Scottish whalers in Cumberland Sound who were looking for whale baleen and oil. The local Inuit helped the whalers to hunt and survive. The whaling activities around Baffin Island resulted in the near extinction of the bowhead whale around 1870, and whaling declined in the 1880s.[80] The whalers' presence changed the way of life of the Inuit who "left their traditional

[73] Carleton University, "Inuit Siku Atlas," Interactive Resource, Pangnirtung, accessed February 24, 2019, https://sikuatlas.ca/index.html?module=module.sikuatlas.pangnirtung.intro.
[74] Jose Gerin-Lajoie, Alain Cuerrier, and Laura Siegwart Collier, eds., *The Caribou Taste Different Now: Inuit Elders Observe Climate Change* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2016), 151.
[75] Statistics Canada Government of Canada, "Census Profile, 2016 Census - Pangnirtung, Hamlet [Census Subdivision], Nunavut and Ontario [Province]," February 8, 2017, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6204009&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Pangnirtung&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=6204009&TABID=1.
[76] Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum*, 64.
[77] Hamlet of Pangnirtung, "History," accessed June 25, 2019, https://www.pangnirtung.ca/history.
[78] Janet Mancini Billson and Kyra Mancini, *Inuit Women: Their Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 8; Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum*, 9.
[79] Interview with Ron Mongeau, Senior Administrative Officer, Hamlet of Pangnirtung, July 26, 2011.
[80] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 11–12.

camps to work at the whaling stations."[81] In return for their help, Inuit received material goods (e.g. rifles, knives, and saws) which they incorporated into their daily life.[82] Inuit had no natural immunity against imported European diseases like tuberculosis, measles, influenza, and others, and the population of Baffin Island dropped from about 1,000 to about 350 between 1840 and 1857.[83]

In 1921a Hudson's Bay trading post was established in Panniqtuuq for fox fur trade. The trade attracted Inuit to the region and white fox trapping and sealskin trade were implemented into the Inuit economy.[84] Slowly, formerly independent Inuit hunters became dependent on the fur traders and their payments.[85] However, white fox was not a huge part of the Cumberland Sound Inuit economy before the fur trade, and the fox fur trade eventually failed.[86]

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) established their first Panniqtuuq detachment in 1923[87] to enforce southern laws and rules and to hand out welfare.[88] Whereas the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) came for trading purposes, the government's and RCMP's intention was to ensure Canadian sovereignty and law in the north.[89] Qallunaat established themselves as a dominant force in everyday life, and Inuit became increasingly dependent on and vulnerable to whites.[90] The Anglican Mission was created in Panniqtuuq in 1926, and the St.

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[81] Hamlet of Pangnirtung, "History."
[82] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 193.
[83] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 11.
[84] Marc Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence: Structure in Cumberland Sound and Central Inuit Social Organization* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 93; Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum*, 201; Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 13.
[85] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 195.
[86] Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence*, 39, 95 The Inuit - well versed in the maritime hunting tradition - lack of hunting experience for white fox made them "poor trappers," but also the animal itself followed extreme seasonal fluctuations and the area was "never regarded a productive trapping ground." Ultimately, the fox fur trade failed due to cultural reasons, because Inuit preferred hunting seals.
[87] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 14.
[88] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 211, 213; Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence*, 100.
[89] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 14.
[90] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 201, 203, 205, 213, 217.

Luke's Mission Hospital was built in 1930. According to Billson and Mancini, "The shock ran deep [among Inuit], but the Inuit greatly respected the teachings of the early missionaries," and the establishment of the hospital resulted in the first big wave of Inuit moving to Panniqtuuq.[91] Many Inuit who worked for the traders and missionaries moved to Panniqtuuq at that time.[92]

In the 1950s Canadian north, the federal government took political authority over education that had previously been administrated by missionaries who had taught in small local schools. Without consultation, the government imposed a system of student hostels and day schools on Inuit, replacing the mission school system run by the church.[93] Panniqtuuq had one local day school and three hostels.[94] Over time, Inuit parents moved permanently to the settlements to be closer to their children, which eventually eliminated the need for such hostels.[95] In the 1950s and 1960s the controversial government-initiated dog killings took place in the Canadian Arctic. This was a huge loss for Inuit as dogs were traditionally highly regarded as companions and navigators that pulled heavy sleds and helped locate animals and find the way home. Many Inuit reported not having been informed about the planned dog killings and not having a say in the matter. To a large number of Inuit, the unannounced dog killings were in line with government plans to pressure them to settle in communities.[96] The gradual mechanization of the hunt with snowmobiles and motorboats allowed for a cetain type of greater mobility, which, in turn, allowed hunters to return to the community in the evening, reducing the need for long hunting trips that took several days. As Billson and Mancini state, most Inuit in Canada had been made familiar with a mercantile mode

[91] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 13–14.
[92] Billson and Mancini, 24.
[93] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience | McGill-Queen's University Press" (McGill Queen's University Press, 2015), 73–74, 162, http://caid.ca/TRCFinVol22015.pdf.
[94] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 157.
[95] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 161.
[96] Frank James Tester, "Mad Dogs and (Mostly) Englishmen: Colonial Relations, Commodities, and the Fate of Inuit Sled Dogs," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 34, no. 2 (2010): 129–147.

of production: "Their economy, now based on commercial hunting (with guns) and trapping—rather than being autarkic—was ruled, for a good part, by European and Canadian merchants."[97] Their way of life began encompassing commodity production.[98] At this time, Inuit epitomized a cultural mélange of traditional and modern lifestyle, "socially, the Inuit held a classically marginal position, straddling two cultures but belonging fully to neither."[99] However, due to lack of adequate housing and their desire to live traditionally, many Inuit left to live on the land again. The community's population decreased to about 340 in 1966. The population increased again in 1970s as the government provided more housing and "brought more children into the schools."[100]

Inuit of Panniqtuuq, like many other Inuit in communities in northern Canada, experienced extraordinary changes within the twentieth century. In only one generation, their lifestyles changed from a nomadic gathering and hunting economy to a post-industrial economy based on welfare, wages, competition, and resource accumulation.[101]

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

The next chapter offers a "mapping" of the conflict around colonialism and climate change. Such mapping provides an overview of the parties involved in the conflict (Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut vs. climate change-causing agents and regulating bodies). It also illustrates the context by providing an in-depth analysis of the conflict's causes and conditions. The existing connection between climate change as a form of colonialism that exerts structural and cultural violence on

[97] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 14.
[98] Billson and Mancini, 14.
[99] Billson and Mancini, 6.
[100] Billson and Mancini, 16.
[101] Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 5–6.

Inuit is outlined, and definitions of the terms are given. This contextual and theoretical overview is necessary to understand how Inuit and the ICC position themselves in the conflict around climate change. A theoretical framework is required to outline the parameters that need to be in place for the ICC to be called an agent of peace for Inuit in Greenland and Canada. This study uses CT and decolonization (in its means to transform conflicts) as the theoretical framework to analyze the ICC. Based on contemporary PACS insights, CT (constructive and sustainable peacemaking) is most likely to occur if local/ Indigenous approaches to conflict are recognized and realized but also if the conflict parties remain open to external input (this approach is also reflected in the decolonization theory that guides this study). Openness to Indigenous and external input is reflected in the Hybrid Peace and in the Everyday Peace models, which are introduced in the next chapter. The two models have been chosen because they acknowledge the role of culture in the peacemaking process—a crucial and highly important requirement for successful CT. From a theoretical perspective, if it can be shown that the ICC's work reflects the Hybrid Peace model, the NGO can then be called an agent of peacemaking as well as an agent of decolonization (due to the overlapping theoretical parameters of the Hybrid Peace and decolonization described below) for Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut in climate change conflicts. In addition, the Everyday Peace model is explored in this study in an effort to counter the liberal and Western peacemaking approaches which have shown to be rather biased and colonial in their output. The Everyday Peace model is important for analyzing the ICC as an agent of peacemaking, because it focuses on local/ Indigenous strengths and coping mechanisms that have the potential to transform large-scale conflicts. The recognition of such local strengths allows for the discovery of contemporary local/ Indigenous peacemaking concepts.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology and methods that informed this work. A discussion of the researcher's positionality will be provided, followed by an outline of the chosen research methodology. Next, the chapter explains the research design and research methods, introduces the research collaborators, and provides details on the analysis and interpretation of the collected material. Chapter four briefly outlines the ICC and the political context that led to its creation, and it presents an overview of the NGO's structure, functions, and goals. In Chapter five, a discussion of the ICC's self-perception is provided while Chapters six and seven that explore the ICC's climate change work. Subsequently, community perceptions of the ICC and its climate change work are shared and discussed in Chapter eight. Chapter nine sums up the study findings and describes the major themes and limitations, and makes recommendations for further research.

For the analysis, two case studies were chosen. The communities were chosen based on an interesting set of commonalities and differences. Both communities are an hour away by plane from their respective capital cities Nuuk and Iqaluit. Remoteness from the bureaucratic life and their small size are shared commonalities of most Inuit communities, and research results could have been different if Inuit in Nuuk and Iqaluit had been involved in this study. Although both communities are small, geographically close to each other and their respective capital cities, and have a majority of Inuit in their populations there are also considerable differences between them. For example, with regards to administrative political systems: Greenland has self-government with political parties; Nunavut is a Canadian territory with public government without political parties. Geomorphological realities are also different as Maniitsoq rests on rocks and Panniqtuuq rests on permafrost. Had other small Inuit communities been chosen for this study, aspects like dealing with the history of colonialism, and challenges related to climate change could be similar to the results collected in this study. However, each community is unique in its composition, perception

of challenges and coping mechanisms, which would also be reflected if different communities were chosen. Furthermore, although climate change is perceived as a challenge among all Inuit across Inuit Nunaat, it can be safely assumed that communities in Alaska (where relocation due to erosion of the ground caused by melting permafrost and erosion of shorelines due to more severe storms has already become a reality) would report different challenges related to climate change than communities in Nunavut and Greenland.

The author had an interest in working with Inuit who live geographically closer to the author's homes in Canada and Germany, and because relationships to Inuit in both countries/ communities already existed due to previous visits to Greenland and Nunavut. The material in English provided by the ICC Canada and the ITK was naturally more accessible than much of the material issued by the ICC Greenland, which was sometimes only available in Greenlandic. Furthermore, the ICC Canada and the ITK seemed to have larger financial capacities than the ICC Greenland. This generally resulted in a larger Canadian output in documentary material, which is reflected in this dissertation.

1.7 Conclusion

Chapter one has provided the context and layout of the research project as well as the purpose of this dissertation. A set of research objectives helped to answer the research question: Is the Inuit Circumpolar Council an agent of peacemaking in climate change conflicts for Inuit in Greenland and Canada? These objectives were (1) to describe the local/ community perspectives from Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq on the ICC's climate change input and to learn about local ways of dealing with climate change; (2) to analyze the ICC's climate change work; and (3) to find out

about overlaps and differences between local Inuit's and the ICC's (suggested) ways of dealing with climate change. The study is guided by an Inuit research paradigm, which provides cutting-edge knowledge in PACS (delivering a critical and emancipatory study). In the next chapter, climate change as a conflict perceived by Inuit is mapped. Conflict mapping includes a description of the conflict parties (Inuit on the one side and governments, industrial companies, and individuals engaging in colonial practices and causing climate change on the other side). It is followed by a comprehensive analysis of colonialism and climate change causing structural and cultural violence. Moreover, the concept of CT is introduced. In response to the underlying structural and cultural violence in conflicts caused by colonialism and climate change, decolonization approaches are presented next. Lastly, decolonization is connected to peacemaking, and the various aspects of peacemaking that inform this analysis are presented: the role of culture in peacemaking, Indigenous and Inuit peacemaking, and the concepts of Hybrid and Everyday Peace.

Chapter 2
Mapping of the Conflicts

The previous chapter discussed the research objectives, the research paradigm, and this study's significance. It also introduced the Inuit and Inuit Nunaat as well as the two Inuit communities Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq that were visited for data collection. After this brief introduction to the study, this chapter provides an in-depth overview of the conflict (also known as "mapping"). The conflict parties (Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut on the one side and governments, industry, and individuals on the other side) are introduced, and the causes of the conflict are discussed. Climate change is analyzed as an aspect of colonialism, which exposes Inuit to structural and cultural violence. At the end of this chapter, decolonization and peacemaking are introduced as possible avenues for conflict transformation. Due to the importance of cultural awareness for peacemaking, an overview and a discussion of Indigenous peacemaking and Inuit peacemaking is provided. The chapter also introduces the concepts of Hybrid Peace and Everyday Peace, two theories that recognize the importance of culture in peacemaking.

Because conflicts can be best analyzed and comprehended in a structured way when they are "mapped," typologized, and deconstructed, this chapter provides a mapping of the climate change conflict.[102] Such mapping is necessary as it provides an analytical framework to approach the ICC and its climate change work to determine whether the organization can be considered as an agent of peacemaking in this case study. Used as a grid for conflict analysis, Sandole's three-pillar framework (3PF)[103] focuses on three essential parts: conflict parties, causes/ conditions, and

[102] Roger Mac Ginty and Andrew Williams, *Conflict and Development*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2009), 106.
[103] Dennis Sandole, "Typology," in *Conflict. From Analysis to Intervention*, ed. Sandra Cheldelin, Daniel Druckman, and Larissa Fast, S (New York: Continuum, 2008), 42–57; Dennis Sandole, "A Comprehensive Mapping Of Conflict And Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach," n.d., http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/pcs/sandole.htm.

conflict intervention.[104] Sandole's model of conflict mapping was chosen because it allows for an organized, structured, and holistic approach to the conflict that includes a description of the conflict parties, an assessment of the conflict context, and a discussion of approaches to CT. Although Sandole's model suggests that the conflict mapping should start with an analysis of the conflict parties, it was decided to start this conflict mapping with an overview of the substantive conflict before the conflict parties are introduced.

Colonialism and climate change are discussed as the causes for the various forms of structural and cultural violence experienced by Inuit in Greenland and Canada/ Nunavut. The conflict parties in this study are the Inuit in Greenland and in Canada/ Nunavut who perceive major environmental changes in their lives on the one hand and governments, companies, and individuals (whose behaviour exacerbates or does not help mitigate climate change) on the other. Then potential CT approaches that can address structural and cultural violence and aim at the creation of positive peace are introduced: decolonization, Inuit peacemaking, and the Hybrid Peace and Everyday Peace models. All four above mentioned concepts have a focus on culture in common with Inuit and Everyday Peacemaking focusing more narrowly on the practices of one particular group while the Hybrid Peace model and decolonization are both discussed as approaches to peacemaking that combine culturally specific aspects with Western ways of conflict resolution. With regards to decolonization, it should is clearly acknowledged that this represents only one way of theorizing decolonization that relies mainly on the work of decolonization theorists like Memmi, Puxley, Fanon and others that will be discussed in this chapter. However, this approach has proven to be a helpful theory to understand the ICC's climate change work, and the theories used in this work have provided a foundation upon which later decololization theories are built.

[104] Sandole, "A Comprehensive Mapping Of Conflict And Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach."

2.1 Conflict Causes and Conditions

The environmental conflict experienced by Inuit in Greenland and Canada is caused by damaging practices by humans around the globe that bring about and continue climate change. Colonialism constitutes the violent invasion of Indigenous lands and the undermining of Indigenous ways of life by outsiders. Along the same lines, climate change is exogenous to Inuit lands, and it is mainly perpetuated by the same states that have colonized Inuit in the past. Inuit find themselves in a situation where they have no ability to control these forces that have an impact on and undermine their way of life. Because climate change has a violent impact on Inuit, it can be understood as a form of colonialism that exposes Inuit to structural and cultural violence.

2.2.1 Structural and Cultural Violence

In the late 1960s, the Norwegian Peace and Conflict Studies scholar Johan Galtung developed an analytical foundation for a more comprehensive understanding of violence. Parsons defines violence as "physical and/ or psychological harm and injury caused by (...) action through the application of (...) force."[105] Violence is employed in order to gain power, control, influence, or strength.[106] According to Galtung, violence is present when humans are influenced in a way that their actual mental and somatic realizations are "below their potential realizations,"[107] when there is a gap between what is and what could have been, and when there are avoidable hindrances for

[105] Kenneth A. Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 19, no. 2 (2007): 173, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402650701353612.
[106] Parsons, 173.
[107] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (January 1, 1969): 168.

self-realization. Violence also increases the distance between the actual and the potential,[108] also with regards to human needs.[109] Violence can cause direct but also indirect harm.[110]

The occurrence of violence in the absence of a clear actor or individual is termed structural violence.[111] In contrast to direct violence which is carried out interpersonally, structural violence is indirect. Such violence is part of the structure and becomes visible as unequal power and life chances.[112] A structure is defined as an "organized pattern of activity"[113] that includes "interdependent relationships among individuals, collectives, institutions, and/or organizations."[114] Structural violence can be described as a (slow) process that occurs when economic, political, and social structures deprive individuals in a systematic way from satisfying their needs or human rights (i.e. resulting in social inequality). Basic human needs can be classified as survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs, and freedom needs.[115] In a situation of structural violence, certain groups benefit from whereas others are disadvantaged or even killed by the power structure.[116]

Structural violence can mask itself as everyday violence and become part of social and political life. It encompasses everyday policies and routines that affect individual well-being.[117] Structural violence also takes place when any economic, political, and social conditions (which

[108] Galtung, 168.
[109] Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (August 1, 1990): 292; Kathleen Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," *Essex Human Rights Review* 4, no. 2 (2007): 3.
[110] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 174.
[111] Parsons, 175.
[112] Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 4.
[113] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 173.
[114] Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 2.
[115] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 292; Human needs are genetically developed, constant and common to all humankind (Ibid.) Daniel J. Christie, "Reducing Direct and Structural Violence: The Human Needs Theory," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 3, no. 4 (1997): 316; Ho-Won Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 20.
[116] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 175.
[117] Betty Bastien et al., "Healing the Impact of Colonization, Genocide, Missionarization, and Racism on Indigenous Populations," in *The Psychological Impact of War Trauma on Civilians*, ed. Stanley Kripner and Teresa M. McIntyre (New York: Greenwood Press, 2003), 26; Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 9.

are unnatural and can be modified) hinder people from their self-realization.[118] Structural violence is created by differences in and an unequal share of power "to decide over the distribution of resources"[119] due to "systematic patterns of exploitation."[120] In this context, power is seen as a resource that can be possessed and accumulated. Its unequal distribution or share (i.e. domination) leads to structural violence by systematically disadvantaging and constraining the agency of the underdogs.[121] The following examples are both indicators for and results of structural violence: oppression, discrimination, inequality, marginalization, exploitation, repression, domination, poverty, hunger, social alienation, and reduction in the quality of life by means of denial of free speech, freedom of association, and educational opportunities.[122]

Another important element of structural violence is racial discrimination. This can lead to the denial of a person's dignity, human rights, and opportunities for self-fulfilment. As a result, such violence can create inequitable life conditions because it prevents individuals from reaching optimal development.[123] According to Ho-Won Jeong, the exploitation or the hindrance of a person's "pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person"[124] (or oppression) is another element of structural violence. The oppressed become marginalized because they are denied "decent education, housing, an opportunity to work, and freedom to express themselves."[125] Sandole writes that structural violence is usually perceived by minorities through "denied access to political,

[118] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 175.
[119] Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 4.
[120] James A. Schellenberg, *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research, and Practice* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 98.
[121] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 177; Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 4–5.
[122] Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 20; Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 176.
[123] Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 20.
[124] Jeong, 21.
[125] Jeong, 21.

economic, social and other resources typically enjoyed and controlled by the majority in-group, primarily because of the former's involuntary status as minorities."[126]

In contrast to violence, peace can exist in two different forms. Whereas negative peace is recognized in the absence of direct violence, positive peace goes further by addressing underlying conflict conditions and causes to address and stop structural violence.[127] Positive peace is concerned with development, participatory processes, human rights, environmental issues, and economic and social justice.[128]

The concept of violence was further advanced by Spivak and her idea of "epistemic violence." In a colonial context, the episteme (the Indigenous knowledge system) is replaced by colonial systems to such an extent that it creates Indigenous subjects with a foreign world views. Thus, even if Indigenous people use their own traditional language, they employ it to communicate views of the dominant culture.[129] In addition, others using psychospiritual violence approaches have looked at the fragmentation of the holistically constructed Indigenous individual into a fragmented self due to colonization.[130] Galtung later added the concept of "cultural" violence, wherein an aspect of culture (e.g. religion, language, ideology) is employed to legitimize structural or direct violence.[131] Cultural violence can change the perception of an act from wrong to right or acceptable, blurring reality so that the violent act is not seen or perceived as such.[132] Cultural ideology can lead to the exploitation and marginalization of a group of people or the exploitation of the environment without acknowledging or even accepting the harm caused.

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[126] Sandole, "Typology," 54.
[127] Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 183.
[128] Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (Hartford: Kumarin Press, 1996), 12–13.
[129] Bastien et al., "Healing the Impact of Colonization, Genocide, Missionarization, and Racism on Indigenous Populations," 28.
[130] Bastien et al., 30.
[131] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 291.
[132] Galtung, 292.

2.2.1.1 Colonialism

Colonialism is realized as structural, cultural, and direct violence.[133] It is important to study colonialism and its lasting legacy to understand conflict conditions caused by structural violence. Such understanding of conflict conditions creates positive peace that recognizes local strength, resilience, and resistance against structural violence, but also educates about differences and similarities of local impacts and forms of resilience that can lead to transformation on the micro and macro levels.[134]

Postcolonial scholars argue that colonization is a "particular historical manifestation of imperialism"[135] that describes a specific "form of cultural exploitation" that emerged with European expansion.[136] Colonization has economic, cultural, political, and social aspects.[137] It can be motivated by different goals such as settlement, economic exploitation, the search for a sea route to Asia, and spreading of Christianity and the conversion of people. The ruling of others came as a "by product" of conquest when the land to be colonized was already inhabited.[138] Local Indigenous peoples had their own institutions, world views, practices, rules, values, and understanding of power which differed from those of the Europeans. However, the colonizers were quick to oppress Indigenous people and apply their own perspectives and values to judge, ignore,

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[133] Johan Galtung, *Transarmament and the Cold War: Pease Research and the Peace Movement* (Copenhagen: Coronet Books Inc, 1988).
[134] Sean Byrne, Mary Anne Clarke, and Aziz Rahman, "Colonialism and Peace and Conflict Studies," *Peace and Conflict Studies* 25, no. 1 (May 1, 2018), https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol25/iss1/1.
[135] Robert C. Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction* (Victoria: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 16–17. For further definitions of imperialism, see: Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1994), 8; Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, 16; John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 7–8; Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 2nd ed., Routledge Key Guides (London: Routledge, 2010), 40.
[136] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 40.
[137] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 405.
[138] Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, 17, 20–21; Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 405.

and despise Indigenous cultures and lifestyles.[139] Eurocentric mindset, combined with social Darwinist ideas, led the European newcomers to believe in their own superiority and served as justification for them to assume positions of power in the new land.[140]

Colonization is destructive as it establishes a power-asymmetry[141] wherein one group is constantly dominated by another[142] and exposed to all three forms of violence (direct, structural, and cultural).[143] This has manifold destructive and disruptive consequences for the colonized.[144] According to Ashcroft, Giffiths, and Tiffin, colonization came with a "liberal smoke-screen of civilizing 'task,' paternalistic 'development' and 'aid,' but in fact, it brought unjust and violent processes."[145] Colonial conquests and attempts to convert, oppress, dispossess, enslave, expulse, expel, exploit, and exterminate Indigenous people were justified in different ways by Europeans in order for them to legitimize themselves as colonizers, to rationalize aggression, and to provide

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[139] Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*, illustrated edition (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1984), XII–XIII, 55.

[140] Caskey Russell, "Language, Violence, and Indian Mis-Education.," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 26, no. 4 (2002): 103, 105.

[141] Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi, "Conflict Analysis and Resolution as a Multidiscipline," in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Dennis Sandole et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3.

[142] Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 7.

[143] Jeong, 19–21, 23; Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 175; Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research"; Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfeld (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 86; Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 103; Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; Christie, "Reducing Direct and Structural Violence," 315; Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 1; Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 291–92, 294; Johan Galtung, "Peace and Conflict Studies as Political Activity," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 13.

[144] Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46, no. 1 (2013): 145–72; Roger Annis, "Federal Police and New Brunswick Government Assault First Nations Anti-Fracking Protest," Global Research, October 19, 2013, http://www.globalresearch.ca/federal-police-and-new-brunswick-government-assault-first-nations-anti-fracking-protest/5354813. Whereas most of the results of colonialism can be subsumed under structural and cultural violence, colonialism also exposed and continues to expose Inuit to forms of direct violence. Enforced changes of their economy, dependency on supplies from the Qallunaat (and their vulnerability if supplies did not arrive), import of diseases and illnesses by the Qallunaat, physical abuses in residential schools, intentional banning from medical treatment and continuation of malnutrition, manifold police violence, forced relocation, and poorly equipped trading stores caused physical injuries and suffering, hunger, malnourishment, starvation, and death (Ibid). Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953–1955 Relocation* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994), 23–24, 30–31; Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, 18, 24.

[145] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 41.

an ideological foundation for the subordination of Indigenous people.[146] The colonial myths about Indigenous people and cultures were a form of destructive storytelling that served to silence them.[147] Colonization resulted in the physical and mental dispossession and destruction of Indigenous life.[148] The description of the local inhabitants as "Indians" was first a mistake and then became a fantasy and projection of what settlers wanted them to be. Europeans saw Indigenous people through a screen of their own prejudices and fears.[149] Indigenous non-capitalist economies were transformed through the introduction of the ideological and economic trappings of capitalism.[150] The colonized were to be "civilized" and educated in accordance to manners determined by the colonizer to create people that could "be raised to the status of the colonizer."[151]

[146] Europeans believed in their own superiority, that they were more advanced, civilized, and developed than other parts of the world due to their "internal qualities" and as a result of being Christian. The world was divided into the permanently progressing, modernizing, and history-making centre (Europe)—the source of European diffusionism—and the periphery, the opposite of the centre. The powerful doctrine of Eurocentrism became scientifically supported by Social Darwinism and effectively created the "colonizer's model of the world." Indigenous people were perceived negatively as unchanging, backward, primitive, traditional, "ahistorical," barbaric, backwards, and (morally) inferior "savages," "primitives," "cannibals," monsters," and "beasts" incapable of civilization, culture, humanity and of cultivating land. They supposedly randomly occupied territory and were hindrances to civilization—all in accordance with the "civ/ sav dichotomy." Moreover, Europeans believed in their divine sanction and the Manifest Destiny that served to justify teaching European ways to Indigenous people, and that led them believe that they had discovered empty land which could be settled because it was not cultivated or claimed according to European understanding. According to the "settlement thesis" minorities had to submit to the domination of the majority, history begun with contact, and the colonized could benefit from European supremacy (Ibid.). Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 51; Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, 4, 6–7, 8–9, 15, 83–84, 59–61; Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, 1–2, 8–10, 12, 14–15, 19, 131; Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 6th ed. (Vancouver: Arsenal, 2000), 52; Brody, *Living Arctic*, XIII; Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*, XIV, 6; Byrne and Senehi, "Conflict Analysis and Resolution as a Multidiscipline," 7; Joyce Green, "Towards a Detente With History: Confronting Canada's Colonial Legacy," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, no. 12 (September 1995): 3–5; Hugh Brody, *The Other Side Of Eden*, 1st ed. (New York: North Point Press, 2000), 117, 152, 181, 265, 267, 269; James W. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers*, January 1971, 23–24; Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, 20; Brody, *The People's Land*, 256; Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 41, 43; Russell, "Language, Violence, and Indian Mis-Education.," 98–99; Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), XIII.

[147] Jessica Senehi, "Building Peace, Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively," in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Dennis Sandole et al. (London: Routledge, 2009), 203.

[148] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 103.

[149] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 5, 7–8.

[150] Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, 16–17, 19–12, 24.

[151] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 41, 43.

Colonialism caused a cultural genocide wherein Indigenous peoples were converted, oppressed, enslaved, expulsed, expelled, exploited, and some even exterminated.[152]

Puxley defines colonization as "theft of human history," and the "negation of history."[153] Moreover, colonization resulted in dehumanization of the colonized, due to their lack of power. Because the colonizer assumes that the colonized are not "capable of governing themselves," the colonized are not allowed to enter the government and they are excluded from power.[154] Colonialism prevents human development, destroys the capability of the colonized to act out a "uniquely human vocation," and exploits, dominates, and oppresses them.[155] As Memmi writes, the colonized is "hardly a human being," and "tends rapidly toward becoming an object."[156] The language of the colonizer permeates the whole government bureaucracy (including the court system) and also affects street signs, railroad signs, and highway markings.[157] According to Wa Thiong'o, domination of the people's culture means "domination of the mental universe of the colonized."[158] As a result, the colonized feels "like a foreigner in his own country."[159] For Said, colonialism is an *ideology* that aims at "the implanting of settlements on distant territory."[160] Colonization can be seen as a form of cultural violence which distinguishes between insiders and

[152] Russell, "Language, Violence, and Indian Mis-Education.," 98–99; Andrew John Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States*, Indigenous Education (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Robert Z. Cohen, *Canada's First Nations and Cultural Genocide*, Bearing Witness : Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Modern World (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2017).
[153] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 112.
[154] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 95.
[155] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 103.
[156] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 86; Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 103.
[157] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 106–7.
[158] Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 16.
[159] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 106–7. Furthermore, the colonized writer decides to write in the language of the colonizer, in order to ensure readership. This basically means that the colonized author writes for other people (and not one's own) and for those who conquered his home. But, the only things colonized writers deal with in their literature will revolve around their problems and revolt (Ibid., 109).
[160] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 8.

outsiders and where limitations of rights are based on "principles of marginalization imposed by oppressors."[161] To sum up, colonization exposed the colonized to structural and direct violence.

The Arctic was perceived as "terra nullius,"[162] and Inuit, who were geographically the most remote from "civilization," were thought of as the most primitive group of people who lived on the "edge of possible human life"[163] and who were in need of culture.[164] Since Inuit were understood as being a part of nature by Europeans, it was believed that they needed to be mastered like nature.[165] Arctic lifestyles appeared to be destitute, marginal, and uncivilized to Europeans.[166] Consequently, colonialism caused the most significant changes for Inuit in their long history as their lands were incorporated into nation-states.[167] Lynge asserts that "the colonization of Inuit territories happened not by military force, but by manipulation of the mind and spirit."[168] Through trauma and internalization, colonialism continues still.[169] The historical force of colonialism is reflected in the devaluation and marginalization of the other, the exclusion of the colonized from metahistorical narratives and history school books, the creation of a history written only by the colonizers, and the stereotypes about the evil other that are passed on through destructive storytelling.[170] Indigenous cultures were culturally, linguistically, physically, and emotionally destroyed[171] and politically and economically dominated. Inuit were totalized through absorption

[161] Ho-Won Jeong, *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategy and Process* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 23.
[162] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406.
[163] Brody, *The People's Land*, 95–96, 117.
[164] Brody, 95–96.
[165] Brody, 115.
[166] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 67.
[167] Pamela R Stern, *The Daily Life of the Inuit* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2010), XVIII.
[168] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 35.
[169] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 20.
[170] Sean Byrne and Amos Nadan, "The Social Cube Analytical Model and Protracted Ethnoterritorial Conflicts," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 62–63; Senehi, "Building Peace, Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively."
[171] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 72.

into a dominant structure. Their existing cultural foundations (e.g. hunting and subsistence) were undermined and their needs were redirected to wage employment and life in settlements with permanent housing, all in the name of modernity and citizenship.[172] Importantly, colonialism continues to be present as will be outlined with regards to Greenland and Canada and with a special focus on climate change as a form of colonialism.

2.2.1.1.1 Colonialism in Greenland

The Norwegian-Danish missionary Hans Egede arrived in the area near present-day Nuuk in July 1721. That same year Greenland became a Danish colony, marking the beginning of colonialism on the island.[173] Europeans who started to settle in Greenland brought new diseases like smallpox, which almost killed the island's entire Inuit population in the nineteenth century.[174] Subsequently, traders, fur trappers, and whalers, all in search for new markets, arrived in Greenland. As a result, the bowhead population in the region became nearly extinct.[175] A market economy was introduced and Inuit were forced to settle permanently in villages, effectively ending their nomadic life.[176]

For the first 200 years, until the Second World War, Greenland was administered under a state trading monopoly that kept Greenlanders under tight paternalistic control, limiting significantly economic and all other type of exchange with the outside world.[177] On June 5, 1953,

[172] Peter Kulchyski and Frank James Tester, *Kiumajut (Talking Back): Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1950-70* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 7–8.
[173] Stern, *The Daily Life of the Inuit*, XIX; Nuttall, "Inuit," 993.
[174] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 39.
[175] Lynge, 39.
[176] Lynge, 41.
[177] Stern, *The Daily Life of the Inuit*, XIX; Nuttall, "Inuit," 993.

the colonial status of Greenland was abolished through a national referendum in Denmark, which led to the island adopting an amended constitution. Greenland became a part of the Kingdom of Denmark, and two elected representatives filled seats in the Danish parliament.[178] After the Second World War ended, a process of modernization introduced social welfare programs and infrastructural changes as well as economic programs like commercial fishing. People were resettled from remote hunting settlements into larger communities on the west coast. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Inuit society went through a rapid change from a land-based subsistence economy, largely reliant on hunting and fishing, to an export-oriented, modern economy. Greenlanders mainly came to live in larger communities, disrupting the kinship networks that structured Inuit life in the settlements. Inuit experienced alienation, marginalization, and discrimination caused by ethnic tensions with the Danes who were employed in Greenland as teachers, construction workers, administrators, and doctors. As a result, Inuit political movements and parties emerged, and politicians and activists in Greenland started advocating for Home Rule. This became a reality in 1979, making Greenlanders "the first population of Inuit origin to have achieved a degree of self-government."[179] With Home Rule, Greenland embarked on an ambitious nation-building project[180] and became Kalaallit Nunaat (the "Greenlanders' Land"). In a 2008 referendum, an overwhelming majority of Kalaallit voted in favour of self-governance, and in June 2009 the Act on Greenland Self-Government was adopted by the Danish parliament.[181] The Act recognizes the people of Greenland as a people "pursuant to international law, with the right of self-determination and the right to independence as a state, should the people wish to have this

[178] Helge Kleivan, "Contemporary Greenlanders," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. David Damas, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 702.
[179] Nuttall, "Inuit," 993.
[180] Nuttall, 993.
[181] Sejersen, *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the Era of Climate Change: New Northern Horizons*, 28. 21,555 Greenlanders voted in favour of self-governance, and 6,663 against it (Ibid.).

independence." Greenlandic is now recognized as the official language, and revenues from resource extraction activities remain in the hands of the government of Greenland. In the realm of foreign policy, Greenland and Denmark engage in a partnership of co-operation and safeguarding of both interests, but all matters related to foreign policy and security are handled by Denmark. The legislative authority in Greenland lies with the Greenlandic parliament (Inatsisartut), and the Greenlandic government (Naalakkersuisut) holds the executive power. The judicial powers are supposed to lie with the Greenlandic courts of law that are yet to be established by the Self-Government (at the time of writing courts in Greenland are still part of the Danish system).[182]

2.2.1.1.2 Colonialism in Northern Canada

The colonization of the Canadian Arctic had several distinctive aspects. The process happened more recently there than elsewhere in Canada, and the interactions between traditional inhabitants and newcomers, as well as the exploitation of Inuit, were initially very limited. Colonial practices led to the domination of the capitalist mode of production over the gatherer-hunter economy.[183] Beginning in the late seventeenth century, traders, whalers, and explorers found their way to the Canadian Arctic and started regular contact with the region's Indigenous people.[184] Soon after the HBC entered Inuit territory in the early twentieth century, a dependency of Inuit on the company's trading posts developed.[185] In contrast to the subarctic fur trade that focused on beaver, the Arctic fur trade concentrated on white fox for luxury production.[186]

[182] Sejersen, 30.
[183] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 405.
[184] Brody, *Living Arctic*, 189; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Timeline*, accessed August 26, 2013.
[185] Nuttall, "Inuit," 993.
[186] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 407.

The first missionaries established themselves among Inuit at the end of the eighteenth century.[187] But, most of Inuit in what is now known as Canada began to be affected by colonialism in the nineteenth century.[188] This was when the Arctic was mainly visited by whalers,[189] who remained numerous in the region until the beginning of the twentieth century.[190] The Inuit were "drawn into the whaling industry" to provide support, especially as skilled workers.[191] Whale hunting was a colonial activity because it was systematic: it "overexploited an important natural resource" (bowhead whales) and it also exploited Inuit labour.[192] Colonial presence increased again during the Second World War with the arrival of short-term workers (especially soldiers) and the development of infrastructure in the Arctic. At this time, Indigenous land rights were mainly ignored and the communities were exposed to "southern influences." Throughout the Cold War, militarization gained momentum in the Arctic, which led to the establishment of Distant Early Warning (DEW) line in the north.[193] Around the middle of the twentieth century, many Indigenous peoples in the Arctic had their first encounters with southerners. From then on, contact would be sustained and deepen; as Kulchyski concludes, "The contemporary pattern of totalizing colonial processes (…) was established."[194]

By the 1950s, multiple newcomers had arrived the Arctic and cumulatively affected the entire life of its people. Inuit became dependent on the fur trade and vulnerable to fur prices and the availability of hunting equipment, clothes, and food in stores that had substituted the traditional Inuit lifestyle and diet. Soon prefabricated houses, Christianity, southern education, residential

[187] Brody, *The Other Side Of Eden*, 219–20. By 1900, "every part of North America was within one or another diocese" (Ibid.).
[188] Brody, *The People's Land*, 189.
[189] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406.
[190] Brody, *The People's Land*, 22–23.
[191] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406; Brody, *Living Arctic*, 191.
[192] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406.
[193] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406.
[194] Kulchyski, 405.

schools,[195] and wage labour – eventually arrived in the north as part of the settlement process. Diseases and illnesses also found their way to the north.[196] Colonial processes of assimilation eventually caused Inuit to give up their semi-nomadic lifestyle and permanently settle. At the time, southerners had also started to arrive for work in the communities, causing frictions between the two groups. The official government policy in the 1950s was to incorporate Inuit socially, economically, and culturally into the mainstream society in Canada. This paternalistic approach saw training and education as necessary preconditions for Inuit to become modern-day Canadians.[197] For Inuit, this extremely drastic transformation occurred within a short time span:

> This is probably one of the most dramatic and rapid changes made by any group of Indigenous people anywhere in the world in all of recorded history. What happens is, in ten years Inuit go from being self-sufficient, from living in tents and igloos and qarmaqs, which of course they made, living on the land, hunting caribou, hunting seal with their dogteams to living in settlements. When they first came to settlements they lived in shack houses made out of scrap lumber and building material that was gathered from the dumps around these fledgling communities. . . . The change that takes place is rapid and dramatic.[198]

In fact, the Canadian government forced various Inuit groups to move to permanent settlements in the High Arctic to secure national sovereignty. This had severe and at times lethal impact on Inuit who were unfamiliar with the new territory, available food sources, and related hunting techniques, while the promised governmental support never materialized. During the tuberculosis (TB) outbreak, the government evacuated Inuit onto a hospital ship, abruptly disconnecting patients from their families, and send them to southern treatment centres where some Inuit died and were buried anonymously. Only in 2019 did the government apologize for this treatment.[199] The Inuit

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[195] Kulchyski, 407; Brody, *The Other Side Of Eden*, 27, 175–76.
[196] Brody, *The People's Land*, 213.
[197] Nuttall, "Inuit," 993.
[198] Nanisiniq, *"Introduction to Qimmit" by Dr. Frank Tester*, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qoQI-AQJ04g; Tester, "Mad Dogs and (Mostly) Englishmen."
[199] CBC News, "'Canada Must Carry That Guilt and That Shame': Trudeau Apologizes for 1940s-'60s Mistreatment of Inuit with TB," CBC, March 8, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/trudeau-apology-tuberculosis-iqaluit-1.5047805; CBC News, "'Dark Chapter in Our History': Federal Gov't Apologizes to Ahiarmiut for Forced

were forcibly incorporated into "dominant social and cultural forms"[200] without even being considered or listened to.[201] Different but interrelated political, economic, psycho-cultural, religious, historical, and demographic aspects[202] of colonialism in the Arctic caused the subjugation and genocide of Inuit. Some critics describe colonization as a "total war"[203] on Indigenous people that left a long legacy[204] and still reaches into the present. High levels of self-destruction and violence among and between Indigenous people, past and present, are due to societal stress, alienation, and frustration, raising the probability of them seeking out violent outlets.[205] Inuit, as other Indigenous people in Canada, remain today in impoverished colonial conditions that expose them to various forms of structural violence. They face substandard health care and housing, lack of education support and services in the north, Indigenous overrepresentation in prisons, Indigenous under-representation in administrative positions across the country, and the uncountable instances where a dominant Western system is unable—or unwilling—to acknowledge and incorporate Indigenous cultural differences and needs into the mainstream system.[206]

In recent decades, Inuit have realized forms of self-determination in various regions across Canada. Among the Inuvialuit, the Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE) was

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Relocations," CBC, January 22, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/ahiarmiut-apology-federal-government-1.4986934.

[200] Brody, *The People's Land*, 42.

[201] Brody, 27; Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 405. Such a form of incorporation can be described as "totalization" (Kulchyski, 405).

[202] Byrne and Nadan, "The Social Cube Analytical Model and Protracted Ethnoterritorial Conflicts," 62–72.

[203] Michael Stevenson, "Columbus and the War on Indigenous Peoples," *Race & Class* 33, no. 3 (January 1, 1992): 28.

[204] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 77; Rigney, "Internationalization of an Indigenous Anticolonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies," 112.

[205] Jeff Reading, "An Examination of Residential Schools and Elder Health," in *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey*, ed. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey Steering Committee (St. Regis: First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey, 1999), 34; Byrne and Nadan, "The Social Cube Analytical Model and Protracted Ethnoterritorial Conflicts," 68–69; Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 67.

[206] Lydia Schoeppner, *Aboriginal Criminal Justice in Canada* (Marburg: M.A. Thesis, Philipps University Marburg (Germany), 2003).

established in opposition to oil and gas development in the region in 1969. In 1975, Inuit in Quebec signed the James Bay agreement with the government and hydroelectric companies, and in 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in the Northwest Territories.[207] Furthermore, the Nunavut land claim and territory was established in 1999. Nunavut is not an ethnic Inuit entity, as it has a public government. But the fact that, at 80 percent, Inuit are currently the territory's population majority allows them a greater degree of autonomy and self-determination than any other Indigenous group in Canada.[208]

2.2.1.2 Climate Change

Outside Inuit Nunaat, human activity[209]—increased urbanization and change in the use of land, extreme natural resource exploitation, and emissions of greenhouse gases and aerosol particles—is the main cause of anthropogenic climate change which leads to global warming.[210] One of the major and ongoing global trends is the continual expansion of capital that constantly requires new resources. This also dictates the political activities of nation-states as well as the economic behaviour of industrialists and entrepreneurs. In following this capitalist goal, modern industry also causes environmental pollution and depletion of resources, leading to global warming and ozone holes. In a nutshell: industrial activity transforms nature while a "world-encompassing commercialization" allows for the consequences to remain largely invisible to the perpetrators.

[207] Nuttall, "Inuit," 994. The Inuvialuit Agreement ruled that the Inuvialuit received 35,000 square miles of land, as well as financial compensation and rights (gas, petroleum, mineral rights in 5000 square miles). In return, Inuvialuit surrendered futher claims to territory (Ibid.).
[208] Nuttall, 994.
[209] Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic - Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8; Fenge and Funston, "The Practice and Promise of the Arctic Council," 29.
[210] Lange, "Climate Change," 365, 370, 372.

Industrial activity and global commercialization are "two powerful structures … legitimized by economic growth." According to Galtung, economic growth is a form of cultural violence that legitimizes structural violence—pollution and resource depletion—against the environment.[211] Consequently, anthropogenic climate change is structural violence justified and driven by cultural violence with constant economic development and growth as its motor.

In fact, it is not the only the environment that is suffering from structural violence rooted in the culturally motivated concept of economic growth. Changes in weather patterns have started impacting human health and well-being globally. Climate change is one of the major conflicts of our time. Local people have started feeling the impacts of a changing climate and politicians are equally aware of the problem. Several NGOs, as advocates for civil society, have likewise started focusing on climate change issues. In spring 2019, inspired by the Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg, an estimated 1.6 million students in about 120 countries left school to protest adult inaction on climate change, demanding action from their political leaders.[212] These Friday for Future demonstrations continued and grew into a worldwide protest over summer and fall 2019. Compared to other groups, the world's 350 million Indigenous people contribute least to climate change—but suffer most from its effects.[213] Climate change and its consequences are the main driver for change in the Arctic.[214] There, global warming causes the melting of snow, permafrost,

[211] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 294.

[212] Alan Taylor, "Climate-Change Protests Around the World," The Atlantic, April 25, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2019/04/photos-climate-change-protests-around-world/588016/; Suyin Haynes, "Here's What Youth Climate Strikers Worldwide Want Next," Time, March 20, 2019, https://time.com/5554775/youth-school-climate-change-strike-action/.

[213] IISD, "UN Backed Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change Ends with Declaration Calling for Fossil Fuel Phase-Out," April 24, 2009, http://sdg.iisd.org/news/un-backed-indigenous-peoples%E2%80%99-global-summit-on-climate-change-ends-with-declaration-calling-for-fossil-fuel-phase-out/.

[214] Arctic Council, "Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic (AMAP)," accessed October 25, 2018, https://www.amap.no/adaptation-actions-for-a-changing-arctic-part-c. "Other factors (drivers of change) such as, for example, global resource demands, tourism, global transport, fisheries, and economic development also drive change in the Arctic. The different drivers of change are often interrelated and interlinked" (Ibid.).

and shore ice, and now the sea ice melts earlier in summer and freezes later in fall.[215] Large-scale melting causes the sea levels to rise, leading to coastal erosion.[216] Multi-year sea ice disappears and the new ice and snow have different characteristics.[217] Weather becomes more extreme and unpredictable.[218] Furthermore, climate change enables and accelerates the accumulation and bio-magnification of dangerous persistent organic pollutants (POPs) in the Arctic,[219] and stratospheric ozone depletion results in higher ultraviolet radiation.[220] But, potentially ice-free summers in the near future[221] make non-renewable resource development more feasible and attractive in the Arctic Ocean where an estimated 22 to 25 percent of the world's undiscovered oil and gas resources lie.[222]

Consequently, climate change has affected almost every aspect of life for Inuit: it endangers their culture, livelihoods, economy, food and travel, and physical and mental health and well-being.[223] Such an environmental crisis can create huge socioeconomic and ecological

[215] Weller, "Impacts of Climate Change," 2005, 945; Henry Pollack, *A World Without Ice* (New York: Avery, 2009), XV; J. N. Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," ed. V. R. Barros et al., vol. 28–Polar Regions, Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part B-Regional Aspects (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1583, http://ipcc-wg2.gov/AR5/images/uploads/WGIIAR5-Chap28_FGDall.pdf. Damages could result in maintenance costs for roads increases, instability of landscape and infrastructure, raising sea levels rise and cause coastal erosion, damages to landfills, and sewage contamination. Ibid. Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 185–86, 188; ICC, "Chair's Message. Inuit Voices Informing Action," January 2016, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/chairs_message_-_january_2016_.pdf.
[216] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 185–86.
[217] Watt-Cloutier, 186–87.
[218] Watt-Cloutier, 193; Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1581.
[219] According to estimates, up to 80 per cent of the pollutants in the Canadian Arctic originate outside of Canada. Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 134.
[220] World Health Organization, "WHO | Climate Change and Human Health - Risks and Responses. Summary," WHO, accessed April 19, 2016, http://www.who.int/globalchange/climate/summary/en/index7.html.
[221] Nafeez Ahmed, "US Navy Predicts Summer Ice Free Arctic by 2016 | Nafeez Ahmed," The Guardian, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/dec/09/us-navy-arctic-sea-ice-2016-melt; "Expert Predicts Ice-Free Arctic by 2020 as UN Releases Climate Report," Barentsobserver, November 4, 2014, http://barentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2014/11/expert-predicts-ice-free-arctic-2020-un-releases-climate-report-04-11.
[222] US Energy Information Administration, "Arctic Oil and Natural Gas Resources," January 20, 2012, http://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.cfm?id=4650; Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World," 12.
[223] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1595; Lange, "Climate Change," 369.

challenges.[224] It causes increased likelihood for accidents.[225] In addition, it complicates and endangers traditional Inuit hunting and fishing conditions,[226] ways of travelling on the ice,[227] and access to such areas,[228] threatening Inuit with economic loss[229] and cultural loss. Moreover, with climate change, access to food and food security is endangered.[230] This pushes Inuit towards permanent settlement and acceptance of non-traditional, more pricy but less healthy store-bought food, "increasing the rates of modern diseases associated with processed food and its packaging."[231] Eroding infrastructure[232] can contaminate drinking water with bacteria, salt water, sewage, and waste, causing serious diseases[233] and it can destabilize oil pipelines, increasing the risks of oil spills.[234] Unpredictable, extreme, and new weather conditions can impede mobility,[235] can have negative effects on service- and supply-delivery to remote communities,[236] and challenge

[224] Weller, "Impacts of Climate Change," 2005, 945; Pollack, *A World Without Ice*, XV; Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1583.
[225] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1582–83. experienced hunters could have accidents breaking into ice. Breaking ice during a catch can also cause severe accidents, because the ropes that swing back from breaking ice move "faster than a bullet" and can severely injure people (Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 186–87).
[226] Weller, "Impacts of Climate Change," 2005, 946; Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1581. Hunting is more challenging because animals that depend on the ice move further out where the sea ice is. This means that hunters have to travel further to find such animals (e.g. polar bears, walruses, seals). However, travelling further is also more expensive for the hunters, because longer trips require more fuel. Having to travel longer to reach the animals also means less time for the actual hunt. Unreliable ice conditions also prevent Inuit in spring to travel to remote islands to collect eggs and geese. Early melting in spring also causes quick growth of rivers and lakes, which could potentially endanger return trips from hunting. This leads to a general reluctance to go on longer hunting trips. (Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*,187–88, 192).
[227] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 188–89 The new snow slows down snow machines and is not useful to build igloos, because it is more sticky and soft and less crisp. Hunters today will have to bring tents with them, but tents are bulky and inadequate in providing protection against the cold or polar bears (Ibid.).
[228] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1582. Some reported that their four-wheelers got stuck in the tundra where the permafrost underneath had melted (Watt-Cloutier, The Right to be Cold, 192).
[229] Larsen et al., 1585; G. K. Hovelsrud et al., "Arctic Societies, Cultures, and Peoples," in *Snow, Water, Ice and Permafrost in the Arctic* (Oslo: Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, 2011), 445–83.
[230] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 187. Thinner ice cannot support the weight of a hunted whale, forcing Inuit to catch smaller whales which also means that Inuit receive less whale meat. Traditional food storing methods become unavailable and limit the availability of country food for communities (Ibid., Larsen et al., 1583).
[231] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1583. Such diseases could be: obesity, diabetes, caries (Ibid.).
[232] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 188.
[233] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1583.
[234] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 191.
[235] Smith, "The Sea Ice Is Our Highway: The Importance of Sea Ice to the Inuit Way of Life."
[236] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1581.

Inuit weather prediction skills that are based on traditional knowledge. This could lead to misjudgment and accidents.[237] Increased shipping traffic in the Arctic will also increase the likelihood of shipping accidents and a growth in transport emissions which cause environmental damage and raise safety and security concerns in the region.[238]

As a result of such concerns, conventional military action has been augmented in the Arctic.[239] Large naval exercises are now carried out during the ice-free summers,[240] increasing the presence of non-Inuit in the region. In light of the anticipated increases in oil, gas, and other resource development, some predict that the land available to the region's Indigenous population will shrink.[241] Some animal populations that Inuit traditionally depend on are currently reduced in numbers, less nutritious, unhealthy, and have become harder to find and hunt.[242] While some animals disappear, new species may migrate to the Arctic, which has an effect on the diets of animals and humans[243] and might expose Inuit to new infectious diseases.[244] Communities are now

[237] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 193.
[238] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1593; Ed Struzik, *The Big Thaw: Travels in the Melting North*, Canadian First (Mississauga: Wiley, 2009), 7; Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*
[239] Huguette Young, "The Arctic: The New El Dorado. Climate Change, Oil and Geopolitics in the Arctic Circle," *Americas Quarterly* (2010); Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*, 60–61; Ernie Regehr, *Missile Defence and the Arctic*, Disarming Arctic Security (Waterloo: The Simons Foundation, June 4, 2013), 1; *The Globe and Mail*, "Russia to Boost Arctic Military Presence Following Canada's North Pole Seabed Claim," *The Globe and Mail*, accessed December 19, 2013.
[240] MacAlister, "Arctic Military Rivalry Could Herald a 21st-Century Cold War"; Nikolai Patrushev, "Russia to Set Up Naval Infrastructure in Arctic – Patrushev," *RIA Novosti*, accessed November 17, 2013.
[241] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1585; J. Derome and N. Lukina, "Interactions between Environmental Pollution and Land-Cover/ Land-Use Change in Arctic Areas," in *Eurasian Arctic Land Cover and Land Use in a Changing Climate*, ed. G. Gutman and A. Reissell (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 269–90.
[242] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 189. Less fatty seals sink quicker into the water when shot; also polar bears, some caribou, ptarmigan, and hares seem thinner (because they face hardships to find food) (Ibid.).
[243] American Museum of Natural History, "Polar Bear Diet Changes as Sea Ice Melts," 2014, http://www.amnh.org/about-us/press-center/polar-bear-diet-changes-as-sea-ice-melts; Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 192; Gunter Weller, "Impacts of Climate Change," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 946; Lauren E. Culler, Matthew P. Ayres, and Ross A. Virginia, "In a Warmer Arctic, Mosquitoes Avoid Increased Mortality from Predators by Growing Faster," *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 282, no. 1815 (September 22, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2015.1549.
[244] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1582. Contaminants as persistant organic pollutants (POPs) can have negative medical and neurological effexts on people, especially in the developing fetus, children, women and older people (Ibid.).

also more often threatened by polar bears approaching on smaller ice floes that can move closer to the land.[245] Inuit are increasingly exposed to POPs[246] resulting in some cases in "sensory and motor dysfunction," impaired development of neurological functioning, higher risks for infection among newborns, and higher risks for cancer and osteoporosis among older individuals.[247] Increased ultraviolet (UV) radiation due to a thinning ozone layer increases the risks for skin cancer, rashes, and cataracts among Inuit.[248] Further, (the threat of) relocation and the loss of traditional subsistence livelihood can cause psychological distress among northern residents.[249] Climate change causes unhealthier living conditions for Inuit, increases dependency on southern food, and makes parts of Inuit traditional knowledge obsolete—discouraging Elders to pass on hunting and weather predicting skills to the youth.[250]

"Climate colonialism" is usually perceived most severely in regions that are not responsible for its causes, such as the Arctic or small islands in the Pacific. According to Falk, such colonialism occurs wherein "the colonizer can destroy the colonies without ever leaving the colonizer's land of origin. […] The same forces that are drowning islands in the Pacific are creating deserts in the American Southwest, are disturbing the growing cycles of the plants we eat, are causing species of the animals we eat to go extinct, are polluting the air we breathe and the water

[245] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 190.
[246] Watt-Cloutier, 134. The POP concentration is highest among larger animals and human beings (highest in the food chain) in the north ("they move from warm to cold") (Ibid.). Moreover, POPs can be passed on through breast milk which has already resulted in dietary changes among pregnant women as welll as reuctance to breast feeding babies.
[247] Lisa D. Kraemer, James E. Berner, and Christopher M. Furgal, "The Potential Impact of Climate on Human Exposure to Contaminants in the Arctic," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 64, no. 5 (n.d.): 503; M. Christopher Newland, "Neurobehavioral Toxicity of Methylmercury and PCBs Effects-Profiles and Sensitive Populations," *Environmental Toxicology and Pharmacology* 12, no. 2 (September 2002): 119–28; Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 136.
[248] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 193.
[249] Larsen et al., "IPCC WG II AR5 Final Draft," 1583; C. J. Portier et al., "A Human Health Perspective on Climate Change: A Report Outlining the Research Needs on the Human Health Effects of Climate Change" (Interagency Working Group on Climate Change and Health, 2010), http://www.globalchange.gov/browse/reports/human-health-perspective-climate-change-report-outlining-research-needs-human-health.
[250] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 202.

we drink."[251] The burning of fossil fuels, harmful extraction of unrenewable resources, and the use of new and destructive technologies carried out by the world's capitalist empires affect the climate around the globe and have "turned the entire world into a colony." Therefore, the people in "power have succeeded in colonizing the entire world through climate change." Changes in weather and climate destroy peoples' homes and increase the risk of extinction of native animals and plants. Furthermore, "every mother now has dioxin—a known carcinogen in her breast milk—demonstrating that the bodies of women around the world have been colonized." The weather and water, of course, know no political boundaries, so pollutants and toxins produced in one country can be carried on and harm inhabitants elsewhere.[252]

As this overview indicates, climate change is caused by various agents across the globe. As a form of colonialism, it exposes Inuit to structural and cultural violence. Importantly, agency in climate change conflicts is global and ranges from individual behaviour to politically (un) regulated economic development and environmental protection (or the lack thereof).

2.2 Conflict Parties

In this research on conflicts around colonialism and climate change, Inuit constitute one conflict party. Defining the second conflict party is more challenging. Climate change and colonial practices are initiated and maintained by various agents. As power-holding macro-political forces in the current world order, governments are clearly the main agents, but industrial stakeholders and individual citizens within these nation-states also need to be counted as parties complicit in

[251] Will Falk, "Empire's Newest Terror: Climate Colonialism," *San Diego Free Press* (blog), October 8, 2015, http://sandiegofreepress.org/2015/10/empires-newest-terror-climate-colonialism/.
[252] Falk; Peter B., "Climate Change and Conflict," *Revolutionary Ecology. Marxist Discourse on Environmentalism and* (blog), September 20, 2014, https://revolutionaryecology.com/2014/09/20/climate-change-and-conflict/.

the conflict. Thus, Inuit face a complex diversity of opponents as they seek to achieve peacemaking on a systemic and personal level.

2.1.1 Inuit in Greenland and in Canada/ Nunavut

Inuit in Greenland are politically part of the Kingdom of Denmark.[253] Geographically, Greenland is located on the North American continent, but geopolitically it is part of Europe. Greenlandic Inuit comprise about 90 percent of the world's biggest island's total population of 56,000.[254] Inuit of Canada are members of the Canadian Federation.[255] Most of the Canadian Inuit live in fifty-three communities in the Canadian north (these include Nunavik, Quebec; Nunatsiavut, Labrador; and Nunavut and Inuvialuit in the Northwest Territories).[256] Of the 36,000 Nunavut inhabitants, roughly 85 percent identified as Inuit.[257] Inuit constitute national minorities in both Denmark and Canada.

2.1.2 Governments, Industry, and Individuals

In the conflict around climate change, Inuit face a multitude of adversaries. The agents that cause and accelerate the climate crisis range from individuals to industrial companies. These

[253] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 55.
[254] Statistics Greenland, "Greenland in Figures 2018" (Nuuk: Statistics Greenland, 2018), http://www.stat.gl/publ/en/GF/2018/pdf/Greenland%20in%20Figures%202018.pdf; "Greenland," CIA World Factbook, 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gl.html.
[255] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 55.
[256] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/.
[257] Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Focus on Inuit in Nunavut" (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2017), http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/Publications/census/2016/StatsUpdate_Inuit%20data_2016%20Census.pdf.

agents are members of nation-states where national governments can use their power and make a choice to implement and enforce policies to protect the environment. But, the nature of policy-making is complex; often divergent lobbying interests, the economic power of industrial stakeholders, and other forces impact policy-making processes and results. The UN and other international fora like the AC provide platforms where nation-states debate and coordinate policy approaches to protect the environment.

2.3 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation (CT) is also termed peace-building, transformative peacemaking, or, in Burton's words, conflict prevention. CT is concerned with creating peaceful, long-term, and sustainable relationships between conflict parties. It aims at the elimination of structural violence and other conflict causes.[258] Bottom-up approaches usually play an important role in CT.[259] Climate change has been described above as a conflict rooted in colonialism that exposes Inuit to structural, cultural, and direct violence. Thus, to realize CT, all three forms of violence need to be addressed to dismantle colonialism. CT, as a process of decolonization, aims at the elimination of direct and structural violence and other causes of conflict and seeks positive peace through the creation of systemic and personal change.[260] Because such processes need to incorporate an understanding of the role culture plays in conflict and of local and Indigenous/ Inuit forms of peacemaking, this chapter goes into detail in these areas. It concludes with a description of two PACS CT models that allow for the inclusion of Inuit peacemaking: the Everyday Peace and the Hybrid Peace. This

[258] Mac Ginty and Williams, 42–57, 97; Lederach, 17.
[259]Mac Ginty and Williams, 103.
[260] Sandole, "Typology," 54.

theoretical framework will guide the analysis of the ICC as an agent of peace in the following chapters.

2.3.1 Decolonization

Decolonization is "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms,"[261] including in cultural and institutional matters implemented by the colonizer.[262] Puxley writes that the colonized, in order to decolonize, have to return to the "human vocation of making history."[263] The capability to live a human life is a condition for successful decolonization. This encompasses the "ability for conscious action in the human's world" or the "ability to choose between alternatives."[264] Therefore, to develop means to become more human "in the sense of acting" in this "world with greater efficacy."[265] Puxley and Freire argue that being human is a process where informed and conscious action leads to experience that, upon critical reflection, leads to a new consciousness, which once more is expressed in action. Thus, the process of human development (i.e. decolonization), according to Puxley, includes dealing with the contradiction between the experience of reality and the idea of reality.[266]

Having been profoundly influenced during colonization, the colonized do not remain untouched, and, in response, they often employ forms of decolonization that reflect an "energetic engagement with dominant practice."[267] For instance, "the process of resistance [is] conducted in

[261] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 56.
[262] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 65.
[263] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 112.
[264] Puxley, 107.
[265] Puxley, 107.
[266] Puxley, 118; Freire's concept of conscientization argues that individuals become aware of and reflect about themselves in their own context which allows them to transcend themselves and become active participants in creating social change (Ibid.) Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 26.
[267] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 58.

terms or institutions appropriated from the colonizing culture itself."[268] As a result, decolonization does not necessarily dismiss all colonialist practices, but adopts some as well. In certain cases, the colonized become partners of the "imperial powers from which they sought to emerge as free agents."[269] However, the liberation of the colonized will take place on the basis of the Indigenous people recovering autonomous dignity and self, a complicated process. To that end, the colonizer's social and cultural values and their methods and techniques have been learnt by the colonized and are used to inform actions of decolonization. The drawback may be that the colonizer's cultural, political, and economic models and values can potentially persist even after the colonized become independent from the colonial power.[270] This helps explain how Indigenous empowerment resulted in the creation of numerous NGOs[271]—entities that are part of the Western/ colonial political reality—to use for decolonizing purposes. Choosing to use the colonizer's language serves as another example as élite communications around the world are usually held in English due to Eurocentric influences.[272] But, processes of decolonization also advocate for a return to and revival of Indigenous languages. In fact, the restoration of pre-colonial languages can be seen as one of the most important claims of decolonization.[273] After all, there is a close connection between language and culture: language creates culture and culture produces communication.[274] Memmi

[268] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 56.
[269] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 56.
[270] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 56–57; Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 128–29.
[271] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 6, 17, 42, 57, 59. The International Labour Organization, for example, developed an interest in the issue and established a Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982 (Ibid., 57). The International Year of Indigenous Peoples (1992) and the UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples (1995–2004) was established, and in 2007, the UN adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Increasingly, indigenous peoples are recognized as peoples, who have the right to self-determination (Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 139–140, 142; Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 256; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 2, 6, 58); Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 30.
[272] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 56–57. This all can be seen as an "overwriting of pre-colonial cultural practices" (Ibid.).
[273] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 110.
[274] Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 14–15.

argues that for the colonized it is important to rebuild their community with reference to their own authenticity, to rebuild the unity, "and to feel that they belong."[275]

For Puxley, decolonization means struggling for recognition.[276] In order for a culture to be preserved, the way a group of people defines itself also needs to be acknowledged. And, importantly, only the people whose culture is at stake can define their own culture. Their culture is alive to the extent that they announce their identity. A united struggle for the recognition of rights, therefore, is a cultural act. The culture of a people continues to exist "as long as there are people who define themselves" as part of this group—and their culture "will be what they do together." Puxley writes that "the shared experience forms conscious, united action [and this] makes […] culture a living reality."[277] In addressing all forms of violence (direct, structural, and cultural), decolonization aims at recognition, action, and peacemaking/ CT.

2.3.2 Peacemaking

Peacemaking/ CT is a bottom-up approach[278] that is based on Freire's pedagogical framework. According to it conscientization and awareness of the self, in context, leads to individual transformation of relationships into mutually beneficial and cooperative networks and to social transformation.[279] Over the years, an understanding has developed that in order for CT to be more effective, sustainable, empowering, and accepted, peacemaking needs to be more

[275] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 135.
[276] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 117.
[277] Puxley, 111. Therefore, somebody who assumes that culture is only represented by rituals which become distinct and old artifacts is imprisoned by a colonial consciousness. Such thoughts are seen as typical for a colonial situation which "deprives men of their sense of themselves" and degrades their identity (Ibid.).
[278] Mac Ginty and Williams, *Conflict and Development*, 103; Sandole, "Typology," 54.
[279] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 18.

constructive, multilateral, multi-leveled, multi-method, and inclusive of civil society.[280] Constructive conflict settlement aims at minimizing destructive forces (e.g. injustice and oppression) and at establishing mutual benefits, which create a foundation for future interaction. CT requires that peoples' behaviour and attitudes change toward mutual respect and trust, goodwill, reconciliation, co-operation, communication, concern for each other, and negotiation, and that conflict is dealt with creatively.[281] In this regard, conflict is understood as a creative opportunity: to bring constructive and holistic change of structures and relationships; to enhance social justice, respect, healing, and truth in human relations; to increase peoples' participation in decisions that affect them; and to improve peoples' lives. CT aims to be just and to develop peaceful, sustainable, and long-term relationships between the conflict parties. CT simultaneously supports individual as well as community empowerment.[282] Former UN General Secretary Boutros-Ghali suggested, in this context, to establish cooperative projects and other measures that serve to enhance confidence in each other, to reduce negative feelings for the other, and to eliminate barriers to peacebuilding measures.[283] Subsequently, dialogue is an important means to realize CT.[284]

It is crucial for PACS to utilize holistic peace processes that recognize the wholeness of the peace process and acknowledge that peace processes are interconnected. Holistic peace processes contain a net of relationships, enhance understanding about conflicts and their

[280] Louis Kriesberg, "Waging Conflicts Constructively," in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Sean Byrne et al. (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 164–65.
[281] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 70, 72.
[282] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 21.
[283] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping* (United Nations, 1992), 15; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 20–21.
[284] Sandole, "Typology," 52–54; Mac Ginty and Williams, *Conflict and Development*, 97, 103; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 17, 22; John Paul Lederach, *The Little Book Of Conflict Transformation* (Intercourse: Good Books, 2003), 14, 19, 21, 30, 70.

resolution, and acknowledge complexity and "the mystery of the unknown."[285] Lederach advocates for participation of all parts of society in order to realize holistic peace-building. He termed this a creative act—the "moral imagination"[286]—that needs to replace ethnocentric peace interventions. Cohen argues that more "Model C" practitioners who are aware of the role of culture for CT are needed.[287] Thus, to realize constructive conflict handling, CT has become more sensitive towards cultural differences and more inclusive of local resources and processes.[288]

2.3.2.1 The Role of Culture

Culture is a complex issue. It is discussed here in a two-fold way. First, the conversation explains the local turn in PACS toward an understanding of the importance of culture in sustainable conflict resolution (CR). The second aspect of culture discussed here relates to the fact that culture is constantly changing—which impacts Inuit as much as any other peoples.

According to Fry and Björkqvist, "Conflicts and their resolution are 'cultural events.'"[289] But, although pioneering PACS theorists have acknowledged the importance of human behaviour for the development and resolution of social conflicts, the role of culture for understanding and

[285] Susan Allen Nan, "Shifting from Coherent toward Holistic Peace Processes," in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Sean Byrne et al. (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 391–93; Sandole, "Typology."
[286] John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), X.
[287] Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 104–5; R. Cohen, "An Advocate's View," in *Culture and Negotiation*, ed. Guy Faure and Jeffrey Z. Rubin (Newbury: sage, 1993), 35–36. The Model C practitioner, as suggested by Cohen, is aware of cultural differences and the power that lies within cultural approaches, understands that Western approaches are just one way of addressing conflict and that there is no universal template that can be applied to any conflict.
[288] Lederach, *The Little Book Of Conflict Transformation*, 27.
[289] Douglas P Fry and Kai Björkqvist, "Introduction: Conflict Resolution Themes," in *Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution. Alternatives to Violence*, ed. Douglas P Fry and Kai Björkqvist (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997), 4; Paul Wehr and John Paul Lederach, "Mediating Conflict in Central America," *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 1 (February 1, 1991): 85–98, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343391028001009.

resolving conflict remained absent from their work.[290] Interest in the role of culture and in Indigenous processes of peacemaking developed in the 1990s when the works by Avruch (his first book criticized mainstream ideas on CR based in Western mainstream),[291] Augsburger, and Lederach were published.[292] It became clear that the CR mechanisms developed by the pioneers in the PACS field were largely based in Western epistemology, which was mistakenly considered to be a-cultural and appropriate for all.[293] Such ethnocentric perspectives were first challenged by Franz Boas' famous work on cultural relativism that encouraged "attempting to understand different cultures without using evaluative criteria that stem from the observing culture."[294]

Culture is defined as beliefs, behaviours, or knowledge that have been passed on to individuals by ancestors and contemporaries. It also develops from individual experience within a population. In other words, culture involves the transmission of meaning from the past but also from contemporary sources, including from the individual herself.[295] As a result, individuals learn

[290] John Burton, *Conflict: Human Needs Theory:* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), https://www.amazon.ca/Conflict-Human-Theory-J-Burton/dp/033352148X/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=burton%2C+conflict&qid=1551377585&s=gateway&sr=8-1; Morton Deutsch, *Morton Deutsch: A Life and Legacy of Mediation and Conflict Resolution* (Brisbane: Australian Academic Press, 2005), https://www.amazon.ca/Morton-Deutsch-Mediation-Conflict-Resolution-ebook/dp/B01M998XBO/ref=sr_1_fkmrnull_1?keywords=deutsch%2C+a+life+and+legacy&qid=1551377683&s=gateway&sr=8-1-fkmrnull; Christopher Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict:* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1981), https://www.amazon.ca/Structure-International-Conflict-C-Mitchell/dp/0312024142/ref=sr_1_fkmrnull_1?keywords=mitchell%2C+the+structure+of+international+conflict&qid=1551377774&s=gateway&sr=8-1-fkmrnull; Roger Fisher, William Ury, and Bruce Patton, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving in* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991); Paul Wehr, *Conflict Regulation* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979); Louis Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

[291] Hamdesa Tuso and Maureen P. Flaherty, "Indigenous Processes of Peacemaking. Why Are We Interested in This Area of Knowledge and Practice Now?," in *Creating the Third Force. Indigenous Processes of Peacemaking*, ed. Hamdesa Tuso and Maureen P. Flaherty (New York: Lexington Books, 2016), 15.

[292] Kevin Avruch, Peter W Black, and Joseph A Scimecca, *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1998); Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*; Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*.

[293] Polly O. Walker, "Decolonizing Conflict Resolution: Addressing the Ontological Violence of Westernization," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2004): 27, https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2004.0108.

[294] Peter Kulchyski, "Franz Boas," in *Encyclopedia of Te Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall (New York: Routledge, 2005), 266.

[295] Ibid., 5, 17.

and inherit images from the past, but they are also capable of creating images themselves.[296] Thus, culture is not timeless, rather it can change over time.[297] Furthermore, as Kulchyski writes, culture is flexible and situational and "responsive to the exigencies of the worlds that individuals confront."[298] This conception of culture is important for an understanding of the two different directions that decolonization processes can go. Given that cultures are not static but dynamic, Inuit culture is capable of changing or developing over time. Decolonization can contain strategies rooted in Indigenous peacemaking traditions that resist the colonizer's culture, wherein individuals decide to maintain Indigenous cultural approaches instead of altering them. Or, decolonization can mean assimilation to the culture of the colonizer where new cultural approaches are incorporated. The dynamic character of culture also allows for cultural assimilation of Inuit practices. In context of PACS, culture is viewed as "an engaged and contemporary set of practices"—what people do in their lives to make peace and what values guide their activities.[299]

2.3.2.2 Indigenous Peacemaking

Many Indigenous groups have developed "sophisticated notions of peace" that were often very different from the notions of peace imported by colonizers.[300] Although Western and Indigenous conflict resolution approaches both aim at peacemaking, both systems tend to prefer various means as avenues towards realizing this goal. This chapter provides a very brief and

[296] Ibid., 17–19.
[297] Ibid., 12–16.
[298] Ibid., 20.
[299] Peter Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," in *Critical Inuit Studies. An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*, ed. Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 158.
[300] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 147–48; Walter Goldschmidt, "Peacemaking and the Institutions of Peace in Tribal Societies," in *The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 111–12.

general overview of the main differences (e.g. related to the agents of peacemaking) that crystallize in comparison of the two systems. However, it is acknowledged that there is great variety among and within Indigenous and Western approaches to peacemaking.

Western approaches tend to be evidence-based, bureaucratic, in favour of the party that can get the best lawyers, and uninterested in reparation of broken relationships. These approaches concentrate on individual grievances and leave out the family and the community. Often, justice in the West depends on the "coercive power of the state" (the court system) and its material power, while the "spiritual dimension of peacemaking" is mostly left out. Moreover, the main goal appears to be winning at all costs.[301] In Western conflict management, problems tend to be dealt with in negotiation and then are shifted to impersonal authorities in formal legal processes that involve direct confrontation in interpersonal conflicts. Whereas in Indigenous communities conflict parties tend to be directly brought together and interventions by go-betweens or third parties (e.g. mediators or Elders) are valued.[302]

The silencing of Indigenous world views and practices and the failure to reflect on their differences from Western views and practices serves to continue the ontological violence and constitutes a colonial act.[303] To disengage from processes of colonialism in conflict resolution, it was necessary to understand this colonial practice and to acknowledge, respect, and accommodate

[301] Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 253–54; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 67; Witty, *Mediation and Society*, 6.
[302] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 101, 152.
[303] Keith Krause, "Hybrid Violence: Locating the Use of Force in Postconflict Settings Hybrid Peace Governance," *Global Governance* 18 (2012): 39–56; Sally Engle Merry, "Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle," *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 38–51, https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2006.108.1.38; Anthony Wanis-St. John, "Indigenous Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, ed. Roger Mac Ginty, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 360–74. This project does not aim at romanticizing Indigenous or Inuit peacebuilding approaches, and it acknowledges that local Indigenous practices could also "sometimes replicate social injustices and are least suited to use as a deterrent to future serious crimes." Such violent local practices can also merge with top-down (liberal/ Western) forms of violence in a matrix of hybrid violence (Ibid.).

different world views.[304] It had become clear to many scholars in the Peace and Conflict Studies field that the world's complexity needed to be reflected in more comprehensive approaches to conflict (e.g. the Multi Track system)[305] and that scholars who were trained in the West needed to engage with Indigenous perspectives and ideas about how to deal with deep-rooted conflicts.[306] Some were beginning to do this work, for example, Lederach provided a Central-American perspective to peacemaking, Abu-Nimer, Irani, and Funk did the same from a Muslim and Middle-Eastern viewpoint, and Murithi described the differences between Western and Indigenous peacemaking in Africa.[307] It became increasingly clear that, as a discipline, conflict resolution needed to seriously consider other cultures' peacemaking. It needed to create more space for Indigenous epistemologies, practices, knowledges, and voices instead of focusing on Western epistemology or on the "Euro-ethnocentric liberal peacebuilding model" to create a peacemaking methodology.[308] It became evident that sustainable peace could not be realized through the well-

[304] Walker, "Decolonizing Conflict Resolution."

[305] Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*. The Multi-Track model, developed by Diamond in the 1990s, acknowledges the diversity and complex nature of peacemaking processes, and the importance of local approaches to conflict. Thus, the model's nine tracks include "private citizen and personal peacemaking" (track four) and grassroots action and leadership (track six). Activism in these two tracks can be feasible as citizen diplomacy, advocacy, democracy-building institutions, dialogue, visits with other representatives from the same and other tracks, the development of alliances and coalitions, protest, and diplomacy behind the scenes. The tracks aim at making sure that the voices of local, often under-represented, and marginalized individuals are heard. The other remaining tracks are: government/ diplomacy, non-government/ conflict resolution (NGO action), business/ commerce, private citizen/ personal involvement (NGO, citizen diplomacy), research/ training/ education/ learning, activism, peacemaking/ advocacy, religion/ faith, funding/ resources, communication/ media/ information (Ibid.).

[306] Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi, "Revisiting the CAR Field," in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Dennis J. D. Sandole et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 525; Thomas Matyók, "Peace and Conflict Studies. Reclaiming Our Roots and Designing Our Way Forward," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), 295–96; Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 245, 251. However, Tuso noted a disconnect between universities and rural areas. Universities, who are located in the West, never reach local areas. There is "cultural reproduction in the academic world" in that universities hire certain people that seem to fit, and graduates (who research certain issues) are supported (Ibid., 252).

[307] Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 83; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*; Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "Conflict Resolution Approaches," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 55, no. 1 (1996): 35–52; Irani and Funk, *"Rituals of Reconciliation*; T. Murithi, "African Approaches to Building Peace and Social Solidarity," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 6, no. 2 (2007): 9–33.

[308] Debarati Sen, Ferdinand Dwaku Danso, and Natalia Meneses, "Culture and Conflict Management: The Need for a Paradigm Shift," in *Indigenous Conflict Management Strategies: Global Perspectives*, ed. Akanmu G. Adebayo, Jesse

known forms of Track I and II diplomacy or even Alternative Dispute Resolution[309] (ADR),[310] but that the techniques applied by grassroots and civil society actors should also be incorporated if sustainable peace was the goal. As a result, an increasing number of scholars has focused their work on Indigenous peacemaking.[311] Also, according to Wanis-St. John, Indigenous peacebuilding "is increasingly presented as the culturally relevant alternative to externally imposed and retributive international transitional justice."[312] Acknowledging the value placed on diversity and subjectivity in Indigenous world views, the following paragraphs attempts to describe Indigenous peacemaking in only a few generalized statements.

Indigenous peacemaking[313] tends to be based on implicit conflict resolution knowledge gained in real-life situations, rooted and developed within a given culture.[314]Certain respected local individuals (e.g. Elders) often have moral authority in conflicts and their judgement and advice is

J. Benjamin, and Brandon D. Lundy (Lexington: Lenham, 2014), 225–31; Galtung, "Peace and Conflict Studies as Political Activity," 6.

[309] Track I and II diplomacy and ADR are Western conflict resolution mechanisms that involve direct diplomacy of elected political representatives (Track I and II) or involve a neutral, external third party (ADR).

[310] Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 264.

[311] Irani and Funk, ""Rituals of Reconciliation"; Funk, "Building on What's Already There Valuing the Local in International Peacebuilding"; Christopher Isike and Ufo Okeke Uzodike, "Towards an Indigenous Model of Conflict Resolution: Reinventing Women's Roles as Traditional Peacebuilders in Neo-Colonial Africa," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 11, no. 2 (2011): 32–59; Stobbe, *Traditional Conflict Resolution Processes*; Roger Mac Ginty and Christine Sylva Hamieh, "Made in Lebanon: Local Participation and Indigenous Responses to Development and Post-War Reconstruction," *Civil Wars* 12, no. 1–2 (2010): 47–64, https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2010.484898; Lang, "Sulha Peacemaking and the Politics of Persuasion"; A. G. Adebayo, Jesse J. Benjamin, and Brandon D. Lundy, *Indigenous Conflict Management Strategies: Global Perspectives* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014); Flaherty and Tuso, *Creating the Third Force: Indigenous Processes of Peacemaking (Peace and Conflict Studies)*; Brian Rice, "Restorative Processes of Peace and Healing within the Governing Structures of the Rotinonshonni 'Longhouse People,'" in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Sean Byrne et al. (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 409–19; Helen Bishop and Clare Coburn, "An Overview of Traditional Forms of Indigenous Conflict Resolution and Peace in Australia," in *Peace Psychology in Australia*, ed. Diane Bretherton and Nikola Balvin, Peace Psychology Book Series (Boston, MA: Springer US, 2012), 13–30, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-1403-2_2; Christy Reed, *The Strength of the Mamas: Creating and Living in a World of Wonder, Dignity, and Freedom*, Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 2019.

[312] Wanis-St. John, "Indigenous Peacebuilding," 361.

[313] The following definition and description of Indigenous peacemaking is not exhaustive due to the fact that Indigenous peacemaking is always diverse, multi-faceted, and changing. It should also be kept in mind that the descriptions are taken from different sources and should not be understood as a blueprint of Indigenous peacemaking. Rather, this description is to provide an overview of different Indigenous peacemaking behaviour as described in the available literature.

[314] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 44–45.

followed.[315] Moreover, many Indigenous practices take place in the public sphere to enhance transparency, legitimacy, and acceptance of agreements, and to inspire similar behaviour in others when in conflict. Peace is understood as a process, not an event, with the goal of long-term peace and sustainable relationships in mind. Thus, dialogue and communication are important in many Indigenous peacemaking practices. Indigenous peacemaking is culturally intuitive and often involves relatively low monetary costs, which can help increase the legitimacy, acceptance, and understanding on the local level.[316] Mac Ginty describes Indigenous peacemaking and conflict resolution as holistic (it connects with peoples' political, cultural, religious, and socio-economic situations) and inclusive of all citizens. Conflicts are often resolved conjointly through Elder councils or local rituals like the *palaver* or the *miss* pact.[317] According to Tuso, the community and family are often responsible for helping find the truth and resolving the problem in Indigenous peacemaking.[318] Moreover, Indigenous peacemaking can contain reconciliation (ceremonies).[319] It is often participatory, egalitarian, and oriented toward the local level. Such forms of peacemaking highlight the importance of truth-telling, healing processes, restoration, storytelling (allowing public articulation of one's perspective or opinion which also resonates with oral tradition),

[315] Kyoon-Achan, "Indigenous Elders as the Mbasoron Tar (Repairers of the World) and Inukshuks (Way-Pointers) of Peace."

[316] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 54–55 Liberal approaches to peacemaking often sideline certain aspects of customary peacemaking (e.g. storytelling, grieving), and make small concessions to local approaches. Whereas the feeling of justice is important for indigenous and traditional peacemaking, Western peacemaking is more interested in measurable peace (Ibid., 55–56); Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 59–60.

[317] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 154. The miss pact is a peace ritual among pastoral communities in northern Kenya who are in conflict with each other about access to land. The pact is mediated by community elders and followed by a ritual that included the burying of weapons and slaughter of bulls who have previously been donated by community members (Ibid.).

[318] Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 259–60. There are many different forms of forgiveness and reconciliation because every culture shapes its own understanding of it: e.g. forgiveness can be given by overlooking, repentance, repayment, ostracism, sacrifice. Reasons for forgiveness are also multiple, for example, in order to restore harmony, justice, solidarity, honor, and dignity (Augsburger, 262).

[319] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 56. Reconciliation of peoples' interests and needs is capable of addressing the most basic level of conflict: the human level (Ibid.).

spirituality, rituals, and consensus-building (for example through peacemaking circles). Indigenous forms of peacemaking help preserve Indigenous peoples' ways of life and can potentially consequently empower them.[320]

Many Indigenous groups value compensation and exchange (of gifts) as an aspect of peace-making. To ensure sustainable peace, the restoration of balance, harmony, and honour (based on mutuality and reciprocity) are also important.[321] Tuso explains that Indigenous peacemaking concentrates on the reparation of damaged relations—not on punishment—for which forgiveness is important.[322] He argues that the significance of relations in Indigenous peacemaking goes beyond connections among humans (in community and family and among individuals). It also includes relations with nature and spirituality.[323] In many cases, Indigenous peacemaking contains the aspect of non-violent activism against violent actions by the opposing side (e.g. the *Guardia Indigena* in Columbia).[324]

Conflict occurs in every society. But, peacefulness is also present in each society because people need each other "for social bonding and nurturing," as a necessity for the survival of humankind. Whereas some societies tend to respond aggressively to conflict,[325] others tend to integrate it and live peacefully.[326] Problem-solving starts with the smallest unit, the family, but also exists as a shared and culturally rooted behaviour within the larger group. The knowledge of local

[320] Byrne and Senehi, "Revisiting the CAR Field," 526; Rice, "Restorative Processes of Peace and Healing within the Governing Structures of the Rotinonshonni 'Longhouse People'"; Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 158; Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 259–60.
[321] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 148; Goldschmidt, "Peacemaking and the Institutions of Peace in Tribal Societies," 111–12.
[322] Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 259–60. [sentence appears in note 339]
[323] Tuso, 269; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 55; Goldschmidt, "Peacemaking and the Institutions of Peace in Tribal Societies," 112. In some cases, treaties were established between conflict parties (Ibid.).
[324] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 141, 149; Goldschmidt, "Peacemaking and the Institutions of Peace in Tribal Societies," 112, 119–20.
[325] Indigenous people, prior to contact, were also not pacifists: they were engaged in inter-tribal conflicts and violence. Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, 153, 155.
[326] Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*, 89–90.

conflict resolution approaches is usually passed on over many generations. It is reflected in the peoples' and the community's ceremonies, celebrations, play, teachings, art, spirituality, work, approaches to decision-making, memories of the past, and environmental knowledge. Boulding termed these elements the "hidden peacebuilding strengths of every society."[327]

Today's 370 million Indigenous People are members of 5,000 to 7,000 different ethnic, cultural, and religious groups with their own historical identity, but they live within the national boundaries of less than 200 countries.[328] These numbers illustrate the foundation for a multitude of conflicts around the preservation of culture—a "driving force in all ethnic conflicts in multi-ethnic societies," according to Burton.[329] With this diversity and the lack of communication and common approaches to conflict lie many problems of current intra- and inter-state violence between the state and ethnic groups within nation-states. However, as Boulding writes, a "rediscovery of the hidden strengths of local cultures [can be] one important aspect of peace building for this painful transitional period in contemporary history."[330]

[327] Boulding, 91.
[328] United Nations, "United Nations Member States - Growth in United Nations Membership, 1945-Present," accessed November 30, 2013, http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml; Bureau of Public Affairs Department Of State. The Office of Website Management, "Independent States in the World," Press Release|Fact Sheet, US Department of State, January 3, 2012, http://www.state.gov/s/inr/rls/4250.htm; Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*, 91; Bruce M. Knauft, "Culture and Co-operation in Human Evolution," in *The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence*, ed. Leslie Sponsel and Thomas Gregor (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 37; Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, 133; Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 7–8; IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs), "Who Are the Indigenous Peoples?," n.d., http://www.iwgia.org/culture-and-identity/identification-of-indigenous-peoples.
[329] John Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Provention* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 211.
[330] Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*, 91–92.

2.3.2.3 Inuit Peacemaking

So-called peaceful societies also practice Indigenous forms of peacemaking, but it is their intention to prevent conflicts from even arising. Galtung defined ”peace culture” as having many aspects that “serve to justify and legitimize direct peace and structural peace.”[331] There are a number of societies around the world that value highly the peacefulness achieved through non-violence and non-competitiveness within and with outsiders. Different peaceful societies have varying world views, institutions, and approaches to conflict which are part of their cultural, religious, and social practices learnt by their members as part of their journey from childhood to adulthood. In some cases, peaceful societies suppress or avoid conflict. In others, conflict is acknowledged, managed, and resolved. Most peaceful societies promote co-operation, sharing, and harmonious coexistence with people and the environment.[332] Peaceful societies are typically small and capable to react to hostility in a flexible and immediate manner. Their members are conscious of the benefits of sustainable peace which serves to explain their “moral commitment to safeguard it” and the creation of strategies to maintain it.[333] The Inuit are considered as a peaceful society.[334]

The following paragraph briefly describes Briggs’s theories on Inuit conflict resolution. Although it cannot be stated that they are “always and everywhere pacific,”[335] Inuit culture and

[331] Galtung, “Cultural Violence,” 291.
[332] Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*, 92–93, 97; Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, IX, 1–2. Bonta defined peacefulness as a condition in which a high level of interpersonal harmony, low levels of direct violence between different individuals, effective strategies of addressing conflict, avoidance of direct violence (e.g. war), and a strong self-consciousness of one’s own peacefulness and responsibility to maintain peace are in place and practiced (Ibid., 4, 6–7); William F. Kelleher, “Peaceful Societies,” in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 383.
[333] Kelleher, “Peaceful Societies,” 384.
[334] Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*.
[335] Briggs, “‘Why Don’t You Kill Your Baby Brother?’ The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps,” 156. It should be noted that Briggs’ (1994) observations and descriptions are based on her own experiences with Inuit in two

society is based on various concepts that generally work towards the establishment and maintenance of peace. Violence, aggression, and expression of anger are feared and socially prohibited,[336] and conflict is avoided due to its connotation with tensions, hostility, and anxiety. It is assumed that positive conduct, on the other hand, is valued[337] because it enhances non-confrontational behaviour and the maintenance of harmony.[338] As Briggs and others assumed, conflict avoidance means that emotions are internalized, not expressed, or denied. In combination with their capacity to be patient and to accommodate, reassure, anticipate, and meet the needs of others, their behaviour ensures that relations are kept smooth, and that people remain content.[339] Inuit also prevent conflict from breaking out through avoidance of "putting themselves forward," for example as leaders. They do not promote themselves, "mak[e] claims on others," ask others about their conditions, and make promises or directly invite someone (to avoid hurt feelings if promises are broken or invitations are refused). Instead, discretion is valued and peoples' privacy and ownership of information is respected. Consequently, requests are formulated as jokes, plans as tentative events, invitations as statements, and negative feelings are denied or turned into

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differnt camps near Goja Haven and Pangnirtung between 1963 and 1980 and should not unquestioningly be generalized for all Inuit, though (156, 158–59).

[336] Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, 73; C. Irwin, "The Inuit and the Evolution of Limited Group Conflict," in *Sociobiology and Conflict : Evolutionary Perspectives on Competition, Co-operation, Violence, and Warfare*, ed. J. Van Der Dennen and V. Falger (London: Chapman and Hall, 1990), 189–226; Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 118.

[337] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 169.

[338] Shirley Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut" (Prince George: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2010 2009), 4.

[339] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 160–61, 164–166; Jean L Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, 71, 75; Jean L Briggs, "The Origins of Non-Violence: Inuit Management of Aggression," in *Learning Non-Aggression: The Experience of Non-Literate Societies*, ed. Ashley Montagu (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Per Langgaard, "Modernization and Traditional Interpersonal Relations in a Small Greenlandic Community: A Case Study from Southern Greenland," *Arctic Anthropology* 23, no. 1/2 (January 1, 1986): 305.

jokes.[340] In fact, joking is a means to avoid conflict—but also an instrument to confront others with past conflict and grievances. Both strategies work without losing face.[341]

Traditional Inuit culture also knew the practice of song partnerships—song duels (*iviutit*) that could result in punching duels (*tiglutijut*) as forms of conflict resolution.[342] These were controlled and direct attempts to address and resolve a conflict (instead of avoiding it).[343] Both forms aimed at maintaining harmony and existing relationships in a camp. These practices are not employed anymore for conflict resolution, but they remain alive in Inuit collective memory. In his work, Kulchyski described several gestures as embodied inscriptions that continue to have meaning in Inuit culture. Some of these gestures point to the importance of saving face by keeping in mind future relationships among community members, the value of trust, and the concept of justice as an eventual balancing out of a give-and-take relationship in the future.[344]

As explained by Inuit Elders, relationships between the hunter and the animals are also special because animals only allow themselves to be hunted by an individual who deals respectfully with the environment and follows certain rules (for example by only taking from the natural world what is needed).[345] But human relationships by far exceed the connections between hunters and animals in Inuit society and collectivity, reciprocity, and accountability to one's

[340] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 164–66; Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, 75; Langgaard, "Modernization and Traditional Interpersonal Relations in a Small Greenlandic Community," 305.
[341] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 169.
[342] Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, 140–41.
[343] Balikci, 185.
[344] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures."
[345] A. Kublu, F. Laugrand, and J. Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders," in *Interviewing Inuit Elders*, ed. F. Laugrand and J. Oosten, vol. Vol. 1 (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999), 1–12; Stern, *The Daily Life of the Inuit*; Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004; L. Guemple, "Kinship and Alliance in Belcher Island Eskimo Society," in *Alliance in Eskimo Society*, ed. L. Guemple (Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1972), 56–78; Ellen Bielawski, "Indigenous Worldviews," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 963–65; Mark Nuttall, "Choosing Kin: Sharing and Subsistence in a Greenlandic Hunting Community," in *Dividends of Kinship: Meanings and Uses of Social Relatedness*, ed. P. P. Schweitzer (New York: Routledge, 2000).

relations are highly valued.[346] Inuit kinship and voluntary associations provide connections—between family members, extended families, and friends—that contain the obligation of sharing. These relationships link people to each other through marriage, adoption, trade, and hunting. These connections are meant for pleasure but also help Inuit in times of hardship.[347] Consequently, kinship and voluntary associations form the basis of Inuit diplomatic practice. They connect people through alliances that go beyond family connections and often generated new – previously non-existing – connections. These alliances allowed for flexibility at times of environmental or economic uncertainty.[348]

According to Abele and Rodon, Inuit new-encounter interactions are based in a "well-developed toolkit of external relations practices" that range from avoidance/ weariness,[349] "through active interest and the establishment of various kinds of exchanges," to relations "involving the exchange of goods, information, and shared cultural practices."[350] These pre-contact practices among Inuit are founded on traditions of interaction, conflict resolution, and the ability to innovatively respond to a new situation.[351] Abele and Rodon posit that pre-contact Inuit diplomacy is characterized by the following four practices and attitudes:

> 1. Collective persistence: without at all requiring unanimity, an ability to work co-operatively and in the longer term toward a common goal, despite numerous setbacks and roadblocks.
> 2. Political realism: strategies and actions taken based on a close appraisal of the balance of power.
> 3. Adaptability: an ability to readily recognize changed circumstances, however unwelcome these may be, and to react constructively and quickly.
> 4. Well-developed strategies to avoid win-lose confrontations: a tendency to soften direct criticism by indirect expression, and a reluctance to force an opponent into a corner.[352]

[346] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 30–31.
[347] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004, 127.
[348] Bennett and Rowley, 127; Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 47.
[349] Conflict avoidance is an important Inuit conflict resolution tool that could be further analyzed wth regards to its contemporary application among local Inuit and the ICC.
[350] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 49.
[351] Abele and Rodon, 47.
[352] Abele and Rodon, 48.

They argue that these values have helped Inuit in dealing with "exogenous forces" after the contact with Europeans was established and that these typical forms of Inuit diplomacy continue to be practiced in the present on the domestic and international levels. In fact, diplomacy has been the "principal mechanism of decolonization" as its application has resulted in various domestic and international legal and diplomatic processes.[353]

Inuit approaches to conflict are rooted in the concepts of *isuma* and *nallik-*. These ideas determine the values and behaviour in Inuit society and advocate for the control of one's impulses and emotions, such as anger. They highlight the importance of the ability to predict consequences, to think through conflict in a rational manner (*isuma*), and to embody the concept *nallik-*, which is nurturing, love, suppression of hostility, self-restraint, non-aggression, helpfulness, protectiveness, and the "concern for others' welfare."[354] Inuit approaches to CT and peacemaking are also deeply rooted in Inuit epistemology, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). It constitutes a modern articulation of Inuit beliefs and knowledge sets that also determine the guidelines for Inuit research methodologies and methods (see Chapter 3.2.2).

IQ is reflected in all aspects of Inuit culture and life: world views, values, knowledge, expectations, perceptions, skills, and language.[355] Inuit conflict behaviour is also s rooted in IQ.[356]

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[353] Abele and Rodon, 45–47.

[354] John Borrows, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 103–4. Inuit conflict behaviour can also be found as rooted in several of the concepts of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), Inuit traditional knowledge, which includes serving (pijitsirniq), passing on of skills through practice and action (aajiiqatigiinniq), resourceful and creative problem-solving (qanuqtuurniq), caring for others (ippigusuttiarniq), co-operation and assistance (ikajuqatigiinnig), maintaining order (aaqqiumatitsiniq), and avoidance of personal judgement (iqqaqtuijjiqattariaqannginniq) (Ibid.).

[355] Language and Culture Committee of Nunavut Arctic College and Pelagie Owlijoot, "Guidelines for Working with Inuit Elders," 2008, 8–11, http://www.arcticcollege.ca/publications/books/elder%20guide%20english.pdf; J. G Oosten et al., *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit: shamanism and reintegrating wrongdoers into the community* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, Language and Culture Program, 2002), 3.

[356] Borrows, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*, 103–4; Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut"; Arnakak, "Commentary: What Is Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit?"; Jaypetee Arnakak, "Incorporation of Inuit Qaujimanituqangit, or Inuit Traditional Knowledge,

The concept was articulated in a particular way that made it accessible in the contemporary period at the 1998 Nunavut Traditional Knowledge Conference in Igloolik[357] as "all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations."[358] Although only formally composed as a collective set of understandings for Nunavut about twenty years ago, it constitutes a unified, strength-based system of centuries-old knowledge and beliefs relevant for Inuit across the Arctic. It is also a world view—a serious intellectual tradition that still needs to be understood as such by southerners.[359]

Values provide the social glue and guidelines for Inuit to live together in harmony and unity. They serve as a guide for becoming a better person. According to Nunavut Department of Education, in Inuit society being good means "having self-respect, patience, and strength, sharing and being understanding and respectful of others; being humble, honorable and respectful of the laws that govern society and the natural and spiritual worlds." Such values and beliefs allow for the development of a strong character that will be particularly helpful in times of hardship. These

into the Government of Nunavut," *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* 3, no. 1 (2002): 33–39; Mariano Aupilaarjuk et al., *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit: shamanism and reintegrating wrongdoers into the community*, ed. Jarich Oosten and Laugrand Frederic, vol. 4, Inuit Perspectives on the 20th century (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, Language and Culture Program, 2002); Ailsa Henderson, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1003–4; Frank James Tester and Peter Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance," *Arctic* 61, no. 1 (2008): 48–61; Martin, " 'Are We Also Here for That?'"

[357] Francis Lévesque, "Revisiting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit Knowledge, Culture, Language, and Values in Nunavut Institutions since 1999," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 38, no. 1–2 (2014): 121, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/1028856ar.

[358] Nunavut Social Development Council, "Report of the Nunavut Traditional Knowledge Conference" (Iqaluit, 1998), 1.

[359] Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," 1; Keavy Martin, "'Are We Also Here for That?': Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit - Traditional Knowledge, or Critical Theory?," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 29, no. 1/2 (2009): 185–90. Importantly, Inuit Elders emphasize that their outlines are only based on personal experiences. Sometimes Elders would point out that certain information stems from another individual. Hence, information about IQ is variable between different Elders, subjective and relational (Tagalik, 3). Individuals are interested in hearing other experiences, not for validation purposes, but to learn about variation. It is important to relate certain knowledge to the Elder who shared it. If context (e.g. an Elder's name) is lost, the story loses its relevance. Context is important because it is the foundation of knowledge. This requires precision about location, time, and involved objects and subjects. To Inuit, such specific statements are valued, but general statements are seen as confusing and imprecise (Kublu et al., 1999, 9–10).

values also shape a set of positive attitudes or the four "core laws of relationship that govern how one connects to other people and how one connects to the environment" (*maligait*).[360]

Elders as the "cultural bearers" have cultural wisdom and know how to apply IQ—based on their experience and knowledge of pre-residential school life. They are the teachers of IQ.[361] According to Inuit Elders in Nunavut,[362] IQ is founded on four basic laws that guide people to live a good life: (1) "working for the common good," (2) "respecting all living things," (3) "maintaining harmony and balance," and (4) "continually planning and preparing for the future."[363]

Working for the common good is a responsibility for everyone at all ages. As such, it is everyone's responsibility to share what one has and to serve and care for others, contributing to the collective well-being through one's activities and efforts. This demonstrates the importance of collaboration and collective identity for Inuit over time. The second law is being respectful of all living things. Humble and respectful dealing with one's environment allows Inuit to maintain balance in their relationships. This means that Inuit have a particular responsibility in the context of climate change. The third law revolves around maintaining harmony to ensure collective well-being. Working towards harmonious relationships shows responsibility and respect. If conflicts developed, well-established mechanisms were used to restore harmony quickly. This also meant that issues needed to be dealt with promptly to prevent relationships from being damaged. In this context, "resiliency was highly valued." The fourth law of continually planning and preparing for

[360] Nunavut Department of Education, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum" (Iqaluit: Nunavut Department of Education, 2007), 27–36, https://www.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/files/Inuit%20Qaujimajatuqangit%20ENG.pdf.

[361] Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," 5–6; Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders," 10; Martin, ""are We Also Here for That?," 186–87; Oosten et al., *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit*, 4.

[362] Tagalik's remarks about IQ are based on information provided by Inuit Elders from Nunavut. It is noted that the knowledge of Inuit in other areas could be different (Ibid., p. 1).

[363] Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," 1.

a better future meant that everyone was responsible for working toward becoming a good human being. This meant becoming a capable and contributing member of society. Developing a skill or improving an item or practice that made life easier for the group was highly valued. Within IQ, "Creative, innovative, critical and reflective thinking all help people become more effective contributors. Development in these areas is linked to the development of positive attitudes and ultimately, to positive behaviours." A person with a positive attitude can be a contributing member of the family and to society.[364]

IQ's cultural laws (*atuagat*) helped and continue to help govern Inuit daily activities and are locally specific. The eight communal laws or IQ principles (*Inuit piqujangit*) are believed to be inherent in individuals and in society, and they define how one is expected to behave and live one's life. The first "concept of serving" (*pijitsirniq*) signals maturity and wisdom and values each individual contribution to the community. It includes being helpful to others/ Elders who are in need and carrying out one's responsibilities. The second "concept of consensus decision-making" (*aajiiqatigiingniq*) describes the act of thinking and acting collaboratively in regard to shared goals. Conflict should be resolved through consensus-building and examination of different perspectives. The third "concept of skills and knowledge acquisition" (*pilimmaksarniq*) is aimed at (showing) empowerment to have a productive and successful life. According to Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, this includes the development of skills "through practice, effort, action and patience" and the use of new opportunities to learn and understand each other. Inuit are open to developing new skills, even if this means the use of modern techniques.[365] The fourth "concept of collaborative relationships or working" for a common purpose (*piliriqatigiingniq*) highlights the

[364] Nunavut Department of Education, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum," 27–36.
[365] Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders," 6.

importance of the group over the individual, emphasizing collaboration, shared leadership, teamwork, and co-operation. The fifth "concept of environmental stewardship" (*avatimik kamattiarniq*) incorporates respect for the environment, animals, and the land. The sixth "concept of being resourceful to solve problems" (*qanuqtuurunnarniq*)[366] and of exploring opportunities applies to improving current contexts. Resources should be used in an innovative way and responses to a changing world should be flexible and show adaptability.[367] The seventh concept relates to "respecting others, relationships and caring for people" (*innuqatigiitsiarniq*).[368] The eighth concept of "fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive" (*tunnganarniq*) means openness to new ideas, flexibility, showing support, and being approachable. [369]

Borrows, Briggs, Boulding, and others theorized that in Inuit culture a repertoire of emotional experience and reaction to conflict is established early in individuals. This ensures adequate recognition of and dealing with conflict when it occurs. According to them, Inuit children learn to understand situations of potential conflict (e.g. feelings of jealousy, possessiveness, doubts, envy) and fear through play, simulating adult life situations in a dramatic, exaggerated, and continuous manner. Such games test a child's coping and analyzing, what the child has learnt, and the degree to which the child has matured.[370] Briggs found out that Inuit child-rearing rests on the concept of "benevolent aggression" that contains warm affection for children, but also teasing

[366] Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," 2.
[367] Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders," 6.
[368] This means learning about who we are and where we come from, respecting self and others including their thoughts and values, responsibility for own actions, learning to be a good listener, to be quiet and patient, to have the willingness to work in a team and to learn anything from anyone at any time (Ibid.).
[369] Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders."
[370] Borrows, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*, 103–4. The staged dramas are highly emotional, tailored to each child's situation, and actively involve the child who is un-aware of the game's playful character and acts as if her or his decision had a real influence on the future. Children are tested that way until they convincingly proof their capacity to act like an adult. Parents are not supposed to be violent or really angry with their children, because that would show their own childishness (Ibid.).

that is meant to teach them fearfulness of the danger inherent in things, to laugh at their fear, and to develop loving affection. Teasing seeds *isuma* and *nallik* in the children.[371] That way, Briggs argues, children learn a problem-solving approach to life and develop a strong connection to important values like non-aggression and nurturing. The games generate situations and feelings of fear or potential loss, which make conflict recognizably dangerous and help children learn how to resolve or avoid such incidents in the future but also to determine and appreciate what they love and value.[372] Briggs further writes that the games also help children to "rely on their own senses in interpreting their own experience, to be watchful, alert to hidden meanings and intentions, and to keep testing others, as adults had tested them in childhood."[373]

2.3.2.4 Hybrid Peace

According to realist theory, homogenous states are the main agents of action and maximum power and different groups or societies are subsumed within such states.[374] Indigenous peoples are

[371] Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*, 93–94; Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 162, 164. In Inuit societies, seriousness and strong emotions are perceived as dangerous but laughing, joking and happiness are meant to release tensions (Bonta, 68; Briggs,1991); Jean L. Briggs, "Expecting the Unexpected: Canadian Inuit Training for an Experimental Lifestyle," *Ethos* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 259–87; Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, 67–68, 70, 72; Jean L. Briggs, "In Search of Emotional Meaning," *Ethos* 15, no. 1 (1987): 11; Jean L. Briggs, "The Issues of Autonomy and Aggression in the Three-Year-Old: The Utku Eskimo Case," *Seminars in Psychiatry* 4, no. 4 (1972): 317–29; Penelope Eckett and Russell Newmark, "Central Eskimo Song Duels: A Contextual Analysis of Ritual Ambiguity," *Ethnology* 19, no. 2 (1980): 191–211. Children learn early to become problem-solvers through humor and to create an awareness of anger-control in others and themselves. The interplay of teasing and affection results in sensitivity for conflict and skillful problem-solving. For example, conflict can be dealt with in a playful and open manner by means of song duels prior to their violent escalation. This practice can also be enjoyed by others who attend, although the underlying principles of playful confrontation, general and unspecific accusation, avoidance of argument, reassurance, and pacification are also still in place in song duels (Ibid.).

[372] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 160–61, 171–73; Briggs, *Never in Anger*; Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*, 70–71; C. H. S. Jayewardene, "Violence among the Eskimos," *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections* 17 (1975): 307–14; Briggs, "The Origins of Non-Violence: Inuit Management of Aggression." In fact, the feeling of fear (ilira) is desirable here, because it causes protective behaviour (Ibid).

[373] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps," 178.

[374] Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 28. Whereas realists in international relations and conflict studies explain conflict as the result of material interests and scarcity, constructionist theories argue that conflicts are rooted in

not accorded the same status as governments in the international system.[375] This paradigm is also reflected in the dominant liberal/ Western peace model.[376] Liberal peace (sometimes also called liberal democratic peace, Western peace, liberal internationalism, track-one diplomacy) describes a prescriptive, top-down form of conflict intervention that is promoted by financial institutions, leading states, and global NGOs in support of the status quo of the international system and state sovereignty. The liberal peace ethos reflects the cultural and material interests of such international power-holders. As Mac Ginty explains, it is an approach that "facilitates the continuation of an essentially conservative international political system in which the same political and economic interests perpetuate their own domination."[377] Liberal peace proponents believe in the superiority of its elements, such as open markets that concentrate on the individual or electoral democracy. In the international system, explicit (Western) expert knowledge of conflict is considered superior and of a higher value than local Indigenous implicit knowledge.[378] As a result, non-Western and Indigenous agency and approaches to peacemaking and dispute resolution were dismissed in the past as hindrances to societal transformation and were thus marginalized and ignored.[379]

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different beliefs and cognition. They argue that the world is socially constructed. Hence, constructionists, and especially the cognitivists among them, include cultural view points into their approaches to conflict (Ibid., 35).

[375] Wanis-St. John, "Indigenous Peacebuilding," 361.

[376] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 5, 11; Paul Koring, "Canada Set to Wrap up Afghanistan Missin," *The Globe and Mail*, November 29, 2013; Cheldelin et al., "Theory, Research, and Practice," 12.

[377] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 44.

[378] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 45.

[379] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 143–45, 157; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 2, 5, 12, 20–22, 25, 27–28, 31, 38, 42–44, 45, 57. The liberal peace serves as an umbrella term to describe the ideology, actors, structural factors, and manifestations of neo-imperialist and hegemonic forms of peacemaking. It rests on the five pillars of economics, security, governance, state-building, and civil society, which are the means and the goals of liberal peace. Liberal peace focuses on the role of states, institutions, and highlights the importance of securitization. Liberal peace interventions usually import external support (e.g. personnel, ideas, resources) into a post-conflict context. Liberal peace manifests in the international system (embedded in international structures, regimes, and norms where it is customary and unquestioned) and in international peace support interventions. Such peace is criticized for its tendency to co-opt agents that support alternative ways of peacemaking (e.g. NGOs, states) as facilitators of the liberal peace. Furthermore, its critics argue that the liberal peace provides standardized templates of peacemaking that leave little space for alternatives, risking the danger of becoming prescriptive, top-down, static, uniform, and of minimizing local input and ignoring local needs. It is also criticized for being ethnocentric, elitist, security-centric, superficial (ignoring emancipation and structural reasons for conflict),

Whereas liberal peace may have ended direct violence in some cases, structural violence continued, and peace in intra- and inter-state conflicts was oftentimes cost-intensive and unsustainable. In fact, liberal peace was not and is not as coherent or as powerful as it might appear—its reach, success, attention span, sustainability, and level of acceptance is limited. Sometimes, local reactions toward liberal peace are non-compliant (e.g. through non-engagement, subversion, renegotiation, or resistance), distorting liberal peace or similar enforced peace processes within states. Recently, it has become clear that the picture is far more complex and that successful peacemaking needs to include local and Indigenous approaches because they have the potential to address structural violence and to initiate long-term changes.[380]

Eventually, some peacemakers like Lederach or Mac Ginty realized that customary, local, and Western peacemaking approaches can co-exist or complement each other, and that Indigenous forms of peacemaking can play crucial roles in large-scale peacemaking, enhance local cohesion, and act as a critical anchor in turbulent times.[381] Because conflicts are usually complex and have multiple actors, issues, and take place on multiple levels, peacemaking cannot be applied as a one-size fits all template in any conflict. In acknowledgement of this fact, Mac Ginty developed the concept of Hybrid Peace that merges aspects of top-down, externally imposed peacebuilding approaches—rooted in the liberal political tradition—with bottom-up, local practices that may or may not be rooted in Indigenous cultures.[382] This model perceives peace as a constantly changing

technocratic, rigid, short-term, neo-liberal, illusory (it does not essentially change power relations within a society). Finally, it often fails to connect with local needs. Liberalism, the "recipe for international intervention" interprets economics neo-liberally, and tends towards the use of coercive or militarized interventions (Ibid.).

[380] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 6, 17, 42, 59; Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 49; Gearoid Millar, Jaïr van der Lijn, and Willemijn Verkoren, "Peacebuilding Plans and Local Reconfigurations: Frictions between Imported Processes and Indigenous Practices," *International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 2 (2013): 137–38.

[381] Roger Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," *Co-operation and Conflict* 43, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 155.

[382] Wanis-St. John, "Indigenous Peacebuilding," 363.

hybrid that interacts with local forms of security, civil society, economic organization, and governance.[383] Hybridization of the peacemaking process allows recognition of the agency of actors who are usually excluded in much of the ethnocentric and often biased political and academic discourse about conflicts.[384] Mac Ginty goes even further by arguing that all peacemaking is, to a certain extent, hybridized; that peace can be plural, not just singular; and that alternative forms of peacemaking are legitimate.[385]

In order to enhance cultural sensitivity and empowerment of Indigenous approaches, the elicitive approach can be helpful. The model advocates that transformation of (deep-rooted) conflict is best realized if the people within the setting are empowered and participate in the process (i.e. if local approaches to conflict and peace-building are acknowledged). This approach takes the different cultures of facilitators and participants into consideration and, according to Lederach, perceives the facilitator as someone who provides the "opportunity for discovery and creation through an educative process that is highly participatory in nature."[386] In this case, the vantage point for resolving conflict is the participants' implicit Indigenous (local) knowledge of "ways of being and doing" and identification of what is already in place and what participants know about their own models of addressing conflict. However, the elicitive model does not attempt to glorify Indigenous knowledge, but rather it acknowledges the participants' knowledge and creativity to determine effective responses to their needs. The design and goals of CR are envisioned collaboratively with the participants, and the facilitator acknowledges that one individual's experience cannot be universally applied. The elicitive model goes through five circular and

[383] Senehi and Byrne, "Where Do We Go From Here?," 397; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*.
[384] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 10–11, 17.
[385] Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 157, 159.
[386] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 56.

participatory phases. They are (1) discovery and making explicit previously implicit knowledge, (2) ownership of the approaches that have been made explicit, (3) evaluation of helpful and unhelpful existing approaches and behaviour, (4) adaptation, recreation, and replacing of weak aspects of the approach with more suitable ones, and (5) practical application of the approach. These five phases involve Freire's insights of reflection leading to action.[387] The elicitive model is rather process-oriented, strength-based, participatory, collaborative, and empowering: it creates awareness of the self, one's context, and resources, and it supports individuals in their development of adequate CT approaches.[388] This model applies an emic approach to CR that utilizes Indigenous resources. It acknowledges local cultural roots of and approaches to conflict as more relevant than imported, structured, specialized, pre-categorized, and formal (etic) ways of dealing with conflict.[389]

In contrast, in the prescriptive model the trainer or facilitator is understood as the expert with special and explicit knowledge and expertise in conflict intervention, who provides a CR model that contains strategies and approaches that need to be learnt by the participants. This model assumes that (1) the expert is aware of the participants' needs when determining the agenda, (2)

[387] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

[388] Ibid., 32, 55–62, 64, 68. Lederach's outlines are based on three theoretical concepts. First, the Freirian concept of popular education that assumes that conscientization and awareness of the self in context leads to personal and structural change, that understands learning as a mutual process, that perceives "people as resources not recipients" and that provides individuals the "power of naming the world." Popular education is geared towards the creation of a context-sensitive process that acknowledges available resources within a given context (Lederach, 1996, 26–27). The second concept upon which Lederach based his outline is a critique of the "transfer mentality" of Western concepts to other contexts. This strategy usually ends unsuccessfully and ignores local customs. Rather, solutions have to be rooted within the conflict-context and use the resources available (e.g. Indigenous knowledge) (Ibid., 27–29). The third theory that guides Lederach's framework, ethnography, advocates for research approaches that involve intensive "in situ" study of "people in their natural setting" (Ibid., 30). This approach that is termed emic approach attempts to create understanding of people's actions and interpretations by attempting to perceive situations through their eyes instead of from the researcher's perspective. Hence, the approach values everyday and taken-for-granted behaviour and pays respect to peoples' understanding of their own conditions (Ibid., 30); Mac Ginty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," 141; Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

[389] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 35–37; Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 60–63. Famously, Geertz applied an emic approach in his "thick description" of the Balinese cock fight. Thick description explains behaviour, but also the context within which the behaviour occurs (Geertz, 1973); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

that the expert's knowledge is more trustworthy and relevant than the participants' knowledge, and (3) that the desired goal for the participants lies in learning and applying the prescribed model. The role of culture is not incorporated in such a model. The model is beneficial to the participants because it can be empowering (providing a new approach to and new skills of CR, enlarging peoples' understanding of conflict and its resolution, and improving their confidence in conflict), but it also reduces CR to the transfer of explicit expert-knowledge (skill, technique, and technology) that is believed to be universally applicable. The logic of the liberal peace approach also resonates in the prescriptive model of CR training.[390]

In reality, a pure form of either the prescriptive/ etic or the elicitve/ emic model or approach is non-existent and should not be aimed for. In fact, both models will rather occur in a "non-mutually exclusive" melange that combines explicit and implicit knowledge, applies pre-existing categories, and distills new knowledge about culture.[391] This is beneficial for the CR process because both models can be empowering: the prescriptive model teaches participants new approaches to handling conflict and enriches the register of practitioners and trainers and the elicitive model helps individuals recognize and appreciate their own existing resources.[392] Moreover, with respect to the aspect of culture in conflict resolution,[393] a mere application of the elicitive model could miss out cross-cultural fertilization and comparison. This could limit the

[390] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 47–53.
[391] Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 67–72 Etic approaches can be beneficial because they allow for comparison and provide a shared vocabulary that allows for theory-development and they provide CR trainers and practitioners with a basic vocabulary. Etic approaches are capable of reducing the complexity of culture into a few categories that are better manageable. Emic approaches, on the other hand, provide thick descriptions of context. Both approaches can benefit from each other to make analysis and practice more sustainable, approachable, and acceptable (Ibid.).
[392] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 39–40, 64–65; Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*, 97.
[393] In the prescriptive model, cultural neutrality and universal application are central. Cultural aspects of conflict are acknowledged as special areas (Ibid. 66-67). The elicitive model is anchored in cultural knowledge and context: "Participants' natural knowledge, their way of being and doing, their immediate situation, their past heritage, and their language are seen as the seabed in which the training and model building will be rooted" (Ibid., 67).

participants to learn only from their own culture while, in fact, in Lederach's words, "cross-cultural and cross-experience exchanges are among the richest and most beneficial ways that people learn and expand."[394]

Critics of Hybrid Peace argue that it takes place under the metastructure of the liberal peace-paradigm that permits alternative practices but is still in ultimate control of the CR process. According to them, Hybrid Peace follows the main goals of liberal peace such as state-building (the Gacaca tribunals and the Loya Jirga are mentioned as examples of this model in the literature).[395] Ultimately, the structures within which Indigenous peacemaking and society exist and the term "Aboriginalism" are still defined by the dominant powers.[396] This ongoing discussion is embedded in a metadiscussion of Indigenous decolonization where Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have argued that the Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty debate needs to be detached from the state-centred, dominant political framework in order to avoid reproducing colonial structures.[397]

[394] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 67, 69. However, the prescriptive model's weak point remains in its assumption that the trainer's model is the most valuable and that conflict resolution is only successful if it follows the path of more "prgressive" societies (which are in most cases the dominant Western, white, urban, industrialized, and middle-class societies [Ibid., 68].

[395] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 61–62. The last traditionally held Loya Jirga had taken place in Afghanistan thirty years before. Also, NATO determined participants (which included women) (Ibid.); Mac Ginty, 63.

[396] Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), XIII; Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): 598.

[397] Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights Are Not Human Rights Essays on Law, Politics and Culture.*, 62; Glen S. Coulthard, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada," *Contemporary Political Theory* 6, no. 4 (2007): 437–60, https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300307; Corntassel, "Toward Sustainable Self-Determination," 121; Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*.

2.3.2.5 Everyday Peace

Everyday Peace acknowledges peace mechanisms applied by local and Indigenous peoples in their everyday lives. It recognizes the need to appreciate, study, and learn from how other cultures establish and maintain peace.[398] Indigenous peacemaking strategies help broaden the current field's range of approaches to conflict.[399] They provide an alternative because they exist outside the "purview of formal state mechanisms" and are bottom-up and participative.[400] Indigenous strategies can further contribute to and advance the inter-disciplinarity and liquid reality of PACS[401] because peacemaking should be based on co-operation, mutual partnership, and inclusiveness of all conflict elements.[402] Inclusiveness of customary approaches to peacemaking and the encouragement of "bottom-up, people-centric views of society"[403] can provide higher levels of integration, transparency, and participation. These aspects enhance acceptance of peacemaking and the conflict parties' representation in the peacemaking processes. Incorporation of Indigenous peacemaking practices also helps restore Indigenous "honour and dignity" and supports Indigenous people's empowerment and confidence in their own approaches.[404] Such "emancipatory peacebuilding" can inspire local peacemaking processes to create peace at "the everyday level."[405] In recent years, the focus has moved away from political (track one, liberal)

[398] Galtung, "Peace and Conflict Studies as Political Activity," 6.
[399] Senehi and Byrne, "Where Do We Go From Here?," 398; Roger Mac Ginty, *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 180–190; George E. Irani and Nathan C. Funk, *Rituals of Reconciliation: Arab-Islamic Perspectives* (Kroc Institute, 2000), 27.
[400] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 66.
[401] Thomas Matyók, "Designing a Way Forward," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies. Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012), XXV–XXVII; Matyók, "Peace and Conflict Studies. Reclaiming Our Roots and Designing Our Way Forward," 294.
[402] Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, 23–24, 135.
[403] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*, 66.
[404] Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution," 262.
[405] Senehi and Byrne, "Where Do We Go From Here?," 402; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*; Thiessen, "Emancipatory Peacebuilding: Critical Responses to (Neo-) Liberal Trends"; Byrne and Senehi, "Revisiting the CAR Field," 526.

peace processes administered by peace professionals toward social peace processes with lay people and civil society as actors.[406] Communities and their social practices are, rightfully, taken seriously in PACS now.[407] It is assumed that Everyday Peace actions are more than little "islands or islets of calm civility." Rather these islands have the potential to be more, they epitomize "a more significant political phenomenon," and they could possibly leave a qualitative impact on PACS.[408]

Building on the call for more human-based approaches to peace and conflict and in line with an "emerging interest in the vernacular in international relations," the concept of Everyday Peace focuses on the practices of individuals or collectives as they navigate through their lives.[409] The notion of the everyday describes the modus operandi of ordinary people: simple practices that are within easy reach.[410] As a critical PACS approach, the concept scrutinizes peoples' routine social practices to avoid or minimize conflict. Everyday Peace lies on a spectrum from survival and coping strategies on the one side to the creation of positive peace through everyday diplomacy (which, ultimately, can lead to CT) on the other side.[411] Everyday Peace,[412] according to Mac Ginty, can be "conflict-defying, conflict-delaying and conflict-minimizing."[413] Interested in learning how individuals and communities cope with stressful situations that challenge their reality,[414] Everyday

[406] John D. Brewer, "Peace Processes," in *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. J. Wright, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 648–53.
[407] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 550.
[408] Mac Ginty, 559.
[409] John D. Brewer, *Peace Processes: A Sociological Approach* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010); M Lister and L. Jarvis, "Vernacular Securities and Everyday Life," 2013, https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/19/vernacular-securities-and-everyday-life/; Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 549.
[410] GJ Steigworth and ME Gardiner, "Rethinking Everyday Life: And Then Nothing Turns Itself inside out," *Cultural Studies Review* 18, no. 2–3 (2004): 140.
[411] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 549, 553, 560.
[412] The literature consulted discussed everyday peace in deeply divided societies where individuals of different identities (conflict parties) are in contact with each other. However, an argument can be made that everyday peace is also existent among like-minded people exposed to forms of cultural and structural violence, like Inuit in Arctic communities where people find ways of dealing with their everyday struggles caused by colonialism and climate change.
[413] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 550.
[414] Mac Ginty differentiates between coping (mediating and adjusting to the situation) and challenging strategies (resulting in everyday diplomacy) in his everyday peace concept (Ibid.) Mac Ginty, 549.

Peace focuses on agency and resilience. Moreover, it moves beyond the mechanisms and practices found on the international area toward the social, empathetic, and taken-for granted level of analysis.[415]

The Everyday Peace model counters the liberal peace model,[416] which requires external expertise for CT. Instead, it acknowledges expertise that is informal, intuitive, empathetic, locally owned, constantly evolving, and highly sophisticated.[417] Moreover, it recognizes that despite the existence of a macro-level peace process, conflict could still linger locally. Indeed, in the absence of reconciliation strategies involving the local level, people are often left to develop their own coping mechanisms.[418] While it is assumed that local individuals are aware of a metaconflict that is dealt with in international headlines, many do not have the luxury of focusing only on the main conflict because they have complex everyday lives, with their own opportunities and obstacles.[419] Often, top-down and bottom-up concepts of a conflict reveal different sources of information based on different terminology, methodologies, and categorizations. This can lead to different framings of and responses to the conflict on the local and international levels.[420] Everyday Peace does not necessarily confront conflict directly; nonetheless, its practices carry the possibility of CT. Education and self-awareness—people gaining a better understanding of their situation, the conflict, and what peace may look like—can lead to CT, and everyday diplomacy has the potential to generate such developments. It has also been argued that the everyday can constitute the

[415] Oliver P. Richmond, "Reclaiming Peace in International Relations," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 36, no. 3 (2008): 452, https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298080360030401; Hans-Eckehard Bahr, "The Politicising of Everyday Life: Social Conditions of Peace - Hans-Eckehard Bahr, 1973," *Journal of Peace Research* 10, no. 1–2 (1973): 48; Lister and Jarvis, "Vernacular Securities and Everyday Life."
[416] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 551, 553.
[417] Mac Ginty, 551, 553.
[418] Steigworth and Gardiner, "Rethinking Everyday Life: And Then Nothing Turns Itself inside out," 140.
[419] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 553.
[420] Roger Mac Ginty and Pamina Firchow, "Top-down and Bottom-up Narratives of Peace and Conflict," *Politics* 36, no. 3 (2016): 308–23, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395715622967.

international, making everyday practices integral for international peace processes.[421] However, Everyday Peace can also operate independently and does not require to be linked to the international level.[422]

There is no rulebook for the creation of such "zones of peacebuilding"[423] because Everyday Peace relies on implicit methods like observation, trial and error, common sense, and intuition. Since it is "highly context-, location-, and time-specific," it cannot be replicated or modelled.[424] Due to its reliance on interaction and social responses, the process is dialogic and depends on reciprocity. Everyday Peace can involve creativity, innovation, and improvisation and, in some cases, can function as resistance to macro-level power or as subversion of top-down approaches.[425] In comparison to everyday diplomacy, many aspects of the liberal peace do not resonate with local stakeholders. Compliant with the status quo of international relations and boosted with financial and material power, liberal peace aims at maintaining the current system of market-oriented democracies that protect international stability; it privileges bureaucratic and highly structured professionalized processes that contain standardized CR processes (seen as more rational, efficient, and neutral); and it appreciates generalized research results. This "technocratic turn" in peacebuilding includes a highly professionalized "bureaucratic infrastructure and material culture" involving "high numbers of individuals and organizations that act with the utmost

[421] Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Vincent Pouliot, "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya," *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 4 (2014): 3, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066113512702; Roger Mac Ginty, "Indicators+: A Proposal for Everyday Peace Indicators," *Evaluation and Program Planning* 36, no. 1 (2013): 61, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2012.07.001.
[422] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 551.
[423] Landon E. Hancock, "Agency & Peacebuilding: The Promise of Local Zones of Peace," *Peacebuilding* 5, no. 3 (2017): 255–69, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2016.1253604.
[424] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 554.
[425] Mac Ginty, 555, 560–61. "The everyday peace agenda is potentially subversive in that it takes peace beyond the realm of programmes, projects, initiatives, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international organizations" (Ibid., 551, 553).

professionalism." Mac Ginty[426] termed this approach to peacebuilding—involving budget-cycles, reporting mechanisms, and projects—"peacebuilding from IKEA." This engineered standardized, static, and clocked system is rather unreflecting of local realities.[427] These aspects fit into a larger system of peacebuilding institutions, peacebuilding professionals, precise terminology, and regular time-sensitive reports. The data collected within this peace infrastructure is often initiated by exogenous agents, transforming local experiences into generalized datasets. Research results often do not connect with local realities, miss out on improving local realities, and make the data neither relevant nor accessible. For Mac Ginty, this "system of exclusion" ignores the fact that "different communities are likely to define peace in many ways."[428]

The above description indicates that liberal peace is firmly rooted in Western epistemology, remains uninterested in a changing the world order, is inflexible to developing more constructive CR approaches, and fails to look beyond generalized knowledge sets. In a nutshell: Western epistemology prefers unchallenging and generalized narratives over detail, context, personality, and particularity. In doing so, liberal peace misses out on locally significant meanings.[429] Western ways of defining and describing conflict are often alien to the local societies experiencing a conflict. Local and alternative ways of perceiving conflict are usually undervalued in the liberal peace model, especially aspects linked to identity, grievances, and relationships.

In contrast to the dominant narrative on the international level, local actors often raise different issues and express them in their own way. Various reasons help explain this contradiction. Often, the existence and work of NGOs is not on the locals' radar, Mac Ginty and Firchow write:

[426] Mac Ginty and the Manchester School of Peace Studies are one of the most prominent proponents of the everyday peace model (Ibid.). Brewer et al., "Everyday Life Peacebuilding," 201.
[427] Mac Ginty, "Indicators+," 57.
[428] Mac Ginty, 59.
[429] Mac Ginty and Firchow, "Top-down and Bottom-up Narratives of Peace and Conflict," 313.

> Whatever the reason, it is noticeable that people in multiple localities in conflict-affected areas did not discuss the international dimension in the form of peace-support interventions. This is certainly a very different narrative than the one from many international actors in which the international 'saves' or enables the local.[430]

Another explanation could be found in the apolitical nature of peoples' everyday lives. While their narratives are highly political and reference inequality and power dynamics, locals rarely seek to engage in elite political discourses. At the same time, local people have certain expectations of the nation-state as a provider of basic services (such as education and health care) and the state leaves them dissatisfied. Given this reality, it is not surprising that a different kind of narrative develops.[431]

Everyday Peace activities might appear to be marginal, not very obvious, and subaltern to liberal peace proponents.[432] However, in contrast to imported initiatives, Everyday Peace mechanisms usually have a higher legitimacy and authenticity.[433] Everyday Peace allows for the development of new inter-group activities and at times opposes the dominant narrative of the conflict and these aspects can contribute to the formation of peace. Everyday peace strategies may also go unnoticed by governmental or NGOs, even when the local level agents have important messages to send to these elites.[434]

Indicators of local peace efforts are rooted in the lived local experiences. Naturally, they may differ from community to community, but they add more richness to the understanding of a complex conflict, as they more accurately reflect the situation on the ground. Potentially, such locally defined indicators could inform the work of international (liberal peace) actors.[435] Finally

[430] Mac Ginty and Firchow, 317. The authors mention the following possible reasons causing the apparent lack of local relevance of NGOs: the local communities did not benefit from or witness international attention, NGOs were only present in acute phases, participants had short-term memories and they forgot community visits, NGOs worked with local partners, which blured the international dimension of their work (Ibid.).
[431] Mac Ginty and Firchow, 320.
[432] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 557, 560.
[433] Mac Ginty, 561.
[434] Mac Ginty, 560.
[435] Mac Ginty, "Indicators+," 59.

Everyday Peace efforts cannot be generalized as they are locally based, non-prescriptive, reflective, and open to change (over the years, the indicators of these efforts in a community can possibly be used to tell a story of consistency and change).[436]

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented a mapping of the conflict— the conflict's causes and conditions (climate change as a form of colonial and structural violence). A description of climate change as a form of colonialism was provided. Decolonization was described as a way to realize CT. The role and importance of culture was discussed to justify the relevance of this research for PACS but also to emphasize that change and continuity are two sides of the same coin in regards to culture. Next, an overview of the different conflict parties (Inuit on the one side and governments, industry, and individuals on the other side) was provided, followed by. a presentation of the Hybrid Peace model for CT. Also, the theory of Everyday Peace that focuses on local/ Indigenous forms of peacemaking was explored. A narrower focus was placed on Inuit peacemaking to provide a foundation for analysis in the empirical chapters.

Chapter two provides the context for the analysis in the following chapters. The question of whether the ICC is an agent of peacemaking will be answered by testing these theories against the ICC's work and community members' perception of the NGO. The question that will guide this study is: does the work of the ICC reveal certain Inuit or Western forms of peacemaking that would justify calling the ICC an agent of Hybrid Peace? Additionally, what forms of CR are at play in the communities and could these be viewed as Inuit or Everyday Peacemaking? Against

[436] Mac Ginty, 60.

this theoretical framework, the ICC will be analyzed as an agent of peacemaking in conflicts around climate change for Inuit in Greenland and Canada. If the ICC incorporates aspects of Hybrid Peacemaking in its work and if local, everyday coping strategies found in the communities confirm the approaches carried out by the ICC, the organization can be called an agent of peacemaking. Furthermore, this study will consider whether there are local strengths and coping mechanisms (that constitute Everyday Peace) in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq and inquire if and how these strengths are reflected in the ICC's work.

Chapter 3
Methodology and Methods

Having analyzed the conflict parties, conflict causes and conditions as well as avenues for conflict transformation in the previous chapter, the following chapter discusses the methods and methodology that were chosen to answer the research question and to address the related research objectives. The importance of culture for sustainable peacemaking was pointed out in the previous chapter, which included an overview of Inuit peacemaking as well as the theories of Hybrid and Everyday peace. Acknowledging the role of culture for peacemaking also impacts the selection of a research methodology and of research methods which are presented and discussed in this chapter. After a discussion of the researcher's positionality, the research methodology, research design, and the methods are explained. Because this study is set out to analyze the ICC as an agent of peacemaking for Inuit, a research methodology that is respectful of Inuit research methodology rooted in Inuit tradition has been chosen. This approach is rooted in Inuit epistemology (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)), which determines conversation/ listening and observation as culturally appropriate ways of learning. IQ and the importance of community and relational accountability in Inuit society and culture are explored. This study employed conversation and participant observation as its two main methods. In addition, the following methods that allow for triangulation were used: discourse analysis, quantitative survey, and content analysis. The end of the chapter provides information regarding the process of participant selection in this study.

3.1 Researcher Positionality

Working with Inuit as a Qallunaat (non-Indigenous and non-Canadian/ Greenlandic) woman from Germany who is pursuing a PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba, my research positionality was simultaneously limiting and enriching. The fact that I am neither Inuk nor a member of an Inuit community, and not even Canadian or Greenlandic/ Danish put me in the position of an outsider who needs to earn peoples' trust. I could not build on a large array of existing relationships that would help with meeting individuals and obtaining permission to use conversations for research. On the other hand, an outsider's lack of such connections could be beneficial. Community members could potentially feel more comfortable opening up to an outsider who does not have a previous relationship with them and who would not share insights from the conversation with other community members. Also, vital knowledge could potentially be missed by "insiders" because it is too sensitive or too obvious.[437] Although Germany was a colonizing nation (and is still dealing with its colonial legacy as such), being German allowed me to maintain a distance from the Canadian and Danish governments with which Inuit are involved in decolonization processes. Similarly to the late Renate Eigenbrod's line of thought, I realize that as an immigrant I am doubly an outsider. But, when I perceived in my studies that Aboriginal peoples drew parallels "between the genocidal colonization of North America and the genocide of the Jewish people and how the Holocaust caused a deep sense of alienation in the post-war German generation, (ethnic) boundaries got blurred."[438] Finally, both of us challenging our relationships with and the histories of the countries we belong to was a unifying and connecting element for my research participants and myself.

[437] Stevenson, "Introduction," 3.
[438] Eigenbrod, *Travelling Knowledges,* 10.

For this study, I engaged as much as possible in Inuit ways of gaining knowledge—listening and observation—to learn from Inuit, who are the experts in matters related to their own lives. In Inuit culture, the concept of relationships and reciprocity is very important. Subsequently, a collaborative research outline allowed for reciprocal exchanges and mutual learning and knowledge transfer. Relationships with community members developed quickly because my research project required the help from various local individuals. The community gatekeepers, Jakob Moller Lyberth (Maniitsoq) and Lena Qappik (Panniqtuuq), helped me to find interested individuals who assisted with translations of the posters I distributed in the community (for example in local stores, on public information boards, as well as at the airport, community centre, and museum). I used posters (and community radio in Panniqtuuq) to introduce myself and my research study and to invite community members to participate. Translators also helped out in conversations with community members who wished to communicate in Greenlandic or Inuktitut. Moreover, the translators were around to help me approach individuals in their language for my quantitative survey. In conversations at the end of my community visits, Jakob Heilmann, Nivikka Joelsen, and Samson Kilabuk shared with me how this project also had a positive impact on them. The development of relationships with community members meant a two-way exchange of experiences and I happily spoke about my work at the university or my own cultural background if someone showed interest. I also volunteered in the soup kitchen in Panniqtuuq—cooking, distributing free food, and washing the dishes—whenever my schedule allowed it. As well, I was able to cook German dishes for my old and new friends in Maniitsoq. These informal ways of interacting and giving back were often the most valued moments as they allowed for relationship-building.

Based on this positionality, I acknowledge that the interpretations of the collected material are based on my own epistemological background that was informed by an Inuit paradigm. Thus, checking in with research collaborators during and after the process was crucial to ensure that all voices have been represented correctly. Spending time with Inuit and learning about Inuit ways of knowing and behaving also led to previously unanticipated personal reflections about my own culture and my own way of being in this world that enriched me as a researcher and as a human being.

3.2 Indigenous and Inuit Research Methodology

This research follows Kulchyski's definition of "bush work" as a methodology, which means "opening oneself up to the ethics of the other."[439] Methodology refers to the theory of how knowledge is gained and how things are found out about a particular reality.[440] It is based on and impacted by a paradigm's ontological and epistemological assumptions. Epistemological assumptions and methodology guide the researcher's choice of methods.[441] Indigenous methodologies are based on Indigenous (in this case Inuit) epistemologies and, according to Wilson, they incorporate and practice "an Indigenous way of doing and being in the research process."[442] Among other elements, Indigenous methodologies highlight the connection of research to local communities and the importance of relationality.

[439] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," 157.
[440] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 13, 34; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 25. Methodology asks: "How do I find out more about this reality?" (Kovach, 2010, 34).
[441] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 25, 122; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 29.
[442] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 19; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 25, 35.

Ontology, the theory of the nature of reality and of what exists,[443] determines which interpretation of reality will be acknowledged and used.[444] In an Indigenous ontology, there is no one "definite reality, but rather different sets" and processes of relationships that make up reality.[445] Epistemology describes the realm of how we think about or know our reality. It is a theory of knowledge that asks what knowledge is, what can be known, where knowledge comes from, whom it involves, and who can know.[446] In Kovach's words, it is a "system of knowledge that references within it the social relations of knowledge production."[447] The epistemology chosen for a study reveals the interpretative perspective or positioning which guides the research and it is from this perspective that the researcher makes meaning of collected material.[448] Epistemology determines what is considered valid knowledge and it determines what kind of relationship between researcher and participants is necessary to gain accurate knowledge.[449] Indigenous epistemology is a result of relational knowing that comes from the physical (outer) and the metaphysical (inner) world. It derives from and incorporates different interconnected sources like teachings, observations, subconscious revelations (visions, dreams), and sensory experiences[450] In general, Indigenous

[443] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 21, 25; Karen M. Staller, "Qualitative Research," in *Encyclopedia of Research Design*, ed. Neil J. Salkind (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2010), 1159; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 13, 34. "Ontology is the theory of the nature of existence, or the nature of reality." Ontology asks: "what is real?" (Wilson, 2008, 33; Staller, 2010, 1159). Donna M Mertens, *Transformative Research and Evaluation* (New York: Guilford Press, 2009), 49.
[444] Mertens, *Transformative Research and Evaluation*, 49, 54. Ontology asks "what is real?" (Wilson, Research is Ceremony, p. 33; Staller, Research, p. 1159); Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 25; Staller, "Qualitative Research," 1159; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 13.
[445] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 73. For example, a chair can be used to sit on, but it is also used as a shelf or to stop a door (Wilson, 2008, 73).
[446] Staller, "Qualitative Research," 1159; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 46. Indigenous epistemology includes the "theory of how we come to have knowledge, or how we know that we know something. It includes entire systems of thinking (…) that are built upon specific ontologies. Epistemology is tied to ontology" because what I believe to be real will impact what I "think about that reality." Epistemology asks: "How do I know what is real?" (Wilson, 2008, 33).
[447] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 21.
[448] Kovach, 46.
[449] Mertens, *Transformative Research and Evaluation*, 49, 56.
[450] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 57, 140; M. Brandt-Castellano, "Aboriginal Organizations in Canada: Integrating Participatory Research," in *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States*, ed. P. Park et al. (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1993), 145–55; W. Ermine, "Aboriginal Epistemology," in

epistemologies are interactive, cyclical, whole, inclusive, fluid, spiritual, interrelational, broad-based, animate, organic, heartfelt, cerebral, holistic, experiential, relational, reciprocal, non-fragmented, non-linear, empowering, and action-oriented.[451] Indigenous epistemologies are based on and highlight the importance of language and place. Language conveys the world views, philosophy, and cultural memory of a people, and it creates thought and culture while being shaped by them.[452] Place provides identity and differentiates various groups from each other. It connects past and present, the group and the individual. Moreover, Indigenous epistemologies value subjective knowledge, generosity, purpose, practicality, sharing, working hard, caring for others, having good relations in general, reciprocity, collectivity, attentiveness, and observation.[453]

Indigenous research frameworks that honour Indigenous knowledge systems can benefit the researcher and the participants.[454] Indigenous methodologies can ignite and enhance processes of decolonization, empowerment, transformation, healing, self-determination, and emancipation through their participatory, inclusive, dynamic, narrative, holistic, relational, desilencing, and contextual nature. These objectives of Indigenous methodology are in accordance with the research goals and thus justify their application in this study. This research applied an Indigenous methodology to enhance current decolonization processes in the academy and in the lives of Inuit and to inspire future generations to follow a path toward decolonization. Indigenous methodology is also applied to expand present understandings of individual Indigenous perspectives and truths.

First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds, ed. Marie Ann Battiste (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 101–12; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 27.

[451] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 56–57, 62; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 27–28; Mertens, *Transformative Research and Evaluation*, 56; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 15.

[452] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 59–63. Also, Indigenous ancient knowledge comes alive through ceremonies, dances, sweats, fasts, and vision quests (there are certain integral parts of ceremony, like the drum, pipe, songs, rattles, sacred items, and prayer).

[453] Kovach, 61, 63, 111; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 28.

[454] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 11.

This will be helpful in gaining a more complete and at the same time more diverse picture of current needs and struggles for decolonization, participation, and self-determination of Inuit. Moreover, Indigenous methodology will illustrate Inuit strengths, cultural resilience, and adaptation to a changing world. An Indigenous methodology gives voice to the marginalized and formerly oppressed and can also be crucial in healing processes (providing a safe context for reflection and communication)—aspects that are also in accordance with the overall peacemaking research goals.

3.2.1 Importance of Community and Relationality

Indigenous research honours the cultural value of relationships and is respectful to relationships.[455] Their holistic, inclusive, and contextualizing nature requires that Indigenous methodologies are accountable to communities. This means that research should be anchored in, connected with, and inclusive of the community (or a part of it)[456] and incorporate "local protocols on knowledge sharing."[457] The power has to lie in local communities.[458] The community should know about the research and direct it.[459] Research should be accountable to and inclusive of the

[455] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 30. For the researcher, relationships within an indigenous methodology mean that there should be a "sincere, authentic investment in the community" and the researcher should take time to visit people in a community and be humble about the research goals. Also, there need to be initial conversations between the researcher and research participants to come to an agreement and a common understanding of the research ownership, significance, purpose, goal, use, and dissemination. All these aspects of relationships within Indigenous methodology are preconditions for getting access to an Indigenous community (Ibid.).
[456] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 41–42; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 177. Communities were often created by processes of colonization (that determined boundaries, established reserves), but indigenous people also created communities themselves and made themselves at home in communities that provided them with identity and spirituality. Communities are "physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, cultural, and spiritual spaces" (Smith, 2012, 128).
[457] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 144.
[458] Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith, *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, 6.
[459] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 108.

community and the community should benefit from the research.[460] Within Indigenous methodology, research and methods require community approval[461] and must give back to and serve the community. This also describes a relational research approach wherein giving back means more than the final dissemination of research—the focus is on the development of a relationship during the research.[462] Whether research is beneficial should be measured with reference to community interests and needs but also with reference to the results at the local, regional, and national level. Research should value the knowledge of the community and the unique nature of the individual.[463]

Indigenous epistemologies are based on the reality of systems and webs of relationships and knowledge created by Indigenous ontology.[464] Relationships and knowledge are thoroughly connected: relationships build systems of knowledge and systems of knowledge define relationships.[465] Relationships in Indigenous epistemologies are inclusive of all life forms and all relationships are equally significant.[466] As a result of such interconnectedness through relationships, context (and respect for context) also becomes important.[467] Because relationships are important in Indigenous epistemology and ontology, Indigenous methodologies and axiology have to be accountable to such relationships by means of (collective) responsibility to serve others,

[460] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 48, 139; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 122; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 31; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 119.
[461] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 59, 102. In indigenous research paradigms, the community decides on the topic or content of what should be researched, as well as on the methods applied (Ibid., 110—11).
[462] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 48, 139, 149; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 102.
[463] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Ethical Guidelines for Research* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 1993), 4; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 149; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 59.
[464] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 73 For example, in the Cree language, objects are not simply named, but their descriptions reveal the relationships that people have with them: e.g. "the thing to sit on" (chair) (Ibid.).
[465] Wilson, 74, 77.
[466] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 58; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 28, 30. Relationships can be inter- and intrapersonal, spiritual, environmental, but can also be with the cosmos or with certain concepts or ideas (e.g. worldview, history, spirituality, language etc.) (Wilson, 74, 102).
[467] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 74, 102.

reciprocate, and show respect.[468] Indigenous methodologies are relational methodologies or, according to Kovach, knowledges that are "created and re-created" within relationships.[469] Relationships are part of Indigenous identity and contain relations with the land, ancestors, and future generations. For Indigenous people, relationships with the land are very important and contain knowledge. Through their relationships with the land, people can deeply connect with their surroundings. Indigenous customs and traditions are shaped by the land and the environment and by peoples' emotional, physical, and spiritual relationship to the land.[470]

Based on relational ontology, epistemological beliefs are inclusive and egalitarian. Everyone can come to their own conclusions and one does not judge the conclusions of others.[471] There is relationality between the researcher and the community or participants, between the academic community and Indigenous methodologies,[472] and between participants and their ideas. Relational accountability is realized when the researcher is accountable to and respectful of all existing and developing relationships with the community, the environment, and the cosmos, as well as to the research topic and the concepts and ideas being studied.[473] In an Indigenous paradigm it is important that relational accountability is maintained.[474]

Relationships, reciprocity, and sharing—the key concepts in Inuit culture—are woven into this research project's methodology. Meeting Inuit in their everyday realities, becoming a part of community life, and allowing for the development of relationships and the mutual sharing of

[468] Wilson, 8, 77, 137; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 35–36, 178.
[469] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 47.
[470] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 80, 87–89.
[471] Wilson, 92, 94.
[472] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 178.
[473] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 22–23, 106, 121. Indigenous research should create new relationships that continue after completion of the research (Ibid., p. 119) .
[474] Wilson, 107. Relational accountability can be carried out by asking "how we go about choosing the topics we will research," by applying methods to collect data and to build relationships, and it can also be found in the way analysis is carried out and the way results are presented (Ibid.).

stories and experiences—all served as a starting point. I used my free time as an opportunity to walk around in the communities and meet people. Often, informal conversations would take place that raised my counterpart's interest in my study. At other times, encountering a community band practicing or volunteers distributing free food at a soup kitchen provided opportunities for observation of community dynamics. Openness to new encounters, an ability to spontaneously change plans, and a good amount of curiosity and humour allowed me to develop and deepen my relationships with community members.

The literature recommends that research involving Indigenous peoples should respect and include the local community but is rather silent on doing such research internationally. However, this study charts new territory by applying an Inuit research paradigm on the local and on the international level. To be respectful and inclusive, this research project involved community-based research in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq. However, a study of the ICC as an agent of peacemaking required moving beyond the local level and Inuit epistemology (IQ) because the ICC mainly operates on the international level within Western/ non-Indigenous politics and world views. For pragmatic and political reasons, ICC's Inuit have learned to operate within the diplomatic language of the West and on the international stage. For example, the ICC documents are generally written in formal and policy-related language and are released into a complex, bureaucratic system that is rather alien to local Inuit. They have been composed by the ICC to communicate with Western institutions in a Western manner. Thus, an analysis of the ICC includes analysis of these publicly available documents that target governments and other agents because these also constitute the voice of Inuit and provide insights into the organization's role in advocating for Inuit.

Inuit research paradigm applied to this research has also been expanded to include discourse analysis (using the software Nvivo for coding and analyzing to determine the main

findings) and two short quantitative surveys. Given that openness to new approaches is an important value in Inuit culture, it is hoped that these methods enrich the study and add further analytical depth (that also allows for triangulation) to the research findings already collected through conversation and observation. Nvivo, a tool to organize transcribed data, assisted with working through the collected material to ensure maximal inclusiveness, and it also helped with processing the many hours of conversations in a constructive and focused manner for this study. Moreover, the short qualitative surveys enriched this study because they helped confirm research findings collected through conversation and observation. Expanding the research beyond Inuit epistemology allowed for the use of methods that are traditionally located outside of an Indigenous research paradigm. But, as Wilson has pointed out, methods can be borrowed from other suitable research paradigms as long as they fit the ontology, epistemology, and axiology of Indigenous people. Some Western methods, because of their emphasis on relationships or their open-ended and flexible nature, are aligned with Indigenous epistemology.[475] Thus, the content and document analysis as well as short (quantitative) surveys also constitute as working with the voices of Inuit who engaged in relationships with the researcher by sharing their perspectives (not only through conversation but also through official documents and the surveys). Working with the transcripts and official documents was an attempt at deepening the knowledge of and relationship with Inuit who shared these voices.

Insofar as IQ can be recognized as a generalized Inuit epistemology within a limited set of variations across the Arctic, it becomes evident that local knowledge and belief sets have oscillated beyond the community level. This reality is also reflected in the ICC's international focus. ICC's General Assemblies and resulting declarations could potentially create a sense of Inuit nationhood.

[475] Wilson, 123.

Thus, it could be argued that Inuit research methodologies calling for a clear focus on the community level transfer to the international level (where an Inuit community has potentially established itself as well).

Although there is certain shared knowledge among Indigenous societies, the application of an Indigenous epistemological perspective requires specific Indigenous knowledge of the Indigenous group being researched (here the Inuit) to avoid a general pan-Indigenous approach.[476] Thus, the above described general concepts of Indigenous methodologies will now be narrowed down to focus on Inuit methodologies and methods of learning.

3.2.2 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), the centuries-old set of knowledge and beliefs that guide Inuit wellbeing and survival[477]has been described in detail in chapter 2.3.2.3. As an epistemology, IQ is "a set of teachings on practical truisms about society, human nature and experience passed on orally." It is learnt and passed on from generation to generation through socialization, traditions, and customs. Consequently, IQ supports the creation of "able human being(s)." [478]

Despite the destructive and assimilative forces of colonialism, IQ continues to contribute to Inuit well-being as it has done for the past thousands of years. Its re-establishment and revival

[476] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 46.
[477] Language and Culture Committee of Nunavut Arctic College and Pelagie Owlijoot, *Guidelines for Working with Inuit Elders*, 2008, 7; Shirley Tagalik, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut* (Prince George: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2010 2009), 1. The Inuktitut term can be translated as "that which Inuit have always known to be true" or "things of which Inuit knew all along" (Ibid.).
[478] Language and Culture Committee of Nunavut Arctic College and Owlijoot, *Guidelines for Working with Inuit Elders*, 7; J. G Oosten et al., *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit: shamanism and reintegrating wrongdoers into the community* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, Language and Culture Program, 2002), 3; Jaypetee Arnakak, "Commentary: What Is Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit?," *Nunatsiaq News*, August 25, 2000; Tagalik, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut*, 2.

is important because it can "restore Inuit pride and increase individual self-esteem," which are helpful in addressing and eliminating social problems.[479] The Indigenous research methodology and methods applied in this study respect and follow these IQ concepts.

3.3 Research Design

This chapter describes the "bush work" (a substitution for "field work") that entailed going into the bush and "carefully following the lead of the hunters or guides taking one there."[480] Previous community stays—in Nuuk in summer 2010 and in Panniqtuuq in summer 2011—allowed for the development of relationships with Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut prior to the actual research trip in 2016. And, while community connections had already been established with Panniqtuumiut, finding a Greenlandic community took more time. Eventually, Maniitsoq was chosen because a friend whom I had met in Nuuk in 2010 had moved to Maniitsoq and was willing to help me connect with other community members and identify a community gatekeeper to help me with further research preparations. Also, Maniitsoq is geographically close to Nuuk and Kangerlussuaq, which allowed for easy and relatively affordable short distance travel to the community.[481]

Before a formal decision to visit the two communities was made, the community gatekeepers Jakob Møller Lyberth (chief of staff, Hamlet of Maniitsoq) and Lena Qappik (Senior

[479] Language and Culture Committee of Nunavut Arctic College and Owlijoot, "Guidelines for Working with Inuit Elders," 7; Tagalik, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut," 7.
[480] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," 157.
[481] For various reasons, the researcher's journey to Greenland required a trip from Canada to Europe first. Part of the reason lies in the fact that currently no flight connections exist between Canada and Greenland. The large airplanes arriving from Europe in Greenland can only land in Kangerlussuaq. From there, connection flights to other destinations in Greenland need to be booked.

Administrative Officer, Hamlet of Panniqtuuq) at the municipal offices were sought out and contacted. A research outline was shared with the community gatekeepers, and the research was approved by both. In turn, both communities invited me to visit and conduct my research study.

As this research project involved interactions with living human participants, research licenses by the University of Manitoba's and the Government of Nunavut's research ethics boards were required and issued on July 22 and 26, 2016. Having completed all required steps (including raising enough research funding to realize this project), I was ready for the next stage in my research project: to embark on my northern journey for data collection in summer and fall 2016. I spent two weeks in Maniitsoq (Greenland) from September 12 to September 26. From September 26 to October 5, I lived in Nuuk—the capital city of Greenland—to visit the ICC Greenland. From October 23 to 29, I spent time in Ottawa, the capital of Canada, where I visited the ICC Canada and ITK. Initial travel plans from Ottawa to Panniqtuuq scheduled for October 29 were delayed for five days due to snow storms in the community. Thus, from October 29 to November 3, I spent time in Iqaluit, showing up at the airport every morning in the hope to catch a plane to Panniqtuuq. On November 3, I was finally able to take the first available plane from Iqaluit to Panniqtuuq on Baffin Island. Having arrived almost a week later than originally planned, the scheduled flight back south needed to be changed to November 20 to allow for enough time in the community. On November 20 I travelled back to Ottawa where I spent another six days until I finally flew back to Winnipeg on November 26.

I visited the two communities and the two capital cities to meet with community members as well as with ICC representatives but also to immerse myself for a while in the everyday realities of life in northern communities. This step was guided by the chosen research paradigm that is respectful of Inuit epistemology and ontology and suggested not only engaging in conversation

but in deep listening and observation. Thus, the researcher participated in an embodied, personal—relational—research experience that constitute an additional level of perception and analysis.

All conversations with community members and ICC representatives were recorded and my collected observations and embodied experiences were turned into written field notes. A short quantitative opinion survey was carried out on an afternoon during my time in each community. This required the help of a translator in Maniitsoq because English was not as commonly spoken in the Greenlandic community as it was in Nunavut's Panniqtuuq. After completion of the research trips, the recorded conversations were transcribed and sent back to each research collaborators for their keeping. Research collaborators were invited to make changes to the transcript within a given time frame or to withdraw from the study. One research collaborator (out of thirty-two) withdrew from the study after the transcript was sent out. The next phase involved the coding of the transcribed material using Nvivo software. The codes allowed for the discovery of themes which, in turn, shaped the final study findings. These were supported by the results from a content analysis of ICC documents and an analysis of the ICC's activities related to its climate change advocacy since its creation.

The final phase was sharing of the written results in this dissertation to advance knowledge. In the future, results or parts of the results might also be disseminated in academic journal articles or in conference presentations and public lectures authored by the researcher. The results will further be shared with the study collaborators and a copy of the dissertation will be sent to the Panniqtuuq Community Library, the community library in Maniitsoq, Attagooyak School in Panniqtuuq, the school in Maniitsoq, Nunavut Arctic College, and Ilisimatusarfik University of Greenland for people to access and read. A copy of my doctoral dissertation will also be forwarded to the ICC Greenland and the ICC Canada.

This study is set out to benefit Inuit, Inuit communities, the ICC, and the research community. It provided participants with an opportunity to share their knowledge and to ensure it is passed on to the future generations. As such, this research enables participants to ensure maintenance of their culture and to share their culture with a larger audience, thus contributing to society at large. As a cultural act, this sharing can be decolonizing.[482] This research promoted self-reflection and an appreciation for local Inuit strengths. The conversations may have served to inspire the research collaborators to reflect on their strengths and ways to overcome challenges. Inuit may have gained a sense of empowerment to hear and share their own and others' stories and experiences. In the long-term, individual Inuit may benefit if the findings of this research are employed to realize positive changes that directly affect them. Dissemination of the study results has the potential to highlight the ICC's work and community strengths, initiate a writing/righting of history, and provide greater visibility and support for Inuit. Thus, Inuit community in general can benefit from this study.

As Wilson writes, "Research by and for Indigenous peoples is a ceremony that brings relationships together."[483] A research paradigm that follows Inuit belief system, as realized in this study, emphasizes the importance of relationality, collectivity, reciprocity, and accountability. This is the context in which the research methods chosen for this study are rooted.

3.4 Research Methods

Indigenous methods can enable holistic, relational, and respectful research because they are flexible, open-ended, and allow participants to share their stories on their own terms. They

[482] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience."
[483] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 8, 116–18.

highlight the aspect of sharing a story related to a research question and care less about participants answering questions.[484] Thus, story is both meaning and method and, according to Briggs, research based on an Indigenous methodology should have "a strong narrative component as part of its method and presentation of findings." The main methods chosen for this study—conversation and observation—are respectful of Inuit epistemology and ontology. They highlight the importance of narration, story, listening, observation,[485] and relational accountability (respecting all relations, reciprocity, sharing, and giving back).

Driven by the care for others and the incentive to improve current conditions, the research objectives of this study are guided by the four basic laws of IQ (aiming at a common good and harmony, respect for everything alive, and planning for the future). Subsequently, the research methods are geared toward the eight guiding principles of IQ that form the epistemological foundation of this research. Such objectives and methods also serve the community based on their inclusive, participatory, empowering, and desilencing characteristics (which are natural consequences of narrative approaches); and they enable collaborative thinking and the sharing of different perspectives, which can also result in knowledge acquisition. Thus, the methods chosen can potentially also enhance problem-solving through the sharing of varied individual perspectives and practices and through the creation of collaborative relationships. The stories or narrative methods are based on concepts of shared power, mutual recognition, resistance of domination, and enhancement of consciousness and peace.[486]

[484] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 60, 98–99, 124–25.
[485] Briggs, "'Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?' The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps"; Briggs, "Expecting the Unexpected"; Briggs, "The Origins of Non-Violence."
[486] Senehi, "Building Peace, Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively," 203.

Inuit teaching and the passing on of knowledge often involve demonstration and story.[487] This required skills of observation and (deep) listening[488] and so the researcher engaged in participant observation that led to the production of field notes, practicing what Kulchyski characterized as an "ethics of reading."[489]

3.4.1 Conversations with Community Members and Key Informants

In accordance with the chosen Inuit research paradigm and methodology, conversational and narrative approaches were applied to learn about the realities of Inuit in Greenland and Canada. Inuit participants were invited to share their opinions about their current conditions, approaches to deal with those conditions, and their suggestions for improvement and a more effective addressing of their needs and challenges. This study also involved key informant conversations with Inuit representing the ICC Greenland, ICC Canada, and the ITK and with Inuit knowledge holders who co-created the ICC or were or had been involved in politics in their country.

In fact, due to their ability to create a knowledge and power base for communities, storytelling and narration are some of the most important aspects of Indigenous methodology. The articulation, sharing, acknowledging, and desilencing of knowledge can be empowering, enhance understanding of problems, and initiate action.[490] Moreover, story is a particularly fundamental method because Indigenous knowledge systems honour the spoken word and stories and narratives

[487] Collings, *Becoming Inummarik*, 93; Jessica Senehi, "Constructive Storytelling: A Peace Process," *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9, no. 2 (2002): 41–63; Senehi, "Building Peace, Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively."
[488] Deep listening describes respectful, reciprocal togetherness and listening, taking time to develop relationships and observing oneself/ listening to oneself. Brearley, "Deep Listening and Leadership: An Indigenous Model of Leadership and Community Development in Australia," 91.
[489] Participant observation has also been chosen to understand, as much as possible, Inuit cultural context. Collings, *Becoming Inummarik*, 96; Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," 157.
[490] Senehi, "Building Peace, Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively," 204.

are used to transmit knowledge.[491] So, story/ narrative and knowing/ research are closely connected. Story is research (which is learning) because narration gives insight into experiences, observations, intuitions, and interactions.[492]

This study contained semi-structured, independent conversations that involved in-depth, open-ended questions and allowed for the co-creation of knowledge.[493] The participants and the researcher engaged in rich and critical dialogue and reflected collectively on the issues raised in conversations. Research participants engaged in individual, one-on-one conversations with the researcher that were audio-recorded. Although conversations were mainly held in English, the opportunity to involve an interpreter was always provided and used in some cases.

The method of open or non-structured conversation can create and deepen relationships and allows participants greater control of what they wish to share. This method simultaneously shows and generates respect for the participants and their stories.[494] The co-creative and reflexive character of storytelling allowed the researcher to share her own narratives, which also served to further enhance aspects of mutuality, relationality, and collaboration.[495]

3.4.2 Observation and Field Notes

According to the literature published by Indigenous individuals, Indigenous knowledge is gathered intuitively and in a non-linear way. Knowledge and relationships develop in multiple ways. For example they can derive from experience such as visiting and getting to know certain

[491] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 27; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 99.
[492] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 94, 102.
[493] Kovach, "'Conversation Method in Indigenous Research.'"
[494] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 113; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 51, 124.
[495] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 100.

places. Eventually, a new understanding and awareness can develop out of such relationships. To allow for such experiential, embodied learning and relationship-development, I lived with members in two Inuit communities to experience and participate in the local everyday realities.

Participant observation emphasizes face-to-face relationships (relationship-building is an important aspect for Indigenous research) and imports the Indigenous principle of watching and doing into a scientific/ educational context.[496] The study was also inclusive of inward contemplations—when shared—to honour the whole spectrum of Indigenous knowledge that includes, for example, dreams.[497] I engaged in reflective observation to allow for triangulation of results and to add depth to the research. Observations, perceptions, and thoughts were kept as field notes.

3.4.3. Other Methods

The qualitative ethnographic research data collected among community members and key informants through conversation was complemented with quantitative results from short community surveys and content analysis. The survey and content analysis allowed for triangulation of research results and helped to develop a "comprehensive and consistent picture of a specific cultural domain."[498] According to Braun and Clarke, triangulation is "a process whereby two or more methods of data collection or sources of data are used to examine the same phenomenon, with the aim of getting as close to the 'truth' of the object of study as possible."[499] Triangulation

[496] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 40.
[497] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 127; Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," 31.
[498] Margaret D. LeCompte and Jean J. Schensul, *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research - An Introduction*, Second edition, vol. 1 (Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, 2010), 122.
[499] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*, 1 edition (London: Sage Publications, 2013), 285.

helps generate confirmatory redundancy in the data collection process, and it ensures that information collected in conversations is corroborated by insights gathered from other sources.[500] As such, the community surveys were used to supplement conversations with local Inuit. Whereas the content analysis of ICC documents was employed to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the ICC's work, to substantiate key informants' information, and to generate complimentary information. Overall, triangulation has been applied to create more comprehensive and credible research results.[501]

Triangulation was also applied as a form of "compressed ethnographic design" to accommodate the shortage of time as a resource[502] because this study involved visiting two remote Inuit communities and capital cities in two countries. Community members of all ages were approached and asked if they had time for a short questionnaire while they were walking on public streets or when they were about to enter a grocery store. They were informed that filling out of the questionnaire would take about two to five minutes. In Maniitsoq, Jakob Heilmann assisted with interpretation and Nivikka Joelsen helped approach individuals. In Panniqtuuq, Lena Qappik and Sam Kilabuk helped with translation of the questionnaire into Inuktitut. However, help approaching community members was not required as English is commonly spoken and understood in the community. Questionnaires were bilingual. In addition to English, they were offered in Greenlandic in Maniitsoq and in Inuktitut in Panniqtuuq. The questionnaire asked participants whether they knew or had heard of the ICC and (in cases when they answered yes to the first question) what they thought about the ICC. This study also involved content analysis of ICC documents such as the GA declarations, the Inuit Arctic Policy, various other declarations

[500] LeCompte and Schensul, *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research - An Introduction*, 1:180.
[501] LeCompte and Schensul, 1:183.
[502] LeCompte and Schensul, 1:122.

(e.g. the Anchorage Declaration, the Inuit Circumpolar Sovereignty Declaration), newsletters, and website content. Conversations with community members and key informants were acts of relationship-building with local Inuit and the ICC. Furthermore, reading of documents issued by the ICC and the coding and analyzing of transcripts can be considered as extended acts of deep listening (transcripts are the written versions of the spoken words and the consulted documents are peoples' thoughts made available to the public in written form).

3.5 Participant Selection and Participants

The research was based on respect, reciprocity, and trust and worked toward creating long-term relationships. It inspired individual participation. An alliance was established between Inuit and the researcher who became partners in this project. Relationships to some community members already existed. Most community research collaborators, however, were met for the first time. The research participants are experts about issues that affect, challenge, and change their lives. They investigated and reflected upon these issues to identify and create beneficial solutions to their challenges and in doing so, sought to improve people's everyday realities, and to encourage empowerment and emancipation.

Community members were invited to participate in this project through a poster announcement in Maniitsoq, and a radio and a poster announcement in Panniqtuuq.[503] Posters outlined the research project and provided contact and personal information about the researcher. The posters were bilingual in each community. In addition to English, they contained content in Greenlandic in Maniitsoq and in Inuktitut (syllabics) in Panniqtuuq. Community members were

[503] The researcher met with the gatekeeper in each community to share the text of the announcement with them and to ask for advice about the planned recruitment process.

hired and paid for their help with translating the poster content from English to Greenlandic and Inuktitut, respectively. In general, participants were recruited in the communities through informal and random conversations held in public or as the result of conversations that took place at gatherings I attended. At other times, I followed the community gatekeepers' suggestions for contacting particular individuals whom I approached and invited to participate.

Relationships with some current and past ICC representatives already existed. Over the past years, conferences (e.g. the Inuit Studies Conferences 2012 and 2014), ICC General Assemblies (2010, 2014), and other ICC events (e.g. the 40th annual celebration of the ICC Canada) provided ample opportunities to interact with current and former ICC representatives. Because the time allocated to spend in Nuuk and in Ottawa was very limited, attempts were made to schedule appointments with ICC representatives prior to my arrival. However, most attempts to schedule appointments in advance with ICC representatives did not work out, except for a scheduled meeting with Hjalmar Dahl. Conversations rather happened spontaneously or were agreed upon after an auspicious meeting with an ICC representative. Recruitment of key informants was based on ICC recommendations but also on my own research. As public figures, all key informants spoke English fluently. Conversations were audio-recorded, transcribed, and returned to the research collaborators for their keeping and to give them the opportunity to provide feedback or corrections.

The researcher ensured that all collaborators were provided with the necessary information about the research project (through conversation and information in a consent form) to ensure that participants made an informed decision whether they wished to participate. Research collaborators were asked to sign a consent form prior to their participation in a conversation and they were given a copy of the signed form. The consent form was translated into Inuktitut as required by the

Nunavut Research Institute.[504] Consent was voluntary, informed, and ongoing. Research collaborators were able to withdraw their consent at any time without further explanation. Written transcripts of the audio-recorded conversations were shared with the participants. If the researcher did not hear back from participants, it was assumed that the participant did not wish to delete or change anything.

In Inuit knowledge production, subjective knowledge is valued and information is relevant for Inuit when the source of the information is included.[505] Respecting Inuit approaches to knowledge production, research collaborators were given the opportunity to waive confidentiality which allowed them to share their names and direct identifiers that connected them to the knowledge they shared. In most cases, research collaborators did not want to hide their identity and were comfortable sharing their names. However, several research collaborators wished to remain anonymous. In these cases, their name, age, and gender were removed and they were referred to in anonymous terms (individual, person, Inuk, or community member).

This research was inclusive to everyone in the community. All individuals of full age or adults (nineteen years old and over) were welcome to participate. The key informants were Inuit who currently work or have previously worked for ICC Canada in Ottawa and ICC Greenland in Nuuk. One Inuk politician who was not involved with the ICC also participated as a key informant. Key informants were mostly met in Ottawa, Canada and in Nuuk, Greenland. In a few cases, conversations with key informants took place over the phone. This study involved nine Inuit in Maniitsoq (Sara Heilmann Rosing, Erno Petersen, Gideon Lyberth, Johannes Rosing, Peter Olsen, Karl Svensson, Harald Bajare, and two other community members wished to remain anonymous). At the ICC Greenland in Nuuk, the following individuals kindly shared their perspectives with me:

[504] If a translation for Greenlandic was required, a translator was be asked to help with the oral translation of the form.
[505] Kublu, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Interviewing the Elders," 9.

Hjalmar Dahl, Ineqi Kielsen, Alfred Jakobsen, Kuupik Kleist, Aqqaluk Lynge, Aili Liimakka Laue, and one person who wished to remain anonymous. Parnuna Egede spoke with me over the phone at a later time. In Panniqtuuq, ten individuals shared their perspectives with me: Sam Kilabuk, Mosesie Qappik, Jaco Ishulutaq, Andrew Qappik, Sheila Veevee, Lena Akpalialuk, Linda Uvilluk, Peter Evvik, and two individuals who wished to remain anonymous. Key informants representing the ICC/ ITK in Canada were Okalik Eegeesiak (over the phone) and Tagak Curley (during one of his visits in Winnipeg). Two ICC individuals whom I met in Ottawa wished to remain anonymous. Additionally, Hunter Tootoo, a Canadian politician from Nunavut, also spoke with me over the phone. In total, thirty-two Inuit were part of this final study. Two conversations needed to be excluded from this study because the recording was not understandable in one case and the conversation was interrupted and thus too short for analysis in another case. One research collaborator voluntarily withdrew from the study altogether. The conversations held in a talking circle with a number of Elders in Panniqtuuq took a different direction and that material will be used in a future project.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology and methods applied in this study. After the discussion of the researcher's positionality, the chapter situates the main chosen methods (conversation and observation) within Indigenous/ Inuit research methodology that emphasizes community and relational accountability that is rooted in Inuit knowledge. Using these concepts as a foundation, the chapter illustrates the chosen research design and follows with a detailed examination of the various methods. Quantitative surveys and content analysis are

discussed as “other methods” that helped with triangulation, for confirmatory redundancy as well as a “compressed ethnographic design.” The chapter concludes by explaining participant selection. Before the findings are shared, a general understanding of the ICC, its creation, development, and structure is necessary and will be provided in the following chapter. The description of the ICC’s development and structure is also interwoven with an analysis of the NGO as a Hybrid Peace agent.

Chapter 4
The Development and Structure of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

After the previous chapters have provided an overview of the conflict, the Inuit as a conflict party, and peacemaking/ decolonization theories at the intersection of conflict and culture, this study of the Inuit Circumpolar Council as an agent of peacemaking also necessitates a brief overview of the NGO itself. Thus, this chapter illustrates the context in which the ICC was created in Greenland and Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, provides an overview of the ICC's structure, relates the specifics of the NGO in Greenland and Canada, and concludes with a description of the ICC international. The ICC's story begins with Tagak Curley's story:

> Well, it's a long story because I grew up in a period of time where once upon a time, our culture, our people were quite proud of their culture, identity, and destiny, as far as I'm concerned. But, when I was a kid, young man, that loss, that was, I think, at a very critical period, where, in my view, many of our people were uncertain whether or not their identity, their culture, including language were going to survive or not. […] I started to see that we had to do something about it. It was not acceptable that people were afraid of the newcomers. That wasn't good enough for me. […]
>
> Those of us that were able to communicate [with] both sides were ready to start fighting. [Receiving support from others] meant a lot to me, because I was a very shy boy, young man. Something had to be done. […] [I am acting] on behalf of my people. I was not going to back down. Crazy or not. We had to be crazy to do something. We weren't going to do it by being polite. […] So, there were times it was scary, scary to me, because how are we going to get anywhere? […] I was a reader, I read all about organizations, I read. And I read about international groups, non-governmental organizations. So, I had all these ideas in me. But, we had to have a model. […] I said we're charting our own destiny; we don't give a damn about who is out there. […] That territorial government, the old colonial system had to be changed. […] Ask some of the interpreters how they used to feel when I stood up […] some of the interpreters, they used to say to me, whenever you stood up, we used to shake [giggle] […] Sometimes I am saying it in Inuktitut so that my own audience can hear my questions first. […] So that impressed Inuit who looked at News North 1979 to 80, *News North*, you see that guy up there. Wow. […] Difficult time but fun times. […] Because I am part of the change. Definitely the Inuit identity, confidence, self-motivation and determination was setting up. Now it's awesome. […]
>
> It was huge and hugely tiring […] My Dad was aging. He knew where I was going, and I

> had his support. He knew where I was going. I'm sacrificing myself. He knew that. And, my other half, my hunting outdoor life, which is 100 percent me [giggles], I had to sacrifice that, too. […] The people, you had to be convinced that it wasn't just your feeling that our culture, identity and self-determination were, definitely were in danger. You had to ask Elders. Are we in that situation which I feel? And I hear and I hear, yes. Critical. So, honestly, truly, you had to be a person, people person. (Tagak Curley)

Tagak Curley's story of the organization's beginnings weaves together autobiographical threads with the history of the ICC. Curley's story is rich, emotional, and revealing. It is about the need to develop agency to become part of the proverbial change one wants to see in the world. The context in which the ICC was created constituted a dire situation for Inuit. Curley spoke about the need to change approaches in order to protect Inuit culture. Elders across the Arctic confirmed that the situation was critical and that Inuit were "ready to start fighting." For Curley and other Inuit leaders at the time, this meant overcoming feelings of fear and shyness (*ilirasuktuq*) to deal with the colonial system and its representatives. It also meant getting familiar and involved with a complex bureaucratic, legal, and political system established by the colonizers. This took time and dedication and came at the expense of other aspects of personal life. For Curley, it meant giving up his hunting lifestyle to carve out enough time for his ICC work. The above quote also demonstrates how the ICC can be understood as a hybrid agent of peacemaking: adapting to the colonizer's culture—speaking English, being direct, and confrontational—while simultaneously maintaining Inuit practices such as connecting with communities and Elders, speaking Inuktitut, thinking through conflict in a calm manner, and being resourceful and developing new skills to resolve conflicts in a constructive way. From its regional and grassroots beginning in the early 1970s to the international organization it is today, the ICC has come a long way if we look back at its forty years of advocacy work on behalf of Inuit. Today, the ICC is a respected NGO in the international arena and it inspires and supports other Indigenous groups worldwide in their similar struggles.

4.1 The 1960s and 1970s: Political Context

The period after the Second World War and into the 1970s brought many new developments and changes in the Arctic. By the 1950s, newcomers on multiple frontiers had arrived in Inuit territory and cumulatively affected the entire life of its people. Inuit became dependent on the fur trade and vulnerable to fur prices. Western hunting equipment, clothes, and food in stores started to gradually substitute the traditional Inuit lifestyle and diet. The whalers brought diseases and illnesses, the missionaries introduced Christianity, southern education, residential schools,[506] to Inuit in the north, and as part of the settlement process, wage labour and prefabricated houses were introduced in the north[507] Throughout the Cold War it became clear that the Arctic could be the shortest and "most direct route of attack" by the former Soviet Union on North America, which meant that this was where new defense technology would need to be deployed. This immediate danger led to the creation of the North American Air Defense (NORAD) between Canada and the US in 1958. To defend North American air space, the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line was established—as a series of radar stations and air bases—across Alaska, Canada, and Greenland.[508] The DEW lines' mission was "to detect and report any Soviet bomber incursion to enable interceptors to counterattack." Beginning in 1958, the Arctic was also patrolled by submarines with nuclear-armed ballistic missiles.[509] Additionally, a large oil field containing about twenty-five billion barrels of oil that later turned out to be the "largest field in North America and the 18th largest field ever discovered worldwide" was found in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, in 1968.

[506] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 407; Brody, *The Other Side Of Eden*, 27, 175–76.
[507] Brody, *The People's Land*, 213.
[508] Kulchyski, "Colonization of the Arctic," 406.
[509] Rob Huebert, "Militarization of the Arctic in the West," in *Encyclopedia of Te Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1305.

This discovery caused immense environmental concerns and also threatened the region's Indigenous peoples' land and water rights.[510] Altogether, these changes caused Inuit to "experienc[e] feelings of dependency on outside forces" for the first time.[511] This context, paired with pressure of assimilation in the areas of language and culture, led northern Inuit to a "growing ethnic awareness," a desire for self-determination in the 1960s and 1970s, and the conclusion that a pan-Arctic Indigenous peoples' conference was needed to exchange experiences and coordinate responses. This was a time of political empowerment for Inuit, as outlined by Charles Edwardson Jr., a political activist from Alaska: "Inuit have not previously taken up the fight against supremacy. With the new form of political fighting, we are no longer the Inuit we were."[512] Inuit in Greenland, Canada, and Alaska wanted to begin to fight for their rights to land, resources, and to "administer their own affairs."[513] In order to do so, the main questions Inuit needed to deal with, according to Lynge, were "Do we have legal protection of our culture, language and lifestyle to survive? Do we have the right to live off of the resources of the land and seas as we always have?"[514] The growing awareness and the urgency to deal with the conflict was enhanced by the "maturing to adulthood of the first generation of children to attend school in large numbers (when) dependency turned into a constructive defiance." And, as Abele and Rodon argue, in this time of the "Generation 68 […] a new form of Inuit diplomacy, domestically and internationally, was developed."[515]

[510] Hensley, *Fifty Miles from Tomorrow: A Memoir of Alaska and the Real People*, 3–4, 151; BP, "Prudhoe Bay," 2006, https://dec.alaska.gov/spar/ppr/response/sum_fy06/060302301/factsheets/060302301_factsheet_PB.pdf.
[511] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 51.
[512] Charles Edwardson Jr. quoted in Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 81.
[513] Lynge, 87.
[514] Lynge, 108.
[515] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 51.

The momentum for the pan-Arctic Inuit gathering that would result in the creation of the ICC came mainly from Alaskan Inuit. They had recently gone through complex and challenging but necessary processes of self-empowerment. The beginning of large scale oil exploration, in Lynge's words, "was the very dramatic development which prompted the Inuit to see the need to cooperate internationally in order to counteract the presence of the global oil industry."[516] In Alaska, the pressure for oil extraction in Prudhoe Bay led to the land claims discussion. After the Alaskan Inuit had realized important milestones toward more regional self-determination through the creation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971 and the North Slope Borough in 1972,[517] Inuit leaders from the US, Greenland, and Canada came to recognize that there was more international scope to their work.

Furthermore, the Arctic Indigenous peoples' representatives—at the 1973 conference on Arctic oil and gas in Le Harvre, France—noticed large commonalities among different northern Indigenous groups and concluded that a gathering of Arctic Indigenous peoples was necessary to discuss common challenges.[518] Thus, the Arctic Peoples' Conference—hosted by several Greenlandic organizations in Denmark—was held in Copenhagen in 1973.[519] Indigenous organizations from Sweden, Norway, Finland, Greenland, Canada, and Alaska were invited.[520] The Canadian delegation included representatives from different Indigenous organizations and the Canadian Inuit were represented by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). Unfortunately, the

[516] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 14.
[517] The North Slope Borough was a "regional, home-rule municipal government." At the time it was the only "First Class Home-Rule Borough in Alaska." Eben Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference" (North Slope Borough, Alaska, 1976), 12.
[518] Inge Kleivan, "The Arctic Peoples' Conference in Copenhagen, November 22–25, 1973," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 16, no. 1/2 (1992): 228.
[519] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 9, 11–13; "Inuit Circumpolar Council's Beginning," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/iccs-beginning.html.
[520] Kleivan, "The Arctic Peoples' Conference in Copenhagen, November 22–25, 1973," 228.

Labrador Inuit Association and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association were unable to participate. Delegates from Greenland represented the voluntary organization for women (Arnat Peqatigit), the Greenlanders' Association (of Greenlanders living in Denmark), and the Young Greenlanders' Council (an association for Greenlandic students in Denmark). Three Greenlandic trade organizations and the Knud Rasmussen's Folk High School were unable to send delegates.[521] Also, Alaskan and Russian Inuit were unable to participate, highlighting further the need for Inuit to intensify their circumpolar connections. The Arctic Peoples' Conference focused on the common problems faced by Arctic Indigenous peoples from Russia, Greenland, Scandinavia, and Canada.[522] This gathering led to an increased solidarity among and interest from Arctic Indigenous peoples. Although the original plans to hold regular future conferences did not materialize, two new Indigenous NGOs were created shortly after this conference.

Several years later, the Canadian city of Port Alberni hosted the First World Council on Indigenous Peoples in October 1975. At this conference, Billy Neakuq (a representative for Eben Hopson who was one of the founding fathers of the ICC) invited Inuit to participate in a pan-Inuit gathering scheduled to take place in the near future.[523] Thus, Inuit from Greenland, Canada, and Alaska were invited to the First Inuit Circumpolar Pre-Conference that was held in Utqiagvik (Barrow), Alaska, in 1976.

"We are trying to do something that has not happened before. We are trying to find ways that will begin an organization that hopefully will benefit all of us."[524] This statement—made by Eben Hopson at the pre-conference planning session on March 28, 1976 in Barrow, Alaska—

[521] Kleivan, 229–30.
[522] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 12; "Inuit Circumpolar Council's Beginning."
[523] Kleivan, "The Arctic Peoples' Conference in Copenhagen, November 22–25, 1973," 228, 233–34; "Inuit Circumpolar Council's Beginning."
[524] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 36.

highlights that Inuit were chartering new territory for themselves with the creation of the ICC International. The aforementioned planning session was used to determine the format and themes for the planned get-together, and James Arvaluk—at the time chairman and president of the ITC—suggested that "we name the Conference the Inuit Circumpolar Conference."[525] Of the twenty participating Inuit, two were from Greenland, six came from Alaska, and twelve were from Canada—four ITK representatives,[526] four representatives from the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, and four representatives from the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE).[527] Together, they agreed and stated that Inuit from the four nation-states (eventually including Inuit from Russia) needed to gather in order "to meet common problems posed by industrialized society encroaching upon our land, our communities, and our traditions." To address these challenges, it was decided to hold a "major international Inuit community conference" in Barrow, Alaska, on November 22, 1976. Such gathering would allow for networking, information exchange, co-operation, and discussion of "common problems and opportunities in the areas of language, communications, education, transportation, village health care and sanitation, housing, environmental protection, energy resource planning and community organization."[528] Journalist Howard Rock reminded the assembly, in a message that was later printed as an editorial in the *Tundra Times*, "As you labour, you will keep in mind those who are close to you as well as those in your community at home who will need your help."[529] This early statement pointed to an important foundation for the organization—the ICC representatives promised to be aware of and keep in mind the people in the communities they represented.

[525] Hopson and et al., 33.
[526] One of the ITK representatives was Meeka Wilson from Panniqtuuq. The other three ITK representatives came from Ottawa. (Ibid., 21).
[527] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 21.
[528] Hopson and et al., 9.
[529] Hopson and et al., 27.

The first Inuit Circumpolar Conference eventually took place from June 13 to 19, 1977 in Barrow. The main driving force behind this gathering was Eben Hopson, mayor of the North Slope Borough, the Home Rule government of Northern Alaska.[530] Whereas the planning committee remained undecided about whether the organization should be permanent or not, the delegates at the first General Assembly decided that another assembly was needed to ratify the constitution and to continue the work.[531]

The NGO held its next (second) General Assembly (GA) in Nuuk in 1980. By then, the ICC's charter was finished, and on June 28, 1980, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference was formally established by Inuit from Greenland, Canada, and Alaska.[532] Hans-Pavia Rosing from Nuuk was elected the first ICC president, and the NGO's first headquarters were opened in Nuuk that same year. The ICC office in Anchorage, Alaska opened in fall 1982 and a regional office in Ottawa opened in 1984. Current policy continues to be that the headquarters regularly follow the ICC presidency.[533] Due to Cold War tensions, Russian Yupik were initially not allowed to travel and missed several early GAs. They participated for the first time at the GA in 1989 and received full ICC membership in 1992.[534] The inclusion of Russian Yupik—when the Cold War was still ongoing—was largely possible because of Aqqaluk Lynge (a Greenlandic politician, activist, and

[530] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 20. Hopson "participated in the negotiations with the United States federal government which resulted in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) signed into law by President Nixon in 1971" (ibid.).
[531] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 39; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "First General Assembly. Summary and Resolutions" (Barrow, June 13, 1977), 25.
[532] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 20; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1980" (Nuuk, 1980).
[533] Mads Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," in *Nordic Arctic Research on Contemporary Arctic Problems*, ed. Lise Lyck (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1992), 243–44.
[534] Mads Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. Mark Nuttall, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 999–1000; Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 246.

ICC founding member), who established good relationships with authorities in the USSR at the time.[535]

4.2 The ICC's Structure

In its very first resolution (77-01, To form the Inuit Circumpolar Council, signed on June 15, 1977), ICC leaders declared that, based on the fact that Inuit share many commonalities and the same culture and homeland across national borders, an "international organization of Inuit" was necessary "to discuss, represent, lobby, and protect [their] interests on the international level."[536]

The ICC International is composed of democratic representation from the four member parties: ICC Alaska, ICC Canada, ICC Greenland, and ICC Russia. Each member party is organized in accordance with the laws of its respective jurisdiction.[537] In each of the four nation-states, the ICC maintains a national office.

The ICC International's Executive Council consists of nine members. The president or ICC International chair (currently Dalee Sambo Dorough) is the leader of the NGO and the presidents and an Executive council member from each respective national Inuit organization represent Alaska (James Stotts and Vera Metcalf), Greenland (Hjalmar Dahl and Nuka Kleemann), Canada (Monica Ell-Kanayuk and Lisa Koperqualuk), and Chukotka (Tatiana Achirgina and Elena Kaminskaya).[538] In its current layout, the presidents of each national Inuit organization are also the

[535] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 247.
[536] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "First General Assembly. Summary and Resolutions," sec. 77.01.
[537] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter & Bylaws," sec. 1.8, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-charter.html.
[538] "Inuit Circumpolar Council Executive Council," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-executive-council.html.

vice-chairs for ICC International. The Executive Council is responsible for the ICC's operation between the GAs. The organization operates by consensus.[539] The members of the Executive Council assemble at least twice a year for regular meetings and together with the ICC chair, they are among the eighteen delegates from each member party during the GA. At quadrennial GAs, elected local leaders from the four countries meet to discuss current issues and to decide on a future path of the council.[540] The ICC helped shape and is actively involved in the work of the Arctic Council. Furthermore, it regularly participates in the sessions of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples and in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, which will be highlighted in the following chapters.

4.3 The ICC in Greenland

The ICC Greenland delegation consists of the four Executive Board members (the president of ICC Greenland, an Executive Council member, and two others) plus fourteen additional representatives. These eighteen representatives are delegates from the existing organizations representing larger segments of the civil society (Municipalities Association of Greenland, Joint Council for Children and Youth, The Sports Confederation of Greenland, three positions for the Parliament of Greenland, Greenland Workers' Association, School Teachers' Association, Preschool Teachers' Association, The Organization of Fishermen and Hunters in Greenland, Elders' Organization, Association for Performing and Art, North Greenland, East

[539] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter & Bylaws," sec. 8.
[540] ITK, "One Arctic, One Future - ICC Assembly Concludes with Plans for Increased Inuit Co-operation and Coordination," July 24, 2014, https://www.itk.ca/media/media-release/one-arctic-one-future-icc-assembly-concludes-plans-increased-inuit-co-operation. Previous general assemblies were held in Nuuk/ Greenland (2010), Barrow/ Alaska (2006), Kuujjuaq/ Quebec/ Canada (2002), Nuuk/ Greenland (1998). ; ICC Canada, "General Assemblies," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed March 10, 2015, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/-general-assemblies.html; Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter & Bylaws."

Greenland, and Inuit Human Rights Center[541]).[542] The ICC Greenland asserts that its delegation of elected officials currently represents more than half of Greenland's population and that it has the ICC Greenland's "supreme authority."[543]

4.4 The ICC in Canada

The story of ICC in Canada begins when the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada ("Inuit will be united")—Canada's first national Inuit organization—was formed by seven Inuit leaders in Toronto in February 1971. Their common concerns about rights and resource ownership—especially regarding the Mackenzie Valley pipeline project in the Northwest Territories and the James Bay project in Northern Quebec—provided the impetus for the gathering. The first Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) conference took place in Ottawa later in 1971. The ITC's first annual general meeting was held in Panniqtuuq in 1972. Parallel to the development of a national Inuit organization in Canada, various Inuit groups were working on regional land claim cases which also resulted in the establishment of new Inuit organizations. The ITC assisted in their development and creation.[544] Thus, in 1972, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (Makivik Corporation) was created to negotiate the land claims in Nunavik. A year later, in 1973, the Labrador Inuit Association (today the Nunatsiavut Government) was founded to start working on the land claims negotiations. In 1974, an ITC delegation visited Alaska to learn about the Alaska Land Claims Agreement. The following year, in 1975, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and the Baffin Region Inuit Association were founded. In the same year, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

[541] This overview reflects the structure of the organization at the time of writing (2019)
[542] "ICC Greenland Delegation," accessed July 25, 2018, http://inuit.org/icc-greenland/icc-greenland-delegation/.
[543] ICC Greenland, "ICC Greenland," accessed October 17, 2018, http://inuit.org/.
[544] Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada*.

was signed in Quebec City. In 1976, the ITC established the Northwest Territories (NWT) Land Claims Committee. In the same year, the Inuvialuit separated themselves from the ITC to negotiate their own, separate land claims agreement, represented by COPE.[545] Also, in 1976, the ITC submitted the first proposal for the Nunavut Territory to the federal government.[546] After ITC's original idea of a single land claim for the Northwest Territories and Nunavik did not succeed, the NGO led the land claim negotiations for Nunavut between 1976 and 1982—by coordinating research related to Inuit land use and occupancy and by preparing the assets management of the proposed land claim settlement. In 1982, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (now Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated) was created to negotiate the Nunavut land claims agreement. The Nunavut Final Agreement was signed in 1993 and the new territory was created in 1999.[547] Abele and Rodon eloquently described the ITC's achievements:

> Very early, Inuit leaders accepted and adapted to the colonial pattern that divided their territories with north-south boundaries, even though the Inuit consciousness and thousands of years of practice followed an east-west axis. The decision to sustain a single representative organization, the ITC, comprised of regional representative organizations and to negotiate self-governing arrangements in the very different political circumstances of each region cannot have been easy, but it was taken early and acted upon consistently. We would argue that this early pragmatism, even in the highly uncertain and chaotic policy framework of the early 1970s, does recall the pragmatism and superb adaptability of pre-contact Inuit societies.[548]

Political realism and adaptability allowed Inuit to organize themselves within the existing political structure. These pre-contact attitudes enabled Inuit to pragmatically deal with their colonizers and work toward decolonizing from within. Establishing themselves as a Western NGO, thus, can be understood as an Inuit attempt at participating in a Western liberal peace model while

[545] The Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in 1984. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic. History," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed October 15, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/#history.
[546] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.
[547] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.
[548] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 53.

simultaneously remaining true to Inuit values—an early example of the ICC (here ITC) acting as an agent of Hybrid Peace.

The ITC played an important role in advancing Indigenous rights in Canada. The Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI)—formed in 1979 and overseen by the ITC—was part of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition which successfully advocated for the federal and provincial governments to reinstate Section 35 of the Constitution. The section had been removed at the 1981 First Ministers Constitutional Conference. Section 35 allots Inuit land claims the same status as treaty rights and provides constitutional protection of these claims.[549] The NGO changed its name to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ("Inuit are united in Canada") (ITK) in 2001.[550] A year later, in 2002, the ITK's new logo was unveiled in Ottawa. The ITK closely cooperates with the four Inuit regions (the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Quebec, and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador)[551] to "present unified priorities in Ottawa."[552] Between 2004 and 2006 additional steps toward greater self-determination were taken: in 2004 the Labrador Final Agreement was ratified, in 2005 the Nunatsiavut Government was created, and in 2006, an offshore agreement was signed for claims to areas that had not been covered in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975.[553] The ITK defines its work as "research, advocacy, public outreach and education on the issues affecting our population."[554] Currently, ITK's president fills the position of one of two ICC vice-presidents in ICC Canada.

[549] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic. History." When the funding expired in 1987, the ICNI disbanded (Ibid.).
[550] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.
[551] "National Representational Organization for Inuit in Canada," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed October 14, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/.
[552] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Health and Wellbeing for Inuit Communities in Canada," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed October 15, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/what-we-do/.
[553] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic. History."
[554] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Health and Wellbeing for Inuit Communities in Canada."

The ICC Canada officially opened its office in Ottawa in 1983. In 1984, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, now represented by a delegate in the ICC, was founded.[555] The ICC Canada's president Monica Ell-Kanayuk serves as the NGO's chief executive officer and is assisted by two vice-presidents Lisa Qiluqqi Koperqualuk (responsible for international affairs and representation of Canadian Inuit in the ICC International) and Natan Obed (also the president of the ITK who is responsible for national affairs).[556] The president and the two vice-presidents form the Executive Council of the ICC Canada. On the Board of Directors, they are joined by the representatives of the four land claims regions: the president of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (Aluki Kotierk), the president of the Makivik Corporation (Charlie Watt), the president of the Nunatsiavut Government (Johannes Lampe), and the chair and chief executive officer of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (Duane Smith). In addition, the ICC Canada Board of Directors encompasses the president of the Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada (Rebecca Kudloo) and the president of the National Inuit Youth Council (Ruth Kaviok).[557] Today the ITK has thirty employees who work in eight departments: Executive, Health and Social Development, Environment and Wildlife, Communications, Arnajuaq National Centre for Inuit Education, Inuit Qaujisarvingat (Inuit Knowledge Centre), Finance and Administration, and Human Resources.[558]

[555] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic. History."
[556] "Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada. President," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/president.html; "Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada. Vice Presidents," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/vice-presidents.html; Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Bylaws," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed June 24, 2015, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/bylaws---icc.html.
[557] "Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada. Board of Directors," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/board-of-directors.html; Inuit Circumpolar Council (Canada), "ICC Canada Organizational Chart," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-canada-organizational-chart.html.
[558] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic. History."

4.5 The ICC International

Throughout the Arctic, Inuit found themselves in different democratic nation-states with "certain traditions of participation and inclusion."[559] And, after the creation of various regional and national Inuit organizations in Greenland, Alaska, and Canada, the international Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), a non-profit, non-governmental, and Indigenous Peoples' organization was formally founded in 1977[560] to represent, advocate, and lobby for the Inuit internationally. In 1983, the ICC obtained NGO status II in the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). This consultative status gives the ICC access to a "powerful platform in its work on Indigenous Rights in general."[561] In 1991, the ICC organized the Arctic Leaders' summit that allowed leaders from the circumpolar region to meet and discuss common problems.[562] In 2006, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference was renamed the Inuit Circumpolar Council and adopted a new logo.[563] Today, the ICC is "a major international NGO representing approximately 160,000 Inuit."[564] A detailed list of the ICC's powers and functions is provided in its charter:

> ICC shall have the following functions and powers to carry out the purposes and principles declared in the Charter: to establish policies, principles and positions in matters affecting Inuit and the Circumpolar region, in accordance with resolutions duly passed for such purposes; to further exchange information among Member Parties and to disseminate information to the international community; to support actions for political, economic and social justice for Inuit; to participate in, or make representations to, international organizations concerned with matters affecting Inuit interests; to undertake appropriate action, where necessary, in accordance with resolutions duly passed for such purposes; to undertake and assist research in areas of interest to Inuit; to recommend measures to be

[559] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 55.
[560] Jessica Shadian, "In Search of an Identity Canada Looks North," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2007): 336, https://doi.org/10.1080/02722010709481806; Wilson, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Circumpolar North," 2007, 66.
[561] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 244.
[562] Faegteborg, 245.
[563] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Utqiagvik Declaration" (Utqiavik, 2006), sec. 30.
[564] Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada. About ICC," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, accessed October 16, 2018, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/.

> taken to further Inuit common interests; to otherwise act so as to carry out the purposes of this Charter.[565]

As the document clarifies, the ICC's mandate dictates: to exchange information among the four ICC national offices; to discuss, develop, and distribute a unified Inuit perspective to an international audience; to support actions that address and enhance social, economic, and political justice for Inuit; to work and act within existing international organizations on topics of interest for Inuit; to coordinate research that is of interest for Inuit; and to make recommendations for actions to further Inuit interests. Thus, the ICC unifies and represents all Inuit, as an advocate, agenda-setter, adviser, mentor, informant, activist, coordinator, assistant, and expert/ specialist. Based on these job descriptions, ICC representatives deal with Inuit (in the four nation-states), other (Indigenous) NGOs, and policy- and decision-makers either on the national or on the international level. The purposes of the ICC's work are also clarified in its charter:

> to strengthen unity among the Inuit of the Circumpolar region; to promote Inuit rights and interests on the international level; to ensure Inuit participation in political, economic and social institutions which we, the Inuit, deem relevant; to promote greater self-sufficiency of Inuit in the Circumpolar region; to ensure the endurance and the growth of Inuit culture and societies for both present and future generations; to promote long-term management and protection of arctic and sub-arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity; and to promote wise management and use of non-renewable resources in the Circumpolar region and incorporate such resources in the present and future development of Inuit economies, taking into account other Inuit interests.[566]

In a nutshell, the ICC concentrates its output in the following areas: Inuit unity, rights, participation and inclusion, self-sufficiency, cultural flourishing, environmental protection, resource management, and economic development. In its charter, the ICC clearly points out that Inuit self-determination is crucial and that Inuit participation in activities and policies of importance to Inuit

[565] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter & Bylaws," sec. 4.
[566] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3.

must be ensured so that, as Indigenous peoples, Inuit enjoy cultural rights.[567] Currently, the ICC mainly focuses on advancing Inuit Indigenous and land rights and on addressing environmental and ecological threats in the Arctic.[568] Due to the fact that ICC's orientation is mainly international, most of its important milestones toward decolonization and peacemaking occur on the international level—with some potential for impact on the national level.

In its charter, the ICC demands confirmation of Inuit right to self-determination and assurance of Inuit "participation in policies and activities affecting our homeland."[569] The ICC's efforts to realize self-determination for the Inuit in Canada and Greenland are based on acceptance of and consultation with the existing international legal frameworks. The council works in co-operation with national governments and others to create change through dialogue and diplomacy and to establish partnerships that recognize the rights of the Inuit.[570] The ICC asks to be accepted as a legitimate international actor within the existing framework.[571] In its Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty, the ICC argues that issues of "sovereignty and sovereign rights in the Arctic become inextricably linked to issues of self-determination in the Arctic. Inuit and Arctic states must, therefore, work together closely and constructively to chart the future of the Arctic."[572] The ICC advocates among the Arctic states for recognition of Inuit identity and self-determination[573] through existing frameworks in order to be included as a negotiation partner in any interstate negotiations, discussions, and decision-making relating to Arctic sovereignty.[574] It

[567] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter & Bylaws."
[568] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 107.
[569] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter," n.d., http://inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=374&Lang=En.
[570] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty," 2009, https://www.itk.ca/front-page-story/circumpolar-inuit-declaration-arctic-sovereignty.
[571] Heather N. Nicol, "Reframing Sovereignty: Indigenous Peoples and Arctic States," *Political Geography* 29, no. 2 (2010): 79.
[572] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty," para. 4.3.
[573] Robert J. Burrowes, *Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 139–40.
[574] Nicol, "Reframing Sovereignty," 79.

contends that "International instruments that promote and protect the rights of indigenous peoples" should be considered in Arctic sovereignty debates.[575] The ICC demands that Inuit be understood as "active partners" who provide Inuit knowledge and expertise and who must be included in future deliberations about Arctic sovereignty and the challenges caused by climate change. It calls for a broader understanding of sovereignty that transcends state borders and goes beyond the "traditional monopoly claimed by states in the area of foreign affairs."[576]

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presents an overview of the political context in which the ICC was created over forty years ago when Inuit became increasingly concerned about their land ownership and cultural survival in the light of militarization and the discovery of large oil resources in the Arctic. It discusses early beginnings of the organization until today and provides an overview of the structures of ICC Greenland, ICC Canada, and ICC International. The chapter shows that the Inuit movement was not based on confrontation but on Inuit traditions of external relations, which manifested as active interest in and co-operation with other Inuit to work towards the common goal of decolonization, interest in information exchange with each other, and avoidance of direct criticism to establish constructive relationships. Moreover, Inuit political realism and ability to adapt to the international political system— and to react constructively to changes which includes working toward change with new agents and within a system that was previously unknown to them—was reflected in the ICC's ability to adapt and to become an agent in the international

[575] Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*, 125.
[576] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic," 2009, http://inuitcircumpolar.com/files/uploads/icc-files/declaration12x18vicechairssigned.pdf.

system by establishing an NGO. Thus, the very creation of the ICC is an example of the NGO as an agent of Hybrid Peace—mixing well-developed Inuit CR approaches and values with new ways of making peace. The ICC is an example of Inuit capacity for innovation and creativity when dealing with challenges (well-established CR mechanisms among Inuit). Abele and Rodon write Inuit "overcame significant geographical and financial obstacles to create the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. […] Inuit continue to participate with other Indigenous Peoples in major initiatives."[577] What this quote already hints at is that ICC's creation was just the first of many steps Inuit made toward peacemaking, and the next two chapters will provide detailed insights into the ICC's self-perception and its climate change activism. The description of the ICC's advocacy and work will be analyzed in the next chapter in terms of the Hybrid Peace, by looking at how the ICC realizes Inuit and non-Inuit CR mechanisms and whether the ICC is an agent of peacemaking for Inuit.

[577] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 46.

Chapter 5
The ICC's Self-Perception

After a general overview of the ICC's development and structure was provided in the previous chapter, it is now time to turn our attention to the study findings (chapters five to eight) by discussing, analyzing, and contextualizing the information that was shared with the researcher in conversations with key informants and community members. This first of four findings chapters focuses on the key informants' perceptions of the NGO. The content analysis revealed that the following four key metaphors stood out in the conversations with ICC representatives: "guard dog/ watchdog," "drum," "harpoon head," and "kayaker." The following chapter discusses these four metaphors by unpacking their rich metaphorical meaning in connection to the ICC and its work.

The four metaphors carry cultural relevance among Inuit, as they are taken from Inuit material culture and describe objects that Inuit make or use.[578] These metaphors that signify the importance and relevance of certain items in traditional Inuit lifestyle also express the importance and relevance of the ICC to Inuit. The objects also share certain commonalities: a guard/ watchdog, drummer, harpoon head, and a kayaker are obviously masculine metaphors and it might not be surprising that the ICC representatives who used these metaphors were men (except for the ICC as a watchdog being mentioned by both a man and a woman). The fact that some male study participants spoke about the ICC as a guard/ watch dog, drum, harpoon (head), and a kayaker also demonstrates their cultural rootedness, which entails the performance of certain roles as men or hunters in Inuit society.

Furthermore, three metaphors describe a solo performance—watchdogs are usually solitary, a harpoon is usually thrown by one individual, and a kayaker is also alone in a vessel. The

[578] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 262.

image of a drummer, on the other hand, might point at a solo performance at first but, in traditional Inuit culture, the act of performing with a drum usually included several individuals (see below). In all four cases, the agent is required to be strong, skilled, and to have a sense of direction. In relation to the ICC, in many instances, the organization and its knowledgeable leaders were among the first to charter new territory. For example, the creation of the ICC marked the first pan-Arctic co-operation, the NGO managed to convince the Russian government to allow Russian Yupik to travel to the West during the Cold War, it was instrumental in the creation of a transnational northern forum where Indigenous Peoples and nation-states would sit together at a table,[579] and the ICC was the first agent that started discussing climate change impacts as human rights violations.[580]

The GAs also serve as interesting case studies for the ICC's metaphorical self-representation. As photos taken during the last few assemblies indicate, delegates from the four countries are seated alongside the four sides of a large square table. In the centre, a cultural display portrays central elements and symbols of Inuit culture. Given that the kayak stands out as the most consistently used item in the cultural display at GAs, it is not surprising that the ICC has been described as a kayak(er).[581] But the harpoon and the drum are also presented during the assemblies. In 2018, the display contained—among a few other items—a kayak with a paddle in the centre and the hides of polar bears on two sides. On each of the two hides, a harpoon was placed. The 2014 GA featured a kayak and a quilted sealskin blanket; in 2010, a canoe rested next to a dog sled covered by a polar bear hide; and the 2006 GA presented a kayak next to a pair of narwhale tusks. And, in Lynge's words, "the evenings are the high point of any ICC Convention. Each night the

[579] The AC turned out not to be the optimal solution for Inuit, because it was ultimately created by nation-states. It was their decision to allow for Indigenous participation as permanent participants in the council. Inuit and other Indigenous peoples have direct access to decision-makers and the AC remains a colonial construct where the real power lies with the nation-states.
[580] All examples are discussed in more detail later in this chapter or in the following chapters.
[581] At the 1989 GA in Sisimiut, "the national Greenlandic Kayak Association performed to show the use of this elegant Inuit invention." Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 33.

different countries put on performances that are breathtaking in color and variety"[582] and the performances usually involve drumming and drum dances. In general, the material items chosen to represent Inuit culture at the assemblies are related to travelling (on the water or ice) and hunting (such as equipment or fur/ hides). A *qulliq* (soapstone lamp filled with seal oil) burns during the assembly as a reference to the burning of the *qulliq* during community gatherings in the past.[583]

5.1 The ICC as a "Guard Dog" and a "Watchdog"

Dogs were and continue to be important in Inuit culture: they provide transportation, assistance with the hunt, protection, and guidance. In fact, the metaphor of the ICC as a watchdog or guard dog allows for multiple additional levels of analysis because of the substantial role dogs (*qimmit*) play for Inuit. Dogs were useful companions during hunting trips where they served as reliable surface readers helping maneuver around thin ice, haul equipment across the tundra, locate seal breathing holes, alert hunters of the presence of polar bears, and keep hunters' feet warm during the night.[584] Because of their important role in ensuring survival, dogs were the animal most closely associated with humans and they were treated almost like members of the family. They were given names and had priority in terms of feeding. In dire situations, dogs even served as emergency food source for humans. During hard times, it was crucial to ensure the survival of the dogs and healthy and well-fed dogs were a sign of a prosperous camp.[585]

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[582] Lynge, 21.
[583] D'Anglure, *Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth*. The *qulliq* is usually the woman's responsibility and, thus, it is a woman's symbol. However, none of the research participants mentioned the soapstone lamp. This might have been different if there had been more female study participants.
[584] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 281, 283–85.
[585] Bennett and Rowley, 281, 286; Sheila Nickerson, *Harnessed to the Pole: Sledge Dogs in Service to American Explorers of the Arctic 1853–1909*, First Edition (Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 2014); Tester, "Mad Dogs and (Mostly) Englishmen."

A guard dog's purpose is to protect. The dog should be alert and watch out for potential danger and defend someone or something from external impact. The ICC is understood as a protector of Inuit and Inuit culture. As Ineqi Kielsen has shared: "The ICC is very, very powerful for Greenlandic people because it started to protect the people, Inuit, in the Inuit countries." Okalik Eegeesiak explained: "We [the ICC] were created to protect […] each other, [to make sure that] our culture and livelihoods are protected. [...] We do political work for the preservation or the development of our culture."

However, a guard/ watchdog operates on two fronts. It protects what is on the inside (Inuit culture, identity, interests, and rights) but also monitors the outside (political, economic, and governmental processes on the national and international level) for any incoming aggression. Since its creation, the protection of Inuit identity has always been the main goal of the ICC. To begin with, the founding members needed to come up with an adequate name for the new organization. Tagak Curley shared this during our conversation: "Eventually when we formed we were not gonna call it that [Eskimo] because we have our own identity." Thus, the founding members of the ICC made sure that the organization would contain the self-descriptive term "Inuit." The ICC also monitors national and international processes closely and makes sure that Inuit voice is heard through its press releases, policy papers, and participation at gatherings.

The ICC's guard dog function is reflected in its charter: it promotes "Inuit rights and interests on the international level," "greater self-sufficiency of Inuit in the Circumpolar region," "long-term management and protection of arctic and sub-arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity," and "wise management and use of non-renewable resources." Thus, the ICC officially understands itself as a guard dog of Inuit interests and rights internationally, self-sufficiency, wildlife, and the environment and non-renewable resources—all crucial aspects of

Inuit culture and society. The document also states that the ICC supports "actions for political, economic and social justice for Inuit," indicating its function as a watchdog over all types of justice and Inuit human rights.[586]

Dogs also allowed hunters to reach far-away places that could otherwise not be reached, served as navigators, and were capable of locating people. As Malaya Akulukjuk pointed out: "the good dog teams were able to track their way back almost as if they had a homing device in their heads. We used them to know where we were headed in the dark and we also used them to look for others."[587] In a similar manner, the ICC helps Inuit as a navigator or a searching tool. Ineqi Kielsen shared that Inuit in Greenland use the ICC to find their identity. In this case, the organization is understood as a guide and navigator that helps Inuit connect with other Inuit and Indigenous peoples but moreover helps Inuit navigate the often-complicated terrain of national and international politics.

In traditional Inuit society, when a young man was the right age, a father or relative would give him one of his lead dogs to protect the young hunter.[588] In a similar way, one could understand the ICC as a protector of young Inuit—the organization ensures the transmission of values and Inuit knowledge and culture to the next generation—for example, by the creation of the Youth Councils and the fact that youth representatives are members of the country's delegations. Aili Limakka Laue, who participated in this study, was an ICC Greenland delegate representing *Sorlak* (Joint Council for Children and Youth) and in Canada, a representative from the National Inuit Youth Council was a member of the ICC's Board of Directors.[589] Supporting youth is in accordance

[586] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter," July 1, 2010, secs. 3, 4, http://www.inuit.org/index.php?id=210.
[587] Quoted in: Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 284.
[588] Bennett and Rowley, 285.
[589] "ICC Greenland Delegation"; "ICC Canada," accessed February 7, 2019, https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-canada/.

with the Inuit value of continually planning and preparing for the future.

Parnuna Egede—one of the two individuals who provided the metaphor of the guard/ watch dog—states: "[The] ICC is considering itself as a kind of guard dog that tries to work nationally, ensuring that the Inuit interests are exercised within the Greenland government but also internationally." She continues:

> Nowhere in the Greenland Government Act is it mentioned that we are Indigenous People. Indigenous is not mentioned anywhere. It's basically a public government and right now the Inuit represent the majority of it but if that should change, what makes us […] Inuit and what makes us Greenlanders is not really protected anywhere in this act. And the ordinary person in Greenland doesn't think about this […]. And, ICC as an organization can look at Canada and Alaska and Chukotka and can say hey, you know what would happen if we became the minority in our own country, look at all the problems it has given Inuit in those countries. Be careful and make sure that we can still assert our rights gained by the status of being an Indigenous People. […] What we want to make sure is that the Greenland government makes sure it listens to its citizens, the Inuit. […] Greenland says Denmark needs to have some sort of a watchdog as a national organization like the ICC and they have to support an organization like this. And, it's an obligation, I think, for the national state.

In this quote, Parnuna Egede highlights the role of the ICC as an additional and more culturally specific agent of protection (guard dog) for Inuit in Greenland but also in Denmark. The same applies for Nunavut which also has a public government. Being the majority in a public government does not necessarily protect Inuit and their culture. Majorities can change and the Inuit need a specific agent whose work is targeted more narrowly at protecting Inuit interests.

On the international level, the ICC's function as a guard dog can be recognized in the NGO's advocacy to establish the permanent participant position in the Arctic Council (AC). Furthermore, its support for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) and for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (see Chapter six for a detailed description) is a testament to the ICC's function as a watchdog, defending and making Inuit and Indigenous interests heard on the international level.

Alfred Jakobsen spoke in detail about the ICC's international work to challenge the EU's ban on seal products (an issue that was mentioned by many study participants):

> The sealing is totally destroyed now because of the EU's import ban on seal furs. And, it's an issue that ICC has also been involved in but it's a difficult issue to deal with because it's a natural product, (…) sustainable. But because the people in Europe have this sensitiveness, they think the whales and seals are so beautiful they should not be used as food or products. (…) We [the ICC] actually also challenged the European Union to court. It's difficult but that's one of those troubling issues in my mind: we see the natural environment for millions of seals interconnected through the food web in the marine environment. But they don't see, they don't have these same holistic views that we have among Inuit. And we think that seals are consuming lots of fish resources that could be to the benefit of our fishing economies. But, managing the millions of seals that are consuming so much fish stock is something that the EU for instance actually disregards.

Not only has the ban destroyed the sale of seal products but the seals that remain alive are now responsible for consuming fish that would normally be caught and sold as well. As Jakobsen indicates, the ICC has undertaken measures to challenge the EU's seal ban legislation to protect Inuit culture and economy from outside infringements. Thus, the ICC functions as a guard dog for the Inuit and the environment (e.g. seal population and the well-being of fish and marine mammals), which represents the foundation of Inuit culture. Moreover, Jakobsen mentions that seismic testing is a "pressuring issue" for the ICC because it can disturb fish and marine mammals, which constitute a crucial source of country food for Inuit. Along similar lines, Eegeesiak highlights the ICC's consulting role with regards to resource development initiatives, due to the interconnections between resources, environment, animals, and Inuit culture. She demands ICC's inclusion in conversations but also believes that the NGO's advice regarding the outline and beginning of projects should be considered. Seismic testing and resource development are two current issues that cause conflict among Inuit and wherein the ICC has intervened as a protector of Inuit culture. In all the above mentioned examples, the ICC works within a system that has been developed and created by others that consists of nation-states and international fora like the UN,

AC, and the EU. ICC's interactions with these bodies constitute examples of how the ICC has embedded itself—being an NGO and an Indigenous Peoples' Organization (IPO)—within the dominant system (of governments and NGOs as peacemaking agents) and is attempting to initiate change from within.

A guard dog also stands for proactive and preventive behaviour. Hjalmar Dahl described how this works: "We have to keep our eyes and ears open. We are listening and we will decide on what to do on certain issues coming up and we are kind of a watchdog on all kinds of issues, especially on peoples' rights, peoples' rights to participate in decision-making processes." In order to protect Inuit culture, the ICC needs to proactively watch and listen for issues that can (potentially) have a negative impact on Inuit. In the early days of the organization, the Inuit carefully observed their situation before they became active. Tagak Curley mentioned during our conversation that he had discussed Inuit-Qallunaat relations long before he embarked on establishing the ICC:

> My buddy […] who I grew up with, who was my hunting companion all my teenage years and into our 20s for commercial fur trapping, we learnt to be away as a teenager, for two weeks at a time. Hundred fifty miles away and only two young people. We would chat all night about Qallunaat [giggles]. So these ideas [about conflicts with non-Inuit and the need to do something about it] were forming long before that [the creation of the ICC].

Before the ICC was formed, Curley had reflected about the conflicts between Inuit and non-Inuit for years. While he was on the land with his hunting partner, practicing his Inuit culture, the idea of an organization to protect Inuit culture started to materialize. Thus, despite the official beginning of the ICC in 1977, it had already existed in Curley's mind for much longer. After careful observation of the status quo, a process of reflection followed. The information that Curley and others collected in various Inuit communities helped shape their idea of how to create an Inuit organization to protect Inuit culture. Following careful observation of and reflection on the

situation came action. Just as a watchdog ventures out and barks at or attacks an intruder, the ICC's early leaders concluded that a vocal Inuit advocacy organization would be a useful tool to deal with the governments. A whole range of IQ's concepts are recognizable in this development. Curley and other early Inuit leaders ventured out to serve their communities and helped Inuit who were in need of support. Before the ICC was formed, the many voices collected in the community were used to develop a consensus—collaborative thinking took place and all agreed that something needed to be done. Inuit leaders then acquired skills and knowledge (they read about NGOs, educated themselves about the political system, and learned English to communicate with the colonizers) to establish collaborative relationships and to work for a common purpose (Inuit empowerment). Similar to a watchdog that learns and accumulates knowledge in order to be proactive, the ICC can also be understood as being an active learner. Its founding members familiarized themselves with existing international political structures and agencies to be able to locate their organization within these structures when the ICC was created but also to go further and help shape the international efforts to decolonize and protect Indigenous rights and cultures. Based on their residential schooling, Curley and his colleagues were knowledgeable about the Qallunaat political and legal system.[590] Understanding the structure and functioning of the system in which they found themselves helped Inuit leaders in the 1970s to see their own agenda and advocacy within the existing political structure. And, even after the ICC was established, its leaders continued to study the structures around them. This eventually led to the ICC's active input within the international political arena where it was instrumental in the creation of the AC and of UNPFII. The formation of the ICC is also proof of the Inuit being resourceful in exploring new paths to resolve problems.

[590] Hensley, *Fifty Miles from Tomorrow: A Memoir of Alaska and the Real People*.

Another result of the ICC's constant learning of and familiarization with the existing political structure became obvious when it expanded its self-description by pointing out on its website that it is not only an NGO but also an Indigenous Peoples' organization (IPO). In doing so, the ICC specifically spells out its role as a guard dog for Inuit as an Indigenous cultural group and differentiates itself "from organizations like Greenpeace and WWF. They are all NGOs. They are special interest groups, but they are not special rights holders" (as stated by an anonymous ICC representative). Another ICC representative revealed similar sentiments in our conversation:

> There is a difference between being another non-governmental organization and then being an Indigenous peoples' organization because you represent someone, being an Indigenous Peoples' organization. And, also we have a number of frameworks within you can work as an Indigenous Peoples' organization. There is the UN Permanent Forum, there is the Expert Mechanism, there is the Arctic Council which allows six Indigenous Peoples' organizations to be permanent participants. And, any NGO would not be able to sit there. So, I think it's important to always make very clear that ICC is an Indigenous Peoples' organization.

As an NGO/ IPO, the ICC has access to specific well-established and human rights-related frameworks like the UNPFII, the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP),[591] and the AC—access to prestigious networks regular NGOs would not have. Parnuna Egede also contrasted the ICC's work as an IPO with the work of governments:

> Whenever ICC is advocating for Inuit interests on the international arena, it's always from a rights-based perspective. Whereas if, let's say if I went out to talk about climate change problems as a representative of […] the Greenland government, then we would probably be talking much more about GDP or commitments to reduce carbon emissions or on a more technical or economic level, whereas if I went out to talk about it as an Indigenous peoples organization I would talk much more about the right to be cold,[592] to be compensated for the damage done by other countries. It is really two different angles.

[591] "The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) was established by the Human Rights Council, the UN's main human rights body, in 2007." UN Office of the High Commissioner, "Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," 2019, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IPeoples/EMRIP/Pages/EMRIPIndex.aspx.

[592] Egede refers to the recently published book by Sheila Watt-Cloutier, a well-known public Inuk who served as the ICC Canada president from 1995 till 2002 and as ICC International Chair from 2002 to 2006 Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*.

As an IPO, the ICC focuses its efforts on advancing and ensuring Indigenous rights and Inuit perspectives whereas governments usually tend to focus on economic and technical matters. By pointing out its status as an organization that represents Indigenous Peoples, the ICC representative highlights even more its self-image as a watchdog for Inuit. Still, defining itself as an "organization" locates the ICC as an agent within the existing Western political system.

In using this metaphor, Silas Kalluk spoke about another interesting concept related to the act of mutual protection between the dog and the dog owner. He said, "Dogs are our protectors, as they can hear what we cannot hear, but we are really their protectors, since we feed them and care for them."[593] If the ICC is a watchdog for Inuit, this also means that, metaphorically, Inuit feed the ICC. This is reflected in the organization's goal to represent local Inuit's perspectives in its structure and lobby work. To ensure that local Inuit realities "feed" the ICC, the ICC Greenland states that "The [Executive Council] delegation shall if possible, cover a broad spectrum of the Greenlandic people's interests. The ICC Greenland delegation today represents more than half of the population."[594] An ICC representative argued along the same lines in our conversation:

> In Greenland, with the system of having a number of non-governmental organizations or unions, like the labour union, I think that is a very good system, because they have a big grassroots base and ICC should be very firmly grassroots-based. And, I think that ICC Greenland is. And I think that those member organizations that have delegates in ICC Greenland, they know a lot about what ICC can do and does.

The representative pointed out two related and important aspects. One, the ICC is by default grassroots-based because its member organizations are connected to the local level and second, that this makes those organizations knowledgeable about the ICC's work and capacities.[595]

[593] Quoted in: Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 280.
[594] ICC Greenland, "ICC Greenland."
[595] Since this dissertation focuses on the work of the ICC, this point could not be further investigated. However, for a more comprehensive understanding of the NGO's effectiveness as an agent of peace, future research could analyze the role of the mediating organizations between the ICC and local Inuit.

The situation in Canada is slightly different because Inuit interests are represented through the different land claims organizations. For instance, the four voting ITK board members are the directors of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Makivik Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik, and Nunatsiavut Government. In addition, the ITK board also consists of three non-voting members who are the presidents of the ICC Canada, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, and the National Inuit Youth Council.[596] Thus, in Canada, Inuit are represented through their land claims organizations and the women's and youth representatives. Okalik Eegeesiak explained the Canadian ICC's community connection, with a reference to its early beginnings:

> It [the ICC's power] starts from the community up. ICC was created forty years ago by Inuit who organized on the community level and we continued to do that through our government system where if there are any issues, it's brought up the chain from the community level to the regional level, to the national level, to the international level. So, I would say that the organization and the power level comes from the Inuit.

Eegeesiak used the linear image of a chain to describe how the ICC receives information and communicates with local Inuit. Another ICC representative cautioned not to bypass regional organizations in everyday exchanges:

> I would say we connect more to our regional organizations. Because we're very careful not to bypass them and go directly to communities. Only in situations where they ask us to do so will we do that. And they are usually the connection with the community and then to us. So I would say, we have a national committee, the Inuit Qaujisarvingat national committee that has representatives from each of the four Inuit land claim organizations, Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. We have the National Inuit Youth Council wrapped on there as well as Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association. So, we have broad representation on that committee and they give us our marching orders and we can send information from a national level to them and they can send from a regional community level up to us. So, that's sort of how it works. They give us our marching orders and our direction. (…)
>
> I can't go out from Inuit Qaujisarvingat and make own decisions about what we're going to do, they come, again, through our committee which has regional reps on it, it comes through them, and it comes through ITK executive and we're always feeding this stuff [to] our executive. So, it comes up from the communities and regions and then we move

[596] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The National Voice for Inuit Communities in the Canadian Arctic," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed July 25, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/.

forward.

The ICC representative explained the crucial nature of regional organizations for the ICC as they connect the NGO with the local communities and also give the organization its marching orders. It was further noted by an ICC representative that the ITK's board members are, besides being the presidents of land claims organizations, also community members:

> Of course the land claims organizations are representatives, they are the ones that represent their communities and so they bring in the community, […] they are organized so that their communities have input into the land claim organizations, corporations, plans, initiatives, priorities, right. So, and those leaders really direct us in how we need to be pursuing or prioritizing.

This concept of community representation by default was also mentioned by Aqqaluk Lynge who explained that it is assumed that "those big organizations, national [civil society] organizations are able to communicate with their members as well." The underlying idea is that the communities are the ICC's bottom-up drivers, as another ICC representative also pointed out:

> ICC, ITK, we're not the bosses, we're not really the drivers. The hierarchy is: our communities are here, [then] the regional organizations, and [then] the national, international [level]. We can't just make things up. And, make statements on international fora that don't reflect what's happening in our communities. I think we do reflect what's happening in the communities, we do bring forward—in sort of a distilled way—Inuit priorities and issues to those different venues.

This means that the ICC operates on and across four different levels: the local, regional, national, and international level. ICC delegates (Greenland) and directors (Canada) and their regional organizations are mediators between local Inuit in their communities, on the one hand, and the ICC acting on the national and international levels, on the other. As such, these mediators are supposed to operate two-directionally wherein the information[597] from the communities is passed

[597] This means all kinds of information needs to be moved from one level to the other to allow for knowledge gathering and sharing and for learning about the ICC's work to occur.

on to the ICC and the information from the ICC is communicated back to the communities. The following figure shows how this process works:

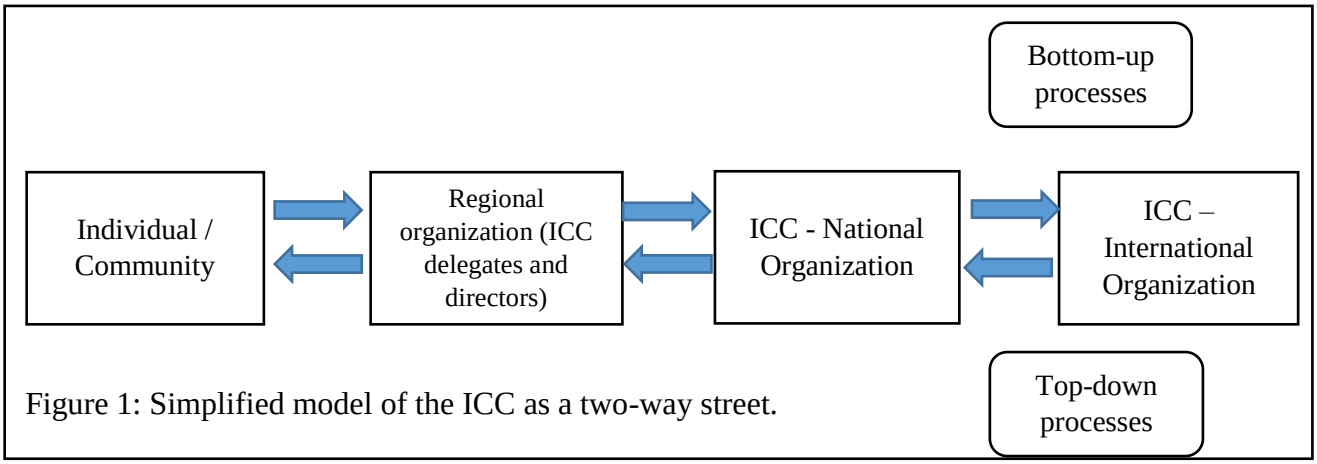

Figure 1: Simplified model of the ICC as a two-way street.

This model visualizes the exchange processes between the different levels that allow each segment to learn and be informed about issues, progresses, processes, and success stories from the other segment of the whole. The ICC's structure reflects Indigenous peacemaking concepts of inclusivity, thinking and acting collaboratively (or with a collective mandate of decision-making through consensus), and relationship-building and relationship-maintenance.

Generally, the ICC's structure and the conversations with key informants made it clear that the ICC's structure was created as a two-way street that allows for two-directional exchange. In this model, bottom-up refers to all processes that are rooted in the community level and move up to the (inter-) national level, whereas top-down processes describe the movement in the opposite direction from the (inter-) national level to the community level. However, both lines of communication only indirectly connect the ICC to the communities because regional organizations are interposed as intermediaries. This establishes and maintains a certain distance between local Inuit and the ICC.

5.2 The ICC as a "Drum"

According to Trott, a drum (*qilaut*) is "the only musical instrument produced by the Inuit traditionally." Inuit drums are larger than those used by the Dene, the James Bay Cree, and other Indigenous groups on the Plains. It consists of a large "hoop of wood" over which a caribou skin is stretched tightly, and it is played by "striking the rim […] on alternate sides giving a dull thudding sound to the drum." Inuit drummers are men who rhythmically move their bodies but rarely dance. They are usually surrounded by a group of listeners.[598] The metaphor of the ICC as a drum was introduced by Aqqaluk Lynge:

> When we did the new logo for the ICC, it was my idea to have this drum […]. The meaning of that idea was that it's through the drum that we are sending messages. Whatever kind it is. It's about happiness, […] your feelings and attitudes that can come up through that. And the song of that is the heart beat. So, that's why I think it was very important that we had this logo invented.

For Lynge, the ICC functions like a drum: a tool that communicates messages but also positive feelings. This directly refers to the ICC as an advocate for the Inuit voice but also as an indicator of Inuit resilience and survival. According to Lynge, who recommended the ICC's new logo in 2007, the drum also stands for the (Inuit) heartbeat—a strong and well-established metaphor for life. As such, the ICC is described as the heart (-beat) of Inuit culture. The NGO understands itself as enabling survival and a healthy and thriving life. Similar to the heart's importance for a human's survival, the ICC is crucial for the survival and continuation of Inuit culture and this reflects the Inuit value of continuously planning for the future. Inuit have survived colonial attempts at cultural eradication and assimilation. The Inuit drum beat can be heard at the ICC's GAs and at other

[598] Christopher G. Trott, "Structure into Practice: A Theory of Inuit Music," in *Indigenous Religious Musics*, ed. Karen Ralls Macleod and Graham Harvey (London: Routledge, 2018), 185–86.

gatherings. It is a strong symbol for Inuit cultural resilience. This fits with Lynge's metaphorical description of the drum song as a heartbeat.

The metaphor of the heart also evokes the concepts of compassion and care and the idea of being at the centre of something (e.g. the heart of a city). Applied to the ICC, the metaphor communicates concepts of affection and connectivity of the ICC with Inuit or care it provides to them. Also, the idea of it being central for all Inuit is an insight easily understood, given that the ICC is the only international Inuit advocacy organization.

Moreover, Inuit drum songs tell stories and serve as a communication tool.[599] In a similar manner, the ICC is a channel for communication and sharing stories for Inuit. In our conversation, Ineqi Kielsen pointed out the importance of the ICC as a way of communicating with outsiders "to tell people outside Inuit countries that [this is] how Inuit feel." Similar to the messages communicated by the drummer during a song, the ICC's "drum songs" serve to share the Inuit voices internationally. This was also outlined by Alfred Jakobsen during our conversation.

As the ICC's new logo, the drum appears on its website, in all official written communication, and is probably its most well-known metaphor. At a drum performance, the drummer and the audience are part of and understand the same cultural codes and contexts. Thus, the performance is a cultural act that unifies a group and reinforces its collective identity. Therefore the drum also represents the Inuit concept of collaborative relationships. This aspect of the metaphor portrays the ICC as a unifier for all Inuit, reinforcing a collective and cohesive Inuit identity. In Okalik Eegeesiak's words: "We are one international organization because we are one people but living in four different countries whose borders we did not create." In fact, the ICC played and continues to play a crucial role for the creation of Inuit collective identity because,

[599] Trott, 186.

historically, Inuit identity did not exist in the same form until the NGO started to significantly shape it. With the formation of the ICC, Inuit were the first to establish transnational Arctic networks with nation-states when the AC was created. The ICC also functioned as an early transnational unifier when its efforts to include Russian Yupik at its GAs were finally successful. During the Cold War, Russian Yupik were unable to travel to NATO countries to participate in Inuit gatherings. The ICC had been trying to establish contact with Russian Yupik for eleven years when it "was formally invited to Chukotka in August 1988 where meetings with Soviet authorities made it possible for a Russian delegation to participate at the ICC GA in Sisimiut in 1989."[600] This example shows how the ICC's transnational work was able to even overcome political restrictions imposed by the Cold War. Its successful advocacy to include Russian Yupik at the GA, and later as full ICC members, demonstrates that the ICC managed to have a small but essential impact on a global conflict. While the rest of the world was still in the grip of the Cold War, Inuit managed to make the iron curtain permeable.[601]

In its Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty in 2009, the ICC expressed its disappointment about its exclusion from the 2008 Ilulissat summit and the resulting Ilulissat Declaration that was signed by Canada, the US, Denmark, Norway, and the Russian Federation to emphasize national sovereignty in the Arctic.[602] The ICC pointed out that the five nation-states had not taken into consideration "international instruments that promote and protect the rights of

[600] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 71 In 1986, Russian Inuit had already been permitted to participate at Aasivik, a cultural gathering of Inuit, in Greenland (Ibid., 66).
[601] The concept of the ICC as a unifier for Inuit is also outlined in its charter that clarifies the ICC's role to "strengthen unity among the Inuit of the Circumpolar region" that allows for information exchange "among Member Parties and to disseminate information to the international community." Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter," sec. 3,4.
[602] "These states, in their discussions of Arctic sovereignty, have not referenced existing international instruments that promote and protect the rights of Indigenous peoples. They have also neglected to include Inuit in Arctic sovereignty discussions in a manner comparable to Arctic Council deliberations." Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic."

indigenous peoples" in their discussion about Arctic sovereignty[603] and it declared that "Inuit and Arctic states must (…) work together closely and constructively to chart the future of the Arctic (…)."[604] The ICCs advocacy for a new and more inclusive understanding of sovereignty is part of a larger development wherein Indigenous organizations and non-state actors demand greater participation and involvement in decision-making that impacts the Arctic—their home.[605] All these activities point to Inuit values of inclusivity, participation, creation and maintenance of relationships, collaboration, and engaging in communication. The ICC also reflects creative, innovative, and critical thinking in its attempts to change the existing political order from within by incorporating an Inuit voice.

When the ICC communicates, it speaks for all Inuit and, in doing so, it reinforces a collective Inuit identity, either implicitly or explicitly. According to Ineqi Kielsen, "The ICC has been very active here in Greenland, and ICC always told people that we need to be proud of ourselves, believe in ourselves and ICC Greenland always highlights that we are lucky to have our own language." He further pointed out that the ICC helps Inuit to find their identity. Parnuna Egede observed the same:

> Often in Greenland, nowhere in my education in the public school or at high school was I ever told about Indigenous peoples and Indigenous peoples' rights. And, I kind of learnt a little bit about the historical background and our ancestors' way of life, but I never really thought about being an Inuk. I mean I thought about being a Greenlander. And it's not until I started working for ICC that I suddenly understood this whole other layer and realizing […] the Inuit culture is not just the past. It's also shaping how we are today and we have a distinct living culture as Inuit that people often forget that they are like, I am not an Inuk. I am a Greenlander, my ancestor was an Inuk. There are people arguing that why do we need to talk about that, that's something that was in the past. Because they don't really understand it.

[603] Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*, 8, 125; "We also noted that the 2008 Ilulissat Declaration on Arctic sovereignty by ministers representing the five coastal Arctic states did not go far enough in affirming the rights Inuit have gained through international law, land claims and self-government processes." Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic."
[604] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic."
[605] Natalia Loukacheva, "Arctic Governance," in *Polar Law Textbook*, ed. Natalia Loukacheva (Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers, 2010), 131.

With little knowledge provided to her in school about her Inuit culture and heritage, Egede's sense of self as an Inuk (and not just a Greenlander) developed when she started working for the NGO. The ICC job allowed Egede to learn about her Inuit culture, which opened up new perspectives and insights. Furthermore, her own personal journey of learning about Inuit identity allowed her to grasp the reasons for current Greenlanders' lack of understanding of the importance of knowing one's Inuk culture and heritage so she could work toward rectifying this deficiency. In addition, the ICC also educates non-Inuit organizations and governments about Inuit culture and interests. Okalik Eegeesiak stated:

> We are constantly educating non-Inuit organizations on the fact that we have a governance system that works from the local level to the regional level to the national level to the international level. So, Inuit are represented in different fora through those avenues and we're always educating non-Inuit organizations about that. So, it's of course an education process. […] ICC and Inuit organizations have been around for thirty, forty years, educating governments about that to say that we have the governance system and one has to use the processes that we have created and respect and work with Inuit at each level.

But the ICC's self-perception as an educator is only targeted toward the national and international arena. As Parnuna Egede explains, the NGO does not see itself as an educator for ordinary, curious, non-Inuit individuals:

> The ICC wants to help strengthening the Inuit culture [but that] is sometimes misunderstood from the outside. By people writing [to the] ICC and saying can you please tell us more about your culture? I would like some material about Inuit culture and can I interview somebody selling a kayak? You know, we get all sorts of things that we usually pass on to the tourist companies instead because our work is directed towards the government and the international bodies and not sending postcards from Greenland.

Similar, at times humorous, stories as the one above were shared with me in 2016 by Rena Skifte, the administrative assistant at the ICC Greenland. This reveals that, contrary to an apparent common perception, the ICC is entirely focused on political advocacy work rather than on

informing individuals about Inuit and their culture.[606] When it educates other Inuit about their rights, the ICC incorporates Inuit value of serving the Inuit community.

Okalik Eegeesiak, who served as ICC International chair from 2014 to 2018, discussed this:

> We are few people so it depends on our possible efforts. There have been periods where I have been heavily focusing on participating in international meetings and trying to give input on behalf of Inuit, based on direct input from my leadership or from the different documents that ICC produced under different circumstances, from for example different declarations that assemblies have made because that's what I consider as my mandate for certain opinions on topics.

Generally speaking, ICC's declarations, documents, and input from leaders shape the marching orders (or mandate) and the direction of the NGO's actions on behalf of Inuit. The ICC's marching orders can be compared to the drum songs. In Inuit culture, men compose the drum songs (*ayaya* songs) and teach them to their wives who sing the songs and, according to Trott, "lead the other women in singing their husbands' songs."[607] In this context, if the ICC GA is the composer and creator of the songs (declarations), in other words the male drummer, then the ICC delegates—who support the organizations and share the messages developed by the ICC so that everyone (Inuit and non-Inuit) can hear them—are equivalent to the wives who learn the songs from their husbands and then sing them. Furthermore, song festivals were performed in traditional times during communal gatherings in winter.[608] Such large Inuit gatherings are nowadays organized by the ICC during their GAs. Although the GAs take place in summer, these gatherings still involve performances of songs with drummers and dancers.

[606] Interestingly, this could mean that individual Inuit—members of the general public—would also not receive wide range of information about the ICC if they choose to contact the organization. However, the ICC does actively target various media outlets to inform the general public (Inuit and non-Inuit) about its work.
[607] Trott, "Structure into Practice: A Theory of Inuit Music," 186.
[608] Trott, 187.

As Parnuna Egede has observed earlier, based on its presence in four different nation-states, the ICC serves as internal communication tool among Inuit that allows cross-border comparisons and recommendations for best practices. In the Canadian context, for example, the ICC advocates for and works towards a stronger Inuit representation in national statistics. A Canadian ICC representative explained:

> We're really focused on most recent information and statistics on Inuit. Because without that, you can't really advocate on behalf of Inuit. You can't figure out where things are at and what are the gaps and what's needed without really good Inuit-specific stats and we find there's a real lack of Inuit specific stats. There might be information on First Nations and Metis or Indigenous in general in Canada, but Inuit need to see themselves in the stats. Because the Inuit situation and context is very different than First Nations and Metis contexts, so, it's really important. And so we work a lot with Stats Canada, we try to improve the questions they ask and to improve the way stats are gathered and the surveys are done and try to share that information with Inuit and other Canadians. And, we have a platform called Naasautit, which is sort of a user-friendly, web-based platform that communicates mostly health and economic and social information and data from the various surveys.

Here, the ICC actively cooperates with a government body to allow for a more adequate representation of Inuit as Canadian citizens in national statistics, informing both Inuit and other Canadians. Moreover, the ICC also considers itself as the only drum that should communicate the voice of Inuit, as the same participant continued:

> For us at the national level, and I think for ICC at the international level, we're always Inuit-specific. We make sure that we're not speaking on behalf of anybody else. We don't like it when others speak on behalf of Inuit, we prefer that they provide and nurture the institutions that exist and the responsibilities that exist to represent Inuit, and that's our responsibility. […] And I think they (media, governments) should nurture those processes so that they can get the information from us through our democratic means. And, all too often we find others willing to speak on behalf of Inuit which is always a bit of a problem, because they don't always have the accurate context or analysis to make statements.

According to the NGO's representatives, it is the ICC's responsibility to speak on behalf of the Inuit. Other institutions should respect and support the existing structure instead of speaking on behalf of the Inuit and making misinformed statements.

Besides its metaphorical meaning, the drum itself is an important tool for conflict resolution in traditional Inuit culture. The following description is taken from Balikci's specific ethnographic study of the Netsilik Inuit but to a certain degree may be used to draw general conclusions. First, the drum is involved in song partnerships, a traditional "semi-ritual form of conflict resolution" that is "expressive of friendly sentiments" but also allows for an outlet of latent conflicts.[609] Usually, Inuit men were song partners and composed the songs. Once their wives had learnt the songs by heart, a community gathering would be called where the wives would sing the songs and the song partners would dance and beat the drum in an "atmosphere of communal enjoyment and laughter."[610] Understanding how these songs worked can be applied to how the ICC functions. For example, this concept is reflected in the NGO's transnational coordination among ICCs in the four nation-states to prepare general ICC statements or GA declarations. In the same manner that song partnerships were used to even out latent conflicts, the ICC's Executive Council meetings serve as opportunities to even out disagreements between the various national ICCs—in order to agree on cohesive ICCs standpoints that are then reflected in major ICC documents like declarations or policy papers used to inform and guide decision-makers. Naturally, the opinions represented by the delegates and council members in the ICC can vary based on individual differences in various countries, but differences can also be due to historical, political, societal, social, and other country-specific circumstances. For example, a prominent conflict between different ICC representatives revolves around the issue of resource development. Whereas Kuupik Kleist (a Greenlandic politician interested in Greenland's economic development) argues that climate change offers new economic opportunities, the Canadian Inuit leader Mary Simon has a more pragmatic approach. Acording to Wilson and Smith, for Simon, climate change does not by

[609] Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, 140–41.
[610] Balikci, 141.

default equate with opportunities and she generally cautions Inuit to find a balance between competing interests. The environmentalist perspective, represented by Aqqaluk Lynge and Sheila Watt-Cloutier, involves an even higher degree of caution regarding resource development, which threatens Inuit connections to the land and highlights Inuit experiences of structural violence related to colonialism.[611] For example, Lynge once shared that "[if] we develop as the colonizers and polluters have done before us, without regard to our environment, we may have a moral argument to do so, but the approach will destroy us, and deny us the survival of our own Inuit culture."[612] Regular gatherings of council members and delegates, where various representatives calmly and publicly share their standpoints, have proven to be constructive mechanisms for resolving developing disagreements within the ICC. Despite the varying standpoints of ICC personalities, the organization manages to agree on common statements and positions—displaying consensus decision-making—such as the Circumpolar Declaration on Inuit Sovereignty or the Inuit Arctic Policy (these documents will be described in more detail later).[613] Song partnerships also create relationships and alliances between unrelated camps and transform non-kin to kin.[614] As such, the ICC has helped establish alliances—reflecting the Inuit values of working for a common purpose, building relationships, sharing information, and caring for others—among Inuit but also with other Indigenous Peoples worldwide. Examples of this include ICC's Many Strong Voices project started in 2005 and its Arctic Wisdom event in 2009 (see Chapter seven).

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[611] Gary N. Wilson and Heather A. Smith, "The Inuit Circumpolar Council in an Era of Global and Local Change," *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (Autumn 2011): 915–21.

[612] Jane George, "ICC Moves to Patch up Inuit Climate Change Rift," Nunatsiaq News, December 17, 2009, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/85327_icc_moves_to_patch_up_inuit_climate_change_rift/.

[613] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy," 2010; Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic." In some cases, however, finding common ground between competing opinions can cause the collective ICC position to be more vague or diluted. This sentiment was shared with the researcher in a conversation with an ICC representative.

[614] David Damas, "The Structure of Central Eskimo Associations," in *Alliance in Eskimo Society*, ed. L. Guemple (Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1972), 40–55; Guemple, "Kinship and Alliance in Belcher Island Eskimo Society."

Second, song duels (*iviutit*) were a form of "judicial contest"[615] with cathartic effects because an attempt was made to directly address and resolve a conflict (instead of avoiding it).[616] This form of CR was stimulated and encouraged by society, with society functioning as an arbiter.[617] *Iviutit* allowed for direct and public confrontation—usually with camp members observing—to enhance transparency and legitimacy. In practice, the opponents compose songs for this competition and they perform with their drums while they sing. The weapon used in this duel is wit and satire, trying to embarrass or make the other laugh. The composer with the funniest or smartest song is considered to be the winner.[618] Instead of venting one's anger in the heat of the moment, a song duel provides a controlled environment that allows opponents to prepare. Once the winner was determined by a camp leader, the results were accepted by everyone and the conflict was considered resolved. This practice helped maintain relationships and harmony within the camp. In a metaphorical sense, these practices can still be found in the ICC's advocacy to make Inuit voices heard internationally. The ICC is known for its diplomatic approaches that ensure collaboration, harmony, and rewarding relationships. With regards to climate change, this can be found in ICC's involvement in various national and international mechanisms (e.g. the NGO's close co-operation with the Canadian government in the Northern Contaminants Program, its advocacy to create the AC and Permanent Participant mechanism within it, and its international co-operation and coordination with other Indigenous Peoples in UN processes).[619]

Both forms of CR, song partnerships and song duels aim strongly at maintaining existing relationships and harmony within the camp—nobody is being banished or imprisoned and, thus,

[615] Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, 141.
[616] Balikci, 185.
[617] Balikci, 188–89.
[618] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*.
[619] See Chapters 8–10 for a detailed description of the ICC's work in these areas.

separated from existing relationships.[620] Based on their strong emphasis on harmonious coexistence, high levels of interpersonal harmony, readiness to acknowledge and resolve conflicts, and using humour as a means to resolve conflicts, Inuit are termed a "peaceful society."[621]

The communication of Inuit voices and positions on matters that impact their lives is also possible through using media. Televisions, especially, are widely spread throughout Inuit households across the Arctic. The ICC makes use of these forms of communication, particularly during the GAs. The project Inukshuk and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (wherein ITK and ICC successfully created a media outlet to communicate the Inuit voice to other Canadians) are testaments of the ICC's function as a communication tool. More recently, the ICC has increasingly focused on its online presentation (there have been recent website updates) and ICC Greenland is now sending out newsletters several times a year to inform subscribers about its work. One research participant went a step further by suggesting that the ICC should be more open to new forms of communication at its GAs:

> I think, it's very cool and very nice with all the drum dance. It's very nice with all the traditional cultural events. But I think that there should also be space for the other kinds of cultural expressions that we have in our countries. For example, I think it would be very cool to bring together all of the Inuit rappers. There are so many, suddenly. And, they are commenting on political issues and social issues, on identity issues, all kinds of issues. Post-colonialism. So, for example to be more open-minded in regards to what kind of cultural events [should take place at the GAs]. I think that that would suit ICC well. I think that would be a good thing. And that, I think, would also be something that would invite the youth more to be part of ICC.

The ICC representative recommends that the GA's cultural delegations should include Inuit rappers because their political messages deserve to be heard and shared and also because opening

[620] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004; "Kitikmeot: The Drum Dancer," IsumaTV, accessed February 8, 2019, http://www.isuma.tv/DID/tv/CambridgeBay/kitikmeot-the-drum-dancer; Zacharias Kunuk, *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, Drama (Isuma, 2001), http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0285441/ Drum dancing as a form of conflict resolution is also portrayed in the *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*.
[621] Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*; Bonta, *Peaceful Peoples*.

up the assembly to more contemporary forms of music could attract Inuit youth to attend and participate. But not only do the opinions of others need to be heard more, the ICC itself needs to find new avenues to communicate its messages to others. AIli Liimakka Laue, head of the Youth Council in Greenland and ICC delegate, suggests that the ICC should compose standardized information material. Such information could be handed out to ICC representatives (on USB[622] sticks, in brochures, or in power point presentations) who, in turn, could use the material to inform others about the ICC. She also suggested using video material, pictures, and social media, like Instagram and Facebook, more often to promote the work of the ICC. Furthermore, she mentioned that more fora within the ICC should be created to bring together more like-minded people (e.g. women and people with disabilities). These suggestions indicate that the ICC's drum beat has the potential to become even more versatile in the future and reach more Inuit and non-Inuit. These existing and proposed forms of communication can be understood as being in line with Inuit values of relationship-building and of serving the Inuit community by sharing of information.

5.3 The ICC as a "Harpoon (Head)"

One of the most important Inuit hunting tools, a harpoon (*sakku*) is a highly ingenious and one of the most important Inuit hunting tools used for catching seal at their breathing holes as well as other larger marine mammals.[623] The harpoon head is the pointed, sharp end of the harpoon that strikes the animal. To catch prey, this hunting tool needs to be thrown with focus, force, and speed. During our conversation, Alfred Jakobsen spoke metaphorically about the ICC as a harpoon head: "I have always understood that the ICC is like a harpoon head that leads the Inuit living in the

[622] USB is the abbreviation for Universal Serial Bus.
[623] Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, 3, 20; Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004, 268–70.

circumpolar Arctic." In this context, the metaphor evokes ideas of leadership, chartering new avenues, striking with precision, and providing food for the community (all skills needed for survival).

In a similar manner as the harpoon metaphor speaks to strategic direction, this metaphor aptly describes the ICC's strategic work as an Inuit advocate that directs Inuit down new avenues and "strikes"—where it expects most success in being heard and in impacting decision-makers—so that eventually the ICC can report its gains back to Inuit. Similar to a hunter who needs to be familiar with the environment and the animal's behaviour in order to effectively strike its prey, the ICC's lobbying on behalf of Inuit is also highly strategic and its successes indicate familiarity with the surrounding environment. Alfred Jakobsen explained that lobbying takes place among the different ICCs at the GAs to obtain support for one's draft of the declaration. However, the major focus of ICC's lobbying is targeted toward non-Inuit, within and outside of Inuit Nunaat. According to Parnuna Egede, within Inuit lands, the ICC is understood as an agent that promotes inclusiveness and decolonization:

> What we [ICC] are trying to make sure is that as Greenland takes home areas of responsibility and self-governance, we [Inuit] should not make the same mistakes as our former colonizer. And, to make sure that the general public is included in making decisions that are important for everybody.

Another ICC representative outlined the ICC as a specific and exclusive advocate for Inuit rights:

> The ICC is an advocacy organization, and so we're promoting and advocating for Inuit interests. (…) We have our mandate. It's very specific to Inuit advocacy. Nobody else has that. Media doesn't have that. Even government doesn't have that. They are for Canadian society. So, we want to be really focused on that.

From a slightly different perspective, Hjalmar Dahl described the ICC as an "advisory party to government or also the municipalities," and Parnuna Egede also discussed in more detail how the ICC advocates for Inuit at the government level in Greenland:

> I've been part of some working group looking, for example, at carbon emissions. I can still, as an ICC representative, go back to the Greenland government and say hey, anybody from the ministry of nature and environment working on this or thinking about this? Maybe we should start thinking about it. Or, like, advocating for Greenland government to accept or ratify the Minamata Convention on Mercury.[624] So it is on that policy level that we are working.

Along similar lines, another representative shared this during our conversation:

> I think that the government should first and foremost be the one that speaks for Greenland, and then the ICC speaks for Inuit. And there's not a contradiction between Greenland and Inuit, it's just two different platforms. And, the ICC has a different role than the government, being an Indigenous Peoples' organization working from other channels in the international arena. And, ICC and the Greenland government do not always have to have the same opinion. But, I think its important to be aware of how things are working and how we can work with our struggles through different channels.

Parnuna Egede also observed:

> ICC is doing things that the government as such cannot do. As an example, at UN negotiations, the Greenland government's input has to go through Denmark, but in reality Denmark usually is in the EU group, and the EU has to agree on a lot of things. And, usually there are countries against so, the Greenland interests are not always represented at UN negotiations. But that's were ICC as an NGO-accredited organization can go in and directly air the Inuit opinions. And try to use the Indigenous Peoples' rights as another means of doing what is in the interest of Greenland.

Both individuals particularly highlighted the difference between the ICC and the government. Whereas the government advocates for Greenlandic society as a whole, the ICC's advocacy is Inuit-specific. As an NGO, the ICC targets governments with its lobby work, and it is able to access other channels on the international arena than governments. Thus, ICC's agency and angle is essentially different from the government. For Egede, the benefits of an NGO such as the ICC lie in the international system that is, traditionally, composed of nation-states. Greenland politically belongs to Denmark which, in turn, is a member of the European Union (EU) group in the UN. However, this system of national representation does not necessarily favour Inuit because it is complicated and consists of many levels that would need to pass on Greenland's interests.

[624] The Minamata Convention on Mercury will be discussed further in Chapters 8t to 10.

Some EU members might have differing opinions and, ultimately, could oppose or ignore Greenland's stances to conclude a collective agreement for the EU group at the UN. Egede shared that, as a part of Denmark and within the EU group, Greenland government's voice (i.e. Inuit voice) is relatively weak. And, again, as a public government, Greenland's perspectives might not always align with Inuit perspectives. Hence, the ICC is an important agent to address this potential lack of representation of Inuit interests in the international system. Although the ICC is an NGO lacking decision-making powers, it's abilities to act as an advocate have historically allowed the ICC to successfully express their positions in policy papers. Particularly, the ICC's NGO status allows the Inuit to have additional access to international fora at the UN and in the AC.[625] Such lobby work outside Inuit Nunaat is important, according to Ineqi Kielsen, "ICC should lobby outside Inuit countries, countries like Denmark […]. They underestimate people like us." One of the most basic tasks of the ICC lies in ensuring that the world knows about Inuit and is informed about Inuit perspectives. For this to happen, the ICC needs to act very strategically at times. For example, Alfred Jakobsen described the ICC's strategy to coordinate its meetings with the parliamentary sessions and meetings in Greenland to allow the ICC representatives to meet and lobby politicians.

As it is often the case, leaders can become role models for others. This also applies to the leaders of ICC, as Aqqaluk Lynge pointed out:

> I think that our presence [in Geneva] has helped other Indigenous Peoples very much because many Indigenous Peoples don't have direct access to their governments at home. And they are not living in democratic societies. So, on that issue, I think we are lucky that the Greenlanders also belong to the Nordic countries and that we have learnt from their democratic institutions and I hope it has had a little influence on how Canadians and Alaskans also operate on those issues.

[625] For a detailed description on the ICC's work in the AC and at the UN, see Chapters 8 to 10.

The ICC is a role model for other Indigenous groups because of its embeddedness in and experiences within democratic societies like Denmark, Canada, and the US.[626] But, Lynge also indicated that the ICC can serve as advisor on the national level. Similar to the small size but high efficiency of a harpoon, Kuupik Kleist described the ICC in the following words:

> Even though ICC might be regarded as one of the strongest Indigenous Peoples' organizations worldwide, ICC is a very small entity and we […] are not a large group. But, whenever you go for a meeting on behalf of the ICC, say within the UN system, […] I think it's fair to say that people are counting on ICC to deliver solicited work and also have the capacity to represent more than itself.

Not only is the ICC described as a highly efficient and "one of the strongest IPOs worldwide"—others also count and rely on it. Aili Liimakka Laue remarked:

> It's never useless to speak about issues at the UN. It's heard and you know. But, if you want to do something about it you have to make recommendations that are specific. Like, we come with specific recommendations and we get a lot of acknowledgement from the chair of the Permanent Forum. Every year actually they come, they really appreciate the standard of our statements. So we get that with 200 states listening, you know. So, they listen to us. They know we know what we're doing.

The ICC receives respect internationally for its high level of professionalism and its reliability, which is based on knowing and understanding the processes and structures on the international level. With nation-states from around the globe listening to its statements and declarations, it can safely be said that the NGO is known around the world for its professional conduct and the high standards of the work it produces. Such reputation can provide good opportunities, as another research collaborator observed:

> If you're part of the Arctic Council, all of the working groups in the Arctic Council, all of the SAO meetings, all of the things that are going on. You have to be there, you have to take part, you have to be active in producing for the different scientific commissions, and so on, that are there. And, if you can succeed in that, you can actually play a big role.

[626] Many Indigenous groups around the world are located within nation-states with lower democratic standards than Canada, Denmark, and the US Despite the fact that these countries are essentially still colonizers, certain steps toward decolonization have also been realized there. Thus, the ICC is able to share such experiences (that it helped shape in the various nation-states) with other Indigenous Peoples.

Providing consistent input in the AC can lead to eventual success and the ability to gain a louder voice.

A harpoon thrown forcefully by an experienced individual hits its target. In a similar manner, the ICC focuses its efforts on specific desirable and promising objectives or targets, as Parnuna Egede illustrated:

> At some point I was sent to a lot of different working groups' meetings and then after some while when I kind of got to know what they are working with and seeing if this was directly relevant for ICC according to the parties put up by the General Assembly. I could later say ok we should maybe focus on participating in these working groups but not too much in these, maybe these are more relevant. But, I think ICC International as a whole is trying to be present in all working groups of the Arctic Council, for example. And be present at all the major UN bodies or agencies.

Once she had reached a certain level of experience, Egede was able to understand the relevance of various working groups, determine priorities for the ICC, and suggest focusing on certain working groups that seemed most relevant and promising for the ICC. Like a hunter throwing the harpoon with a clear focus and goal in mind, the ICC sometimes uses its expertise and experience to leave an impact in a specific place. And, like a hunter who brings the prey caught with the harpoon back home to nourish the community, the ICC is instructed to "ensure the endurance and the growth of Inuit culture and societies for both present and future generations," which includes "wise management and use of non-renewable resources," and needs to achieve this with an eye on Inuit economic development while at the same time keeping in mind other Inuit interests.[627] This goal resonates with a hunter who acts strategically and is concerned about the environment. The hunter keeps Inuit values and interests in mind (i.e. protects the environment for future generations and takes only as much as is needed) and, in turn, represents Inuit CR approaches of preparing for the future, working for the common good, acquiring skills and knowledge (learning how to use a

[627] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter," sec. 3,4.

harpoon/ understanding the political system), and serving others. On the other hand, coordinating ICC meetings with the times of parliamentary sessions and praising the colonizing countries as democracies also shows that the ICC operates within the larger political structure that it has accepted to a certain degree. The fact that the ICC is known for its professionalism and understanding of the political structure further illustrates this point.

5.4 The ICC as a "Kayaker"

A kayak is a "light, manoeuvrable, and fast" single-person vessel that is used by men for hunting or travelling.[628] It can more easily move around than a larger boat and an experienced kayaker can even survive a storm confidently in the vessel.[629] Aqqaluk Lynge has described it as an "ancient hunting craft" and an "elegant Inuit invention."[630] Thus, a kayaker needs to be resilient and show perseverance during a trip, displaying the Inuit value of patience. The metaphor of the ICC as a kayaker was shared by Ineqi Kielsen: "Former leaders have believed in the ancestors and have great strength. They took the steps and we need to keep moving forward to believe our ancestors. […] If you want to be a great hunter […], you need to go to the sea when the storm comes." Kielsen further described the importance of learning the kayak turn: "if you cannot come up by yourself, you cannot be called a great hunter." He also pointed out that, in facing the storms, hunters will gain experience and strength. Although the kayak turn is a Greenlandic practice, the metaphor applies to the ICC as a whole. A good hunter goes through stormy and challenging situations in order to become more resilient and experienced. In order to command the kayak turn,

[628] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 274.
[629] Bennett and Rowley, 279.
[630] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 33.

a hunter needs continuous practice and learning, which require bravery and determination. A good hunter feels confident to face storms.

The very creation of the ICC can be considered a brave act of facing a storm. The organization chartered new territory for Inuit in a political structure that, until then, had not allowed for Inuit participation and this was a huge but necessary challenge for the NGO's founders. In our conversation, Tagak Curley discussed this: "The critical part was restoring our lost heritage. (…) We had to get into the driver's seat." Although the Inuit have always been political, the need to be formally organized developed in the 1970s when Inuit and their lands where increasingly threatened by resource development projects. Okalik Eegeesiak explained:

> ICC is a very good organization for Inuit across the circumpolar Arctic. We represent 160,000 Inuit from Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Russia. We are almost forty years old, we were created to represent Inuit at political levels when our governments and industry started to come up north to look for oil, to look for gas, and different non-renewable resources. So, we were created to represent Inuit for political interests and aspirations. Also for better programing and services for Inuit. […] I would say it's one of the things that we became political because of our culture. Actually, it's not that we became political, we became politically organized, because of our culture. We have always had government structures.

In the 1970s, Inuit felt they needed to develop a stronger voice to protect their environment and culture, and, as a result, the ICC materialized. Moreover, the ICC has proven time and again to be a resilient organization that has survived many storms related to financial challenges that threatened its very existence as Okalik Eegeesiak made this statement about the ICC's resilience:

> I think that even with the limited financial resources that we do have, and that we do get, and we do get to beg for, we are still here and that's a big commitment of the Inuit organizations and the Inuit that have put effort into ICC and I think that's a big accomplishment where I know a few times that we could have folded, due to lack of financial resources, but Inuit do come together at that point and figure out a way to do it, to keep doing it.

She described the ICC as a committed and hard-working organization that also gains its strength from reliable, dedicated, and creative Inuit leaders who come together in times of hardship to find

solutions and enable the ICC to have a future. Inuit values of patience, resilience, and care and service for others, but also skills, knowledge acquisition, and being resourceful to solve problems (such as finding funding) are also reflected in these approaches.

The ICC's leaders have an important function in the organization. Their leadership styles have been very different, however. Tagak Curley, one of the ICCs founding fathers, stopped working for the ICC after its creation, making space for the young generation. He stated:

> You don't create leadership if you stay in one position. I could have been the president of it [ICC] for twenty years. Some people want to do that. I don't believe in that. You give the young generation a chance. The organization is there now. It's not going to go away. You build something and you say I'm going to live in there forever. Some people do that. Not me. I'm a builder. I mean, that's how you create leadership.

Whereas Curley believed in making space for new leaders quickly, other ICC leaders have continuously and tirelessly worked for the ICC for many years or even decades.[631] Over the years, such leaders accumulated valuable knowledge through their ICC work. Aqqaluk Lynge is possibly one of the most famous and most long-standing ICC leaders since the NGO's creation in the 1970s. Many Inuit in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq knew of him. Lynge himself pointed out the importance of consistency in the ICC's work and he jokingly mentioned that he was even called "Mr. ICC" at a GA. The two leadership styles[632] have both allowed for new leaders to emerge and long-standing leaders to accumulate, use, and share their wisdom and because of this the ICC has developed into the organization it is today. Aqqaluk Lynge, for his part, intends to continue sharing the ICCs story and his experiences in books that he plans to write since he stepped down as ICC president in 2014, after he served the ICC for over thirty years. He shared: "I'm not finished with ICC, I'm not

[631] Nunatsiaq News, "A New Role for the Inuit Circumpolar Council?," *Nunatsiaq News* (blog), June 28, 2010, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/98789_a_new_role_for_the_inuit_circumpolar_council/.

[632] Different ICC representatives naturally also have different approaches to their positions. Particularly Sheila Watt-Cloutier's leadership style as ICC Canada president and ICC international chair left a lasting impression of the ICC on the international level and in public perception. A more detailed discussion of the leadership in the ICC can be found in Chapters 8–10..

finished with the Inuit issues as long as I live, and I think also it is important, that's why […] the rest of my life is to write books and education materials about the Arctic, about Inuit." The two leadership styles both reflect Inuit values (being inclusive and open to new ideas while at the same time valuing experience and wisdom of Elders) and also reflects the concept of preparing for the future.

The creation of the ICC was not the only time Inuit leaders faced the storms and chartered new territory. In fact, the ICC was instrumental in the creation of the AC which, in turn, served as a model for the UNPFII—two fora that had not existed as such before. Kuupik Kleist explained, in part, how these organizations came to be:

> Because of the structure of the government states and the way international fora have been structured, I would say until quite recently, there was no involvement or formal involvement of non-state representatives in all sorts of fora internationally. So, I usually would say that we have been participating in breaking new grounds with respect to relations between the peoples and the states. Peoples are not necessarily forming a state even though it might be a race or a people living across borders which we see all over the world. So, both, when the Arctic Council was finally created, the Indigenous Peoples got seats, though, with no voting rights but the speaking rights and access to negotiate directly with the government states. And, later on, when the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples' issues was formed, I saw it as an entity which was modeled on the, actually on the Arctic Council construction. The United Nations is the forum of the states. That's the basic foundation of the United Nations. So, we [the ICC] kind of tried to kick in the door for some years or some decades, and we finally succeeded in doing that and today, it has become more an example to follow, I think, in more international fora after the Arctic Council (…) was created.

Kleist understands the ICC as an instrumental agent that initiated change on the international level by creating a space ("to kick in the door") for Indigenous groups in international fora—something that had previously not existed because the international system was traditionally arranged around nation-states representing their citizens. However, in the meantime, Indigenous Peoples, as national minorities within their respective nation-states, had started to connect across national borders. The ICC was instrumental in this endeavour and challenged the existing Westphalian

world order that assigns political power to nation-states.[633] Before the establishment of the AC, the ICC constituted the first pan-Arctic forum connecting groups across nation-states. In doing so, the ICC itself entered unchartered territory and, almost twenty years after the NGO's creation, its attempts at forming a transnational forum inspired national governments to develop something similar for nation-states. Throughout that time, the ICC had become an experienced NGO itself and successfully convinced the nation-states of the necessity to create a permanent participant mechanism for the Arctic Indigenous Peoples in the AC.

The UN is a highly important but also very complex platform to operate for the ICC, and before it was able to join in the shaping of the UN structure, the ICC needed to gain knowledge about it and the experience of working at the UN level. Complicated accreditation processes need to be understood and overcome, and regular input needs to be guaranteed if an organization wants to be successful in working with the UN. As Aili Limakka Laue explained during our conversation: "you have to get an ECOSOC[634] status with the UN first and not many have these resources, to English language or to do the reports every year to deliver to the UN, as the ICC has had for many years now." ICC involvement in the UN processes requires continuous efforts, hard work, and highly skilled and knowledgeable individuals who make a concerted effort to continuously maintain their high standards. This concept of learning about the colonizer's structure to be able to change it from within is also reflected in the ICC's charter that clearly directs the NGO to "ensure Inuit participation in political, economic and social institutions which we, the Inuit, deem

[633] The world continues to be organized along the same lines with nation-states as ultimate power-holders and decision-makers. However, the ICC and other Indigenous Peoples started to challenge the structure by co-creating new structures that are more oriented towards dialogue and co-operation with Indigenous Peoples.
[634] The acronym ECOSOC stands for the UN Economic and Social Council.

relevant" and to "establish policies, principles and positions in matters affecting Inuit and the Circumpolar region, in accordance with resolutions duly passed for such purposes."[635]

Aili Liimakka Laue also talked about her involvement in the ICC's hard and long-standing work on the wording of the Alta Document in 2013. The document was the result of the "largest Indigenous conference in history," which was the preparatory meeting for the UN World Indigenous Conference.[636] In order to reach their goal of creating a new international platform for Indigenous Peoples, the ICC and other Indigenous groups needed to work patiently and with a lot of perseverance over a long span of time. Kleist reflected about the preparation for UNPFII:

> It's been very big and long-standing work. It was very difficult to negotiate, actually, the act which later on was adopted by most of the states, but we did spend very, very long time on phrasing the paragraphs. […] We [different Indigenous groups in the future UNPFII] would spend weeks negotiating one paragraph. […] It took place in Geneva, usually. Twice a year, two weeks. And, in between we had consultations all over the world.

Even the smallest steps, like the phrasing of one paragraph, took a long time because the phrasing needed to be coordinated among many Indigenous groups. Another ICC representative shared the following with me during our conversation:

> I really didn't know exactly how we worked internationally before I actually started working here. And, as much as I believe in why this organization was set up and our mandate et cetera, I didn't realize just how slow participating in these international processes, how slow it is to see results.

International processes can be surprisingly slow at times until results materialize. Parnuna Egede spoke also in detail about the huge accomplishment of creating the AC and UNPFII for Indigenous Peoples:

> One of the greatest success stories […] is helping to establish the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples in the UN and to help establish the predecessor of the Arctic Council. […] Before the Arctic Council, I know ICC has worked towards some sort of Arctic

[635] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter," sec. 3,4.
[636] Global Indigenous Preparatory Conference for the United Nations High Level Plenary Meeting and of the General Assembly to be known as the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples, "Alta Document," 2013, http://unsr.jamesanaya.org/docs/data/Alta-outcome-document-june-2013.pdf.

> Council-like forum that then developed into the Arctic Council. […] And, ICC has in this way helped to shape the Arctic Council so that they can be part of the council and sit at the table as permanent participants. Which is a unique thing compared to the UN and other, any of the international fora. […]. [Although Indigenous groups in the AC] don't have the exact same status, we do sit at the table and help guide the debate. And [we] can give input and be the lead of projects. And, to have direct influence, we are also covered by our nations. The Greenland delegation is part of the Kingdom of Denmark delegation and has direct influence this way. So I think we are kind of covered from two angles. […]
>
> And, ICC has been promoting the structure of the Arctic Council as a really good example of how it should be in any other forum. I mean the UN structure is a challenge. We are represented as Indigenous Peoples' organizations but we have even less to say there than in the Arctic Council. I mean in no other international fora do Indigenous Peoples have a seat at the table and [are] able to discuss issues as in the Arctic. So, I think they are pretty content with it. Of course, sometimes there is frustration if we cannot vote on certain items or topics, but in general, I think it's a greater accomplishment that we helped set these organizations and for the UN to help establishing this Permanent Forum that really works with Indigenous Peoples' interests in mind.

Despite the fact that the ICC has only a non-voting seat in the AC and the UNPFII, neither of which can make binding decisions for nation-states to follow, Egede considered both fora as crucial international platforms for Indigenous empowerment. The ICC was instrumental in the creation of both, and it was even involved in the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) that eventually led to the formation of the AC.[637] She also pointed out that Inuit are being represented not only by the ICC but also by nation-states in both fora, which allows the Inuit to be "covered from two angles."

In a similar way that a kayaker requires strength and energy to be able to move, it takes great effort for the ICC to function efficiently. Hjalmar Dahl admitted during our conversation that—due to financial struggles—the ICC's community connections and communication strategy are sometimes limited:

> We are doing the communication very much and we do the press, we are. I am travelling throughout the course of the year, visiting educational Centres and public meetings etc. etc. And I'm trying to be visible as much as possible. So, in that area I think that people are, of course, maybe we can do more, despite we only have […] limited funding for our work.

[637] See Chapter 8 for a detailed description of the ICC's input.

As many other ICC representatives, Dahl spoke about the financial challenges that limit the ICC's capacity to travel and visit Inuit. Along similar lines, Aqqaluk Lynge talked about ICC's hard work, especially in the AC, that requires a lot of financial support. He stated, "When the kissing time is over, the kissing time has been over between Inuit for a long time. The hard work is that we are using a lot of money and energy and resources to do the job. And, especially also through the Arctic Council now." Much like a kayaker who needs to put in a lot of effort to venture out, ICC leaders and representatives often use a lot of energy and resources to get the job done.

Moreover, the ICC, much like a hunter, has shown great patience and perseverance to make a difference on the international stage. Aqqaluk Lynge emphasized this: "What ICC has been able to do is also to influence a lot of what's going on internationally, working with the Indigenous Peoples' Rights, and it took us more than twenty-five years to draft the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." Political processes on the international level especially, due to the required and necessary coordination with others and because of complex bureaucratic processes, can take a long time before they bear fruit. However, the ICC's patience and perseverance eventually led to satisfying results. Additionally, the metaphor of the ICC as a kayaker speaks to planning (observing the weather/ environment) and balance (to avoid falling into the water/ between public opinion and the ICC's capacities or between local Inuit and ICC's capacities). Working with public opinion, for example, has provided the ICC with experience in balancing different perceptions and expectations in a workable manner for the NGO.

But it is not only the ICC's international work and its external output that require hard work, energy, perseverance, endurance, and dedication. Since the ICC GAs' declarations are considered to be the marching orders for the ICC, the Executive Council is either at work on the wording for the next declaration or working on the implementation of the guidelines and

recommendations provided by an existing declaration. Aqqaluk Lynge explained this: "Of course the work is hard and the Executive Council of the ICC has its own, at least four times a year, meetings until the next General Assembly. So, they work on these General Assembly declarations, to implement these declarations that they are committed to work on." Lynge's example demonstrates that the ICC also uses a considerable amount of its resources for internal coordination.

When we spoke about their involvement with the ICC, in a similar way a kayaker explores new territories, ICC representatives showed to be eager and in some cases lifelong learners, visionary thinkers, and consistent, dedicated leaders. Hjalmar Dahl admitted that working for the ICC has been "a huge learning process." He continued, "I'm not highly educated but […] I learnt a lot. […] It's been a huge strength for me and also, I'm not a person who is jumping around in jobs and stuff. If I think this is me then I do it." Aqqaluk Lynge reflected that his ICC work is his legacy. He also revealed that not only has he worked for the Inuit cause over the past decades but that he is determined to continue promoting Inuit culture and knowledge about the ICC to a wider audience. Both Lynge and Kleist mentioned a number of other Inuit leaders who were at the time or previously had been involved with the ICC and who proved to be reliable, hard-working, and dedicated leaders. For example Dalee Sambo Dorough, who serves as current ICC International chair, was praised for her hard work.

Tagak Curley, a Nunavut politician and one of the founding fathers and Inuit leaders from the early ICC days, realized as a young man in the 1960s and 1970s that Inuit were losing their culture and identity, and that something needed to be done:

> Once upon a time, our culture, our people were quite proud of their culture, identity, and destiny, as far as I'm concerned. But, when I was a kid, young man, that loss was, I think, at a very critical period, where, in my view, many of our people were uncertain whether or not their identity, their culture, including language, were going to survive or not. […] We

> considered us at that time a minority in our own land. And it scared us. And, I was a young man, and I […] did not accept the fear that came upon our people. I saw it coming, not for my dad or parents or whatever, but the majority were not comfortable with the authorities coming in this, had no regard for the wisdom that has got us to this generation, early-mid 1900s, when I was a young man. Actually, a young teenager maybe, but I started to see that we had to do something about it. It was not acceptable that people [Inuit] were afraid of the newcomers. That wasn't good enough for me.

As a result, Curley started to meet with Elders in different communities to hear their perspectives on the situation of Inuit:

> It took a long time, because I worked for the government […]. So I got to travel all over Baffin and our Kivalliq region. And some occasional time to Nunavik. And I saw there were similarities of people not comfortable with the changes that the white man [brought], reintroducing the school system without regard to language and, I mean, it was in a way a frightening kind of situation. And, I started talking to Elders. That was my specialty. I would ask, when I go to an unknown town, who are the Elders in town. And, I would drop in, introduced myself and say who I am and what we're doing. And then they would be so grateful, and then, sometimes they just opened up, telling me about what their life experiences are from a very professional lifestyle in hunting and wildlife and the elderly women, and now they are saying what change is happening to our children and everything. In one community we are all gathered, it was almost, in some cases, a hopeless situation. So, that impacted me quite a bit.
>
> So, later on, I started getting the idea that we need to do something about our situation. With a big question—what are we going to do? And, I gained personal friendships with some people that were like my age group, and we all pretty much agreed […]. They helped a lot, because they shared my personal belief that the intrusion of the white man in some ways was not the best approach. Creating authoritative kind of practices without involving our people. I thought that as a young man. But we just did not know what the heck to do, you know. What are we going to do? Until much, maybe five or six years later. And I did a lot of personal letter writing to Elders that I had seen and I have all these letters with me still. […] And also directly asking them: is the culture worth saving? Is it worth fighting for? Or should we just ignore it and accept the Qallunaat way of life? Their responses, it was [inaudible] few key questions I sent out to people that I got to know through other involvement in the government. And, these responses were painstakingly syllabics. It impacted me significantly. And I wasn't crazy after all. […] People saw me [as] a radical kind of guy, and they started supporting me. It meant a lot to me, because I was a very shy boy, young man. Like, something had to be done.

Although he was a shy young man, Curley knew that someone needed to step up and become proactive for change to materialize. As it turned out, he himself quickly became one of the early ICC leaders, collecting feedback from Elders in the communities and cooperating with other Inuit

to establish the NGO. This approach is reflective of Inuit values of inclusivity, participation, and knowledge acquisition that helps prepare Inuit for a better future. Ultimately, the very creation of the ICC was also the result of Inuit being resourceful in resolving their problems. To advocate for their rights, the early leaders explored new avenues that did not exist previously for Inuit.

One has to keep in mind that a guard dog/ watchdog, drummer, harpoon thrower, and kayaker can only function successfully if they are skilled and well-trained—and skill training occurs within Inuit community and culture. For example, a harpoon can only function properly if it has a harpoon line that is attached to the harpoon and allows the hunter to get to the prey. Due to their importance, skin lines "were treated with great care."[638] Despite the harpoon reaching out far, there needs to be an invisible, metaphorical "skin line" that connects the harpoon with the thrower, the drummer with the songs, the kayaker with the cultural knowledge about travelling and hunting on the water, and the guard dog/ watchdog with its owner who feeds and cares for him. Hence, although the metaphors themselves do not directly evoke it, there is also a connection to the inside, where the metaphorical harpoon line is attached at the end—in this case—to Inuit culture. Similarly, only individuals who are connected with their culture and who are experienced can be successful drummers, harpoon throwers, and kayakers. And, only guard/ watchdogs who are well-trained are reliable companions for hunters. In fact, such connections to Inuit culture can also be found among ICC representatives. Many ICC leaders live in the Arctic and travel south for their ICC-related work. At the ICC Canada, one representative discussed that, for example, Natan Obed, ITK president since 2015, and Nancy Karetak-Lindell, former ICC Canada president, try to spend as much time as possible in the Arctic where they have families. As another ICC representative shared with me, the same applied for Mary Simon, when she was active for the ICC

[638] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 2004, 270.

she travelled extensively between the north and south. Spending time with family in the Arctic and maintaining relationships is the metaphorical skin line for ICC leaders. This provides them with the opportunity to practice their Inuit culture but also to experience everyday community realities which they bring to the table in their ICC work. A closer look at the four metaphors shared by ICC representatives reveals descriptions of circular movements: a guard/ watchdog will return to his owner, the drum stick moves back and forth to produce a sound, a harpoon is retrieved by the hunter, and a kayaker eventually returns back home. This circular character is also reflected in the ICC's structure which was discussed earlier.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter portrayed the ICC's self-perception as illustrated by the conversations with ICC representatives who participated in this study. As it turned out, ICC representatives used a rich set of metaphors to describe the NGO. These metaphors were used to structure this chapter. The ICC was described as a watchdog/ guard dog, a drum, a harpoon (head), and a kayaker. All metaphors refer to Inuit (material) culture where dogs, harpoons, and kayaks were essential for survival—very much as the ICC allows for the survival of Inuit culture. Taken together, the four metaphors illustrate the ICC as a protector and defender of Inuit culture, interests, rights, and livelihood on the national and international level. The ICC is viewed as an agent that carefully studies and continually monitors its environment to strategically and often proactively intervene on behalf of the Inuit and as an organization that is inclusive of the wisdom of Elders but that also acknowledges the contribution of youth and other societal groups of Inuit. Furthermore, the NGO is perceived as a transnational unifier that represents the Inuit voice, that also capitalizes on co-

operation with other Indigenous groups, a communication tool to educate Inuit and non-Inuit about Indigenous rights, and a highly efficient, professional, and reliable organization on the international stage that operates confidently and with determination on behalf of Inuit. In addition, the ICC is regarded as a determined, dedicated and passionate entrepreneur using its resources and energy to continually explore new territory (like the creation of the AC and UNPFII), and an intricately structured organization that allows for a two-way communication (despite the intentional interposing of regional organizations), that enables local Inuit voices to be represented in the ICC, and that also permits the ICC to communicate back to the local level about its work. In essence, the four metaphors that were used by ICC representatives also serve as indicators for the importance of Inuit relationships, as they describe circular movements between and across various levels.

Throughout this chapter it has been shown that the ICC incorporates typical elements of Inuit peacemaking rooted in IQ and more general concepts of Indigenous peacemaking (e.g. patience, relationships, communication, preparing for the future, harmony, innovative thinking, serving and caring for others, collaboration, skill development, resourcefulness to resolve problems, and inclusiveness). At the same time, ICC has established itself within the existing political structure created by Western agents. Situating itself in this system also meant that the ICC had to adopt certain ways in order to be successful in this highly bureaucratic and formalized environment. The fact that others rely on the ICC's high level of professionalism and that the ICC needed to become more confrontational than Inuit were before (as was mentioned by Curley) serves as a good example of the NGO's successful positioning within the system. This process started when the ICC's early leaders engaged in reflection, observation, and learning about their status quo (in part through community consultations) and this led to skill development and

resourcefulness (establishing of the ICC) and to becoming part of the Western system. The ICC then proceeded to challenge this existing order (e.g. successfully advocating for Russian participation at the GA in the West, contesting the EU seal product ban) and even set out to co-create and shape the international political environment to become more inclusive for Indigenous peoples. The NGO assisted with the establishment of the AC, as a new intergovernmental forum, and UNPFII, as a new international non-nation-state platform for Indigenous Peoples (simultaneously challenging the UN's concept of gathering nation-states). Based on this analysis, it can be said, that the ICC representatives' self-perception supports the conclusion that the ICC is an agent of Hybrid Peace. The ICC employs together the strategies of Inuit peacemaking and Western peacemaking for decolonization. It seeks to dismantle colonialism by referring to Inuit values and practices but also by applying Western approaches (like creating an NGO) and using Western ways (such as the justice system and working with governments and the UN) to create change from within.

In its role as guard dog of Inuit culture, the ICC also concentrates on environmental protection—the ICC's drum beat in conflicts around climate change is strong and powerful as the next two chapters will illustrate. Like a kayaker venturing out for a hunt equipped with a harpoon, the ICC also needed to face the waters of unknown territory to provide Inuit with workable results in the area of environmental protection. A closer look at the ICC's environmental advocacy in the next two chapters will reveal that its endurance and experience have led to the creation of several important processes that help mitigate the effects of climate change. After this chapter provided an analysis of the ICC's self-perception, the following two chapters will focus on whether the ICC's climate change work reflects aspects of Hybrid Peacemaking.

Chapter 6
The ICC's Environmental Advocacy Till the New Millennium

In the previous chapter, the key informants' perception of the ICC was discussed and analyzed. This analysis was guided by the four metaphors of the ICC as a guard dog/ watchdog, a drum, a harpoon head, and a kayaker. The metaphors describe the ICC as a strong, passionate, determined, brave, knowledgeable, enduring advocate for Inuit. Given that this research study analyzes the ICC as an agent of peacemaking in conflicts related to climate change (a serious conflict for Inuit), it is now time to move from a more general analysis of the NGO to a more narrow focus on the ICC's climate change work. Thus, the general description and perception of the ICC provided in the previous chapter will now be enriched by a more comprehensive analysis of the ICC as the metaphorical "hunter" in its climate change work. The overview of the ICC's climate change work is split into two chapters: this chapter highlights the NGO's environmental advocacy (1975-1989) from the early beginnings till the new millennium. It covers an analysis of the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy (1986), a growing focus on climate change at the end of the Cold War, the ICC's shaping of international mechanisms (1990 – 2001), and its advocacy for existing co-operation and frameworks in the early years of the new millennium.

As climate change has a violent impact on the Inuit's lands and ways of life and is mainly perpetuated by the same agents that colonized Inuit in the past. It can, thus, be understood as a form of colonialism. The following two findings chapters analyze the ICC as an agent of peacemaking/ decolonization with reference to the conflicts around climate change/ colonialism. Based on the theory of decolonization as a two-way approach that incorporates cultural change and continuity, this and the next chapter assess whether the ICC is an agent of hybrid peace that realizes such a twofold approach in its work. After the portrayal of the ICC's climate change work,

both chapters will conclude with an analysis of the ICC as an agent of peace. The following quotes set the stage:

> Climate change is kind of, it is that big, overarching thing that exacerbates everything. (anonymous ICC representative)
>
> People are expecting us to do everything. But we cannot do that. We have to focus on certain areas. Climate, the environment and the human rights issues. Those [are the] main issues we are dealing with. (Hjalmar Dahl, ICC Greenland)
>
> Inuit are few in number and we need to be as strategic and focused as possible—just as the hunter must be wise and focused when going out for a hunt—when we make our interventions. This [ICC's climate change work] is another level of hunting, after all, and our people expect their leaders to come home with something of substance. (Sheila Watt-Cloutier)[639]

As the above quotes emphasize, climate change is one of the biggest challenges for Inuit, which makes it a focal point for the ICC.[640] This and the next chapter aim at answering the question of whether the ICC is the metaphorical "hunter" when it comes to its climate change advocacy, as Sheila Watt-Cloutier (former ICC Canada President from 1995 to 2002 and ICC International Chair from 2002 to 2006) describes above. An Inuk hunter's success depends on a strategic, wise, and focused approach, and it is expected that the hunter returns something nourishing to the people. In essence, this metaphor describes the expectations of the ICC as an organization that is sent by the people, trusted that it is capable of fulfilling its task, and that it can deliver what it promises. The ICC's road map and marching orders (the promises) can be found in its documents (charter, policy and strategy papers, publications, resolutions, and GA declarations). Together with content from my conversations with ICC representatives, scientific analysis papers, and media reports, these documents were used for analysis in this and the next chapter.

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[639] Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," in *Northern Lights against POPs. Combatting Toxic Threats in the Arctic*, ed. David Leonard Downie and Terry Fenge (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 259.

[640] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Climate Change," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, 2016, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/climate-change.html.

6.1 Early Environmental Advocacy (1975–1989)

The perception of climate change went through several phases over the last couple decades. Global warming was already on the radar of several scientists in the 19th century, but when the global climate cooled down in the 1970s, their warnings were momentarily silenced.[641] The World Climate Conference in Geneva in 1979 marked the first time that the issue was discussed on a global scale, followed by a few smaller political and scientific conferences in the 1980s and the publication of the Brundtland Report "Our Common Future," a landmark document that marked the culmination of international co-operation and fact finding on climate change in 1987. In the same year the Montreal Protocol, an international environmental agreement to protect Earth's ozone layer by eliminating the use of ozone-depleting substances (ODS), was ratified.[642]

The Brundtland Report coined the term "sustainable development" and pointed out linkages between the environment and other global issues. The report placed environmental concerns on the international political agenda, arguing that "waiting for certainty may make action too late."[643] The key trends at the end of this period are political recognition of climate change as a very serious problem, the beginning of transnational co-operation among countries, the

[641] Joyeeta Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 1, no. 5 (2010): 636, https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.67; "Climate Change History," History, 2017, https://www.history.com/topics/natural-disasters-and-environment/history-of-climate-change.

[642] "Montreal Protocol," United Nations Development Programme, 2019, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development/environment-and-natural-capital/montreal-protocol.html. ODS would otherwise allow increased UV radiation to reach the Earth, resulting in higher incidence of skin cancers and eye cataracts, compromised immune systems, and negative effects on watersheds, agricultural lands, and forests. Since its adoption in 1987 and as of the end of 2014, it has successfully eliminated over 98 percent of controlled ODS, helping reverse the damage to the ozone layer (Ibid.). The Montreal Protocol has been signed and ratified by 197 nation-states. "Montreal Protocol. Status of Ratification," United Nations Environment Programme, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20141008112902/http://ozone.unep.org:80/new_site/en/treaty_ratification_status.php.

[643] World Commission on Environment and Development, "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future (Brundtland Report)" (New York: United Nations, 1987), http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf; Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 636–38.

articulation of concepts related to sharing responsibilities in dealing with the problem, and the discussion of mitigation, adaptation, and co-operation as forms of dealing with climate change.[644] The end of this first phase of climate change awareness is marked by a number of key meetings and reports indicating the seriousness of the problem, suggestions of future targets of CO_2 reduction emissions, and conversations about the sharing of responsibilities among countries.[645]

This short overview illustrates that climate change was not prominently discussed among decision-makers in the 1970s and 1980s, so it is not surprising that the term is also not mentioned in the ICC's early documents—a request for grant support in 1975[646] and the first resolutions at the ICC GAs in 1977 (Barrow, Alaska)[647] and 1980 (Nuuk, Greenland).[648] In its early days, the ICC was focused on potential damages to the environment due to resource extraction.[649] They aimed to ensure an Inuit voice in decision-making processes related to Arctic resource extraction (including Inuit perspectives in resource extraction projects on all levels and stages). They also called for the protection and the sustainable management and use of the environment, and for wise

[644] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 639.
[645] Gupta, 638.
[646] Hopson and et al., "Inupiat under Four Flags: Planning the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference," 28. The 1975 request for grant support called for an international Inuit conference to discuss, among other issues, "environmental protection," "energy resource planning" and "village health care" - without going into further detail (Ibid.).
[647] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "First General Assembly. Summary and Resolutions," secs. 77–06. One of the first resolutions at the first ICC International General Assembly (77–06) targeted environmental issues, but this only highlights the need for environmental protection of the Arctic and Inuit participation in decision-making processes related to Arctic resource development, including (among others) safe technology, locally controlled wildlife management, an international Arctic coastal zone management program, and a co-operative environmental impact assessment protocol detailing participation of the Inuit IS THIS A QUOTE? WHERE DOES IT START?(Ibid.).
[648] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1980," secs. 7–80, 18–80. In the 1980 Nuuk Resolution, the ICC focuses on oil spills (prevention and response), research and information exchange on the harms caused by oil and other pollutants in Arctic waters, public access to information related to the "prevention, clean up and the interaction of pollutants with the environment," calls for government liability agreements on expenses for clean-up operations and compensation payments; a coastal zone management programme; a moratorium for mining, oil, and gas leases in Alaska and Greenland (until land claims have been settled); and not to start mining, oil, and gas exploration in Canada prior to the settlement of land claims agreements; as well as environmental impact assessments related to Arctic resource development (Ibid.).
[649] The ICC also demanded improvements of Inuit health and well-being and to ensure Inuit land ownership, and improvement to more individual issues that would later be connected with the larger conflict around global warming and climate change (Ibid.).

resource planning (including risk and safety assessment in the development of natural resources), all of which reflect some of the concerns that led to the NGOs' creation.

At its third GA in Iqaluit in 1983, the ICC issued the Circumpolar Environmental Principles. These highlight the Inuit right to manage the environment in Inuit Nunaat and they call for participation in decision-making processes and in the design and implementation of resource management systems. The Principles discuss the need for impact assessments prior to any development activity, and they also call for access to relevant information on development projects for Inuit and for research that is guided and determined by Inuit. Furthermore, the Principles highlight the need for recognition and inclusion of Inuit expertise on the Arctic environment in scientific databases and management regulations for the environment. At the end of the paper, the document highlights the need for international co-operation to properly research, protect, and manage the circumpolar environment.[650] Also in 1983, the ICC called for the development of oil spills response standards (resolution 83–22). In resolution 83–23, the ICC calls for more support for and consideration of alternative energy systems in Inuit communities. Although the resolution's impetus for supporting alternative energy stemmed from comparatively high costs for diesel and oil-based heating—as well as the NGO's strong rejection of nuclear energy technologies—it nevertheless indicates the starting point of exploring alternative avenues of energy generation for Inuit communities. The resolution recommends the creation of an ICC Energy Committee to approach governments for funding to create and finance a technology transfer program for "energy conservation and alternative energy development."[651]

When the ICC delegates met again in 1986 at the GA in Kotzebue, Alaska, several resolutions with regards to the environment were passed. One resolution acknowledges the

[650] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1983" (Iqaluit, 1983), sec. 21.
[651] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 23.

environmental vulnerability of the Inuit lands, but only in relation to the "surface transportation of minerals, oil and gas." The resolution calls for co-operation between nation-states and Indigenous peoples in matters related to the before mentioned, and it resolves the creation of a Commission on Transportation of Minerals, Oil and Gas in the Circumpolar Region.[652] In resolution 17 on Arctic Haze,[653] the ICC mentions negative impacts of changes to the climate in the Arctic for the first time. According to the paper, the main reason for Arctic air pollution is the northward circulation of industrial pollution caused outside the Arctic. Based on this reality, the ICC recognizes the need for scientific research to learn more about the regional and global implications of pollution in the Arctic, and it recommends an "Arctic wide systematic sampling of air" and calls upon governments, science and the industry to cooperate in "solving the general problem of air pollution."[654]

Resolution 86-08 encourages the ICC leadership (i.e. the Environmental Commission) to further the ideas established in the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy (see section 6.1.1) by developing relationships with environmental organizations, particularly the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).[655] Less than two years later, on January 1, 1988, the ICC and

[652] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1986" (Kotzebue, 1986), secs. 86-14.

[653] Peter Hough, *International Politics of the Arctic Coming in from the Cold* (London: Routledge, 2013), 54–55. Arctic Haze is caused by the accumulation of nitrogen, sulphur and carbon emissions in the atmosphere during winter and springtime in the north. The particles can remain airborne for longer in the cold, dry Arctic air than in other regions. With the onset of global warming, Arctic haze is likely to accelerate, because it is also linked to emissions from shipping (now possible in the Arctic for longer times during the year) and more distant wildfires (Ibid.).

[654] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1986," sec. 17.

[655] International Union for Conservation of Nature, "IUCN - A Brief History," IUCN, 2018, https://www.iucn.org/about/iucn-brief-history. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) was created on October 5, 1948. It brings together governments and non-governmental organizations to cooperate to protect nature. This includes the provision of scientific knowledge and approaches to realize conservation strategies. Today, ICUN is the "global authority on the status of the natural world and the measures needed to safeguard it." The organization had a key role in the creation of international conventions, including the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), (1974) and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (1992). In 1980, in co-operation with the UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), IUCN published the World Conservation Strategy, "a ground-breaking document which helped define the concept of 'sustainable development' and shaped the global conservation and sustainable development agenda." A more advanced version of the strategy, "Caring for the Earth," was prepared by the three organizations prior to the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. The strategy served as the foundation for international environmental policies and "guided the creation of the Rio

the ITK became members of IUCN.[656] 1988 also marks the year when the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was created by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization. The Netherlands hosted an international meeting for heads of state to discuss climate change in 1989. In 1990, the IPCC published its first report at the end of the second World Climate Conference in Geneva, suggesting mitigation[657] and adaptation[658] actions to deal with the challenges. The report also recommended educational, technological, financial, economic, institutional, and legal measures.[659] Around the same time, the first environmental NGOs were established, coordinating their work in the Climate Action Network (established in 1989) and the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (created in 1990).[660]

The ICC's early advocacy for environmental protection revolved mainly around resource development and management and the dangers stemming from potential oil spills. It is not surprising that Inuit were concerned about their environment after oil was discovered in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, in 1968, and again after the Exxon Valdez accident (a tanker filled with crude oil hit a reef in Prince William Sound, Alaska, releasing eleven million gallons of oil into the water) in March 1989.[661] Resource development, with all its negative repercussions, had arrived in Inuit

Conventions on Biodiversity (CBD), [and] climate change (UNFCCC)." IUCN has official observer status at the UN since 1999.Today it is the only environmental NGO with observer status in the UN. Since the beginning of the new millennium, the organization started focusing more on ensuring that "any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable." Today, IUCN has over 1,300 members, including nation-states, NGOs, and IPOs (as well as over 10,000 experts). It continues to highlight the importance of nature-based solutions in international agreements like the Paris Climate Change Agreement or the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (Ibid.).

[656] Anja Miller, "Membership Information," December 19, 2018.

[657] Recommendations for mitigation actions targeted the energy, forestry, agriculture, and industry sectors (Ibid.).

[658] Suggested adaptation actions were coastal management, and the management and use of resources (Ibid.).

[659] UN Environmental Programme and World Meteorological Organization, "IPCC Response Strategies" (Washington: Island Press, 1990), https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2018/03/ipcc_far_wg_III_full_report.pdf; Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 637.

[660] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 637.

[661] Hough, *International Politics of the Arctic Coming in from the Cold*, 55; Alan Taylor, "The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill: 25 Years Ago Today," The Atlantic, March 24, 2014, https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/03/the-exxon-

Nunaat. Furthermore, the ICC's call for co-operation between nation-states and Indigenous Peoples and its suggestion to cooperate with environmental organizations are early signs of the NGO's budding focus on co-operation. It reflects the ICC's credo of being stronger together than alone—a familiar concept for the ICC as a circumpolar unifier for all Inuit.

6.1.1 Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy (IRCS) (1986)

In 1984, the ICC Executive Council decided to develop an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy (IRCS).[662] An Environmental Commission (ICCEC), established in 1985, developed the framework document for the IRCS, which was adopted by the ICC GA in 1986 in Kotzebue, Alaska.[663] The 96-page document, similar to the World Conservation Strategy (WCS),[664] turned out to be a "major project of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference at the community and regional levels."[665] In 1988, the policy paper and strategic approach to regional conservation in the Arctic—the "world's first regional conservation strategy and the first conservation strategy by an

valdez-oil-spill-25-years-ago-today/100703/; Alaska Oil and Gas Association, "History1960′s," 2019, https://www.aoga.org/industry/history-1960s.

[662] The creation of the IRCS begins in 1977 when the ICC passed resolution 77-15, demanding the International Whaling Commission (IWC) to defend the Inuit right to hunt whales. Since that time, GAs have supported this demand, also by developing and advocating for additional resolutions in support of Indigenous subsistence rights. This led to the ICC's participation at IWC meetings in 1980 and the creation of the ICCEC in 1985 (Ibid.). Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)," 1001.

[663] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 245. The Environmental Commission was established in 1985. It was the result of several previous resolutions passed at GAs. Finn Lynge, former Greenlandic member of the European Parliament, led the commission. The commission developed the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy in 1986 (Ibid.); Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1986," sec. 18; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy," 5.

[664] The World Conservation Strategy (WCS): Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development is a 1980 report prepared by the IUCN, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). Acknowledging that resources are limited and with future generations in mind, the strategy's objective is to provide implementation guidelines for natural conservation and sustainable development to support life on Earth. IUCN, UNEP, WWF, "World Conservation Strategy. Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development," 1980.

[665] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1989" (Sisimiut, 1989), secs. 2, 3; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1986," sec. 18.

indigenous people"[666]—won the UN Environmental Programme's (UNEP) Global 500 Award[667] for its "outstanding efforts to protect and enhance the Arctic environment.'"[668] UNEP considered the programme to be "an example of the world conservation strategy in action."[669] The ICC also received the Environmental Award for the strategy paper in 1996.[670]

The framework document aims to guide Inuit and the governments in Denmark, Canada, the US, and the USSR in their decisions regarding "conservation and development of the environment and natural resources."[671] It lays out various areas in need of conservation in order to enable Inuit to "maintain their culture and identity as a distinct people; continue to harvest wildlife as the basis of their culture; conserve the wildlife they harvest and the ecosystems on which they depend; develop socially and economically, in a manner consistent with the other aspirations; and look after themselves and control their own lives."[672] The list of threats that challenge the "conservation and sustainable development of […] natural resources" for Inuit does not mention climate change, but it discusses the negative implications of non-renewable resource development and pollution that can damage the "habitats of harvested species" and could increase the "risk to

[666] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy," V.

[667] Global 500 Environmental Forum, "About the Global 500," 2014, https://www.global500.org/index.php/global500/about. The Global 500 Award was launched in 1987 by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) "to recognize and honor environmental and humanitarian achievement. This award was a tribute to success on the front lines of environmental action and honored individuals and organizations that combat environmental issues despite immense social, political and logistical obstacles. Prominent award winners include Jimmy Carter, Wangari Maathai, Jane Goodall and The World Wildlife Fund" (Ibid.).

[668] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1989," sec. 3; UN Environmental Programme, "Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy for the Arctic" (Kotzebue: ICC General Assembly, 1988), http://www.global500.org/index.php/thelaureates/online-directory/item/631-inuit-regional-conservation-strategy-for-the-arctic.

[669] UN Environmental Programme, "Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy for the Arctic."

[670] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)," 1001. The Environmental Award is presented by the Nordic Council of Ministers, an intergovernmental forum involving Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Åland that was founded in 1971. Nordic Co-operation, "Nordic Council of Ministers," Nordic co-operation, accessed January 22, 2019, https://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-ministers.

[671] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy," 85.

[672] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, VI.

other ecological processes."[673] The only causes of pollution, an issue that would later become a major theme in the climate change debate, are "oil spills, […] from tanker accidents, oil well blowouts, […] discharges from vessels at sea, and accidental discharges from oil platforms, pipelines, terminals and storage facilities" that can have negative repercussions for birds, polar bears, whales, and seals.[674]

Among the main features of the IRCS are the "environmental protection of the Inuit homeland" and the protection of the land and resources from "harmful environmental impacts from external sources."[675] Furthermore, the document highlights that "hydrocarbons[676] must be developed with great care, because of the potentially destructive impact on harvested resources needed for subsistence"[677] and that the majority societies (in which Inuit form minorities) perceive the Arctic as a "sink for atmospheric pollution."[678] While the document does not list climate change and global warming as threats to Inuit culture and well-being, these formulations pave the way for later, more specific climate change statements. The IRCS also mentions "declining abundance due to changes in the climate" as a "typically Arctic problem with which Greenland has had to come to grips."[679] But, while it is acknowledged that changes in the climate could cause declines in caribou and cod, the reasons for the changes in the climate are not discussed. Similarly, the document mentions the dangers stemming from mercury bioaccumulation in the food chain, but it only acknowledges the heavy metal's discharging in the air (dust) and water (tailing ponds) as a

[673] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, V, VI. The other threats listed were: the "denial of Inuit Aboriginal rights to traditional lands and waters, to harvested resources required for subsistence; and to self-government;" "pressure on Inuit systems […] due to "harvesting regulations, to centralization and growth of Inuit settlements, and to competition from non-Inuit commercial and recreational resource users," (threatened) "closure of markets" for products (Ibid.).
[674] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 68.
[675] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, VII.
[676] The combustion of fossil fuels (coal, gas, oil) creates large amounts of carbon dioxide (CO_2), a hydrocarbon, whose atmospheric concentration is the main cause of climate change.
[677] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy," 5.
[678] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 5.
[679] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 48.

result of mining activities.[680] Only later it would become known that permafrost also contains large volumes of mercury that are being released into the atmosphere when the frozen ground is thawing.[681] Climate change is not prominently discussed in the document, and pollution is only connected to Arctic resource development. Changes in the temperature are only described to have impacted the caribou and cod in Greenland.[682] Otherwise, temperature changes are not discussed in the paper.[683]

The document recognizes a growing threat by hydrocarbons, air pollution, and changes in climate that decimate animal numbers. The need for sustainable development and environmental protection were already on the ICC's radar in 1986. The IRCS is an early attempt to develop a more holistic perspective on threats to Inuit culture and well-being that include environmental issues. The larger picture of the interrelatedness of climate change impacts, however, has yet to emerge.

[680] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 68–69.

[681] Chris Mooney, "The Arctic Is Full of Toxic Mercury, and Climate Change Is Going to Release It," Washington Post, February 5, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2018/02/05/the-arctic-is-full-of-toxic-mercury-and-climate-change-is-going-to-release-it/. "Mercury, a naturally occurring element, binds with living matter across the planet--but the Arctic is special. Normally, as plants die and decay, they decompose and mercury is released back to the atmosphere. But in the Arctic, plants often do not fully decompose. Instead, their roots are frozen and then become buried by layers of soil. This suspends mercury within the plants, where it can be remobilized again if permafrost thaws. (…) We're already causing buried mercury to enter the atmosphere by burning coal, which lofts the element into the atmosphere, where it travels long distances. When it rains out into the ocean or lakes, it enters the food chain, first accumulating in the bodies of microorganisms and then growing increasingly concentrated in predators that feed off smaller organisms--for instance, larger fish. When humans consume mercury-laden fish in quantities too large, it can be dangerous--especially for pregnant mothers." (Ibid.).

[682] The report mentions a serious decline in cod populations in Greenland and that small changes in temperature can affect its abundance. At the time when the framework document was written, Greenland experienced a plummeting of cod populations. Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Towards an Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy," 48.

[683] In its 1989 GA resolution 25, the ICC adopts the IRCS Status Report and recommendations from the Environmental Issues workshop for further development of the IRCS.

6.2 A Stronger Focus on Climate Change (1989)

Three years later, at its next GA in 1989, the ICC moved from individual observations of environmental issues toward a more comprehensive understanding of the various aspects that all result from climate change. Thus, the first resolution calls for ozone layer protection, stating that life on Earth—in particular in the polar regions—is threatened by the destruction of the ozone layer that protects the planet from dangerous ultraviolet (UV) rays. Because existing national and international protective mechanisms are deemed insufficient by the NGO, and the production and use of chloro-fluoro-carbons[684] varies among nation-states, the resolution recommends that nation-states use the 1987 Montreal Protocol as a minimum standard for ozone layer protection, and it urges for improvements in national standards.[685]

Using the IRCS as a base, the ICC states that environmental protection of the Arctic requires international co-operation (particularly of northern countries) and invites all polar nation-states to co-operate with the ICC "to develop a general circumpolar conservation strategy" as well as to work on its concrete implementation.[686] Acknowledging current research conclusions indicating that "a global warming trend has begun and that the greatest impacts will be felt in the Arctic region," the ICC supports a proposal by the IUCN to "examine the impact of global change on sustainable development of living resources" and suggests maximum support for and participation in the project.[687]

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[684] Chloro-fluoro-carbons (CFCs) are the volatile derivatives of propane, ethane, and methane. Due to their role in the reduction of the ozone layer, CFCs have been phased out by the Montreal Protocol. CFCs are also greenhouse gases that can enhance the greenhouse effect. V. Ramanathan and Y. Feng, "Air Pollution, Greenhouse Gases and Climate Change: Global and Regional Perspectives," *Atmospheric Environment*, Atmospheric Environment - Fifty Years of Endeavour, 43, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 37–50, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.atmosenv.2008.09.063.
[685] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1989," sec. 1.
[686] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 2. In section 3, the ICC encourages governments, private donors, and Inuit organizations to financially support the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy, a "major project of the ICC" (Ibid.).
[687] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 5.

In another resolution, the ICC calls for the protection of the Arctic environment from toxic chemicals like PBCs, DDTs (Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethanes), Toxiphene, and others, that are "produced in industrialized regions beyond the Inuit homelands" and that have been detected in the Arctic where they accumulate. Due to their negative impact on biological productivity,[688] the ICC calls for an international agreement between nation-states to reduce and eliminate toxic contaminants in the Arctic. It also suggests that states and organizations agree on minimum standards for the "use and dispersal of chemical toxins and contaminants" and that governments initiate scientific studies in the Arctic to better understand and to inform Inuit about the "consequence of toxic contamination."[689] As has become clear, the various effects of climate change can enhance the transport of POPs to the Arctic where they accumulate.[690] In resolution 14, the ICC calls for more research on health problems of circumpolar residents that also includes the "bioaccumulation of toxic materials" and "more research on the food chain," connecting climate change for the first time to the issue of health and food security.[691]

This demonstrates how, around 1989, the ICC started to develop a sharper perspective on climate change and its resulting impacts on Inuit. Taken together, six of the forty resolutions (resolutions one, two, three, five, twelve, and fourteen) adopted at the GA in 1989 deal with issues related to global warming or climate change, and they are prominently placed at the beginning of

[688] Pernilla Carlsson et al., "Polychlorinated Biphenyls (PCBs) as Sentinels for the Elucidation of Arctic Environmental Change Processes: A Comprehensive Review Combined with ArcRisk Project Results," *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 25, no. 23 (2018): 499–528, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11356-018-2625-7. In the 1980s several studies confirmed that POPs are transported to the Arctic through atmospheric and oceanic pathways. Due to their strong bioaccumulation potential, POPs have been found in high concentration in the tissues of Arctic marine mammals which constitute the major food source for Inuit. Consequently, Inuit who consumed a lot of country food showed elevated POP levels (Ibid.).
[689] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1989," sec. 12.
[690] Tair Teran, Lara Lamon, and Antonio Marcomini, "Climate Change Effects on POPs' Environmental Behaviour: A Scientific Perspective for Future Regulatory Actions," *Atmospheric Pollution Research* 3, no. 4 (2012): 466–76, https://doi.org/10.5094/APR.2012.054. I.e. higher temperatures in the Arctic encourage new species to move further north, and enhance the re-volatilization of POPs into the atmosphere (Ibid.).
[691] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1989," sec. 14.

the long list of resolutions, revealing a stronger sense of urgency to reduce the effects of climate change.

6.3 Shaping International Mechanisms (1990–2001)

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent dissolution of the USSR in 1991 the Cold War came to an end. Hopes and expectations were up that the end of this major military conflict would open up more funds for environmental and developmental issues.[692] The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 resulted in the Declaration on Environment and Development (Agenda 21), the Biodiversity Convention, and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The first Conference of the Parties (COP 1) adopted the Berlin mandate to "promote legally binding reduction commitments."[693] In this last decade of the 20th century, a greater emphasis was placed on mitigation than on adaptation action, because more mitigation meant less need for adaptation. Adaptation was also understood as a more local issue for which local resources would be necessary.[694]

After the ICC focused for the first time on issues related to climate change at the GA in 1989, the GA in 1992 did not produce any climate change-related resolutions, and resolutions accepted at the 1995 GA only minimally touched on climate change matters. [695] However, despite

[692] Svetlana Savranskaya, Thomas S. Blanton, and V. M. Zubok, *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*, National Security Archive Cold War Readers (Budapest; CEU Press, 2010); Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 639.
[693] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 639.
[694] Gupta, 642.
[695] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1995" (Nome, 1995), sec. 2,8, 25-26. In its second 1995 resolution, the ICC acknowledges the Arctic's heavy pollution, also mentioning heavy metal contamination of Arctic waters. The resolution goes on to express the ICC's support of and encouragement for international efforts to identify sources of marine contamination and to implement actions to reduce the threats by contaminants, that the ICC be involved in the

its relative silence on climate change in the two declarations, the ICC was actively engaged on other fronts.

In 1992, the ICC participated in the Rio Earth Summit[696] where the newly created UNFCCC (adopted in May 1992)[697] was presented for signature. It entered into force in March 1994. The ICC had been putting pressure on governments to develop a binding document.[698] The UNFCCC eventually resulted in the Kyoto Protocol[699] in 1997 and in the Paris Agreement of 2015. Relating

US Arctic Research Commission, and that research results be communicated in understandable language to Inuit. Resolution 95-08 more broadly refers to the threat of Arctic contaminants with reference to abandoned radar sites in Canada and resulting hazardous and toxic chemicals that either should not be buried in the north (as the Canadian government had planned at the time). Still referencing more generally the "hazardous chemicals," the ICC also recommends that governments restrict the transport of hazardous chemicals to the Arctic and cooperate to eliminate dangerous chemicals from Inuit land. In the recommendations from the panel on environmental contaminants, the ICC plansto continue its participation in various international fora like the UN Economic Commission for Europe Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution (UN-ECE LRTAP), The ICC also recommends the creation of a communication body to ensure information exchange about contaminants among Inuit and with the rest of the world to "promote long-term solutions to contaminants issues" (Ibid.); "Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution," United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, accessed January 22, 2019, http://www.unece.org/fileadmin//DAM/env/lrtap/welcome.html; "Mission," United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, accessed January 22, 2019, https://www.unece.org/mission.html. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) was created in 1947 by ECOSOC to promote economic integration in Europe. Besides its 56 member states, over 70 organizations participate in UNECE's activities. The Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution is directed by UNECE. "The aim of the Convention is that Parties shall endeavour to limit and, as far as possible, gradually reduce and prevent air pollution including long-range transboundary air pollution. Parties develop policies and strategies to combat the discharge of air pollutants through exchanges of information, consultation, research, and monitoring" (Ibid.).

[696] United Nations, "Earth Summit," 1997, http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html. The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Earth Summit, took place in Rio de Janeiro from June 3-14, 1992. The participating 172 governments discussed ways of collectively realizing more sustainability, and the conference resulted in the following documents: Agenda 21, Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Forest Principles. The following legally binding documents were also developed at the summit: Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Ibd.).

[697] UNFCCC is the only body on the international level that gathers countries together to address issues of climate change. Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 195; The UNFCC was adopted by the UN in 1992. Signatory parties acknowledge that the UNFCCC Secretariat is the UN's body dealing with coordinating the global response to climate change. UNFCCC, "About the Secretariat | UNFCCC," accessed December 21, 2018, https://unfccc.int/about-us/about-the-secretariat.

[698] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 194.

[699] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, "What Is the Kyoto Protocol?" 2019, https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-kyoto-protocol/what-is-the-kyoto-protocol/what-is-the-kyoto-protocol. "The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which commits its Parties by setting internationally binding emission reduction targets. […]The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan, on 11 December 1997 and entered into force on 16 February 2005" (Ibid.); CNN, "Kyoto Protocol Fast Facts," CNN, 2016, https://www.cnn.com/2013/07/26/world/kyoto-protocol-fast-facts/index.html. "The treaty could not go into effect until at least 55 countries, accounting for 55% of the world's emissions in 1990, ratified it. The signatories agreed to cut their country's emissions to 5% below 1990 levels between

to the UNFCCC's goal to stabilize "greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system," the ICC particularly argued that climate change did have dangerous effects in the Arctic.[700] Furthermore, the ICC advocated for the inclusion of the Arctic as a region affected by climate change in the UNFCC.[701] The Kyoto Protocol did not include long-term objectives, but it offered a list of measures and policies from which countries can select. Eventually, the US withdrew from the Protocol in 2001.

But, besides its input in the UN process, the ICC's second milestone in the 1990s was its involvement in the creation of the Arctic Council. Its predecessor, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS), was officially created in Rovaniemi in 1991 as the result of a culmination of concerted efforts of Arctic states to protect the circumpolar environment.[702] When the eight Arctic states convened for their first consultative meeting in 1989 in Rovaniemi, the involvement of Indigenous Peoples was discussed, because Indigenous Peoples directly experienced environmental degradation. At a follow-up meeting in Yellowknife, the ICC highlighted the importance of Indigenous Peoples' direct participation in Arctic environmental co-operation "so that Indigenous perspectives, values and practices can be fully accommodated."[703] The mechanism brought together the eight Arctic states (Canada, the US, Iceland, Norway,

2008 and 2012. The treaty also established an international trading system, which allows countries to earn credits toward their emission target by investing in emission cleanups outside their own country" (Ibid.).

[700] United Nations, "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," 1992, para. 2.

[701] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 205.

[702] Ron Huebert, "New Directions in Circumpolar Co-operation: Canada, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, and the Arctic Council," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 5, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 40–43, https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.1998.9673131.

[703] Leena Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," in *Climate Governance in the Arctic*, ed. Timo Koivurova, E. Carina H. Keskitalo, and Nigel Bankes, vol. 50, Environment and Policy (New York: Springer, 2009), 248; Mary Simon, "Proposed Objectives for an Arctic Sustainable and Equitable Development Strategy," Protecting the Arctic environment (Report on the Yellowknife Preparatory Meeting, Yellowknife, NWT, April 18-23, 1990) (Ottawa, 1990), 183.

Finland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia) and it was agreed upon that Indigenous Peoples needed to be represented and included in all deliberations and "needed to have their involvement institutionalized." Thus, at the ministerial meeting in Nuuk in 1993 it was decided that an Indigenous People's Secretariat was to be established to represent the three Arctic Indigenous Peoples in AEPS: the ICC, the Nordic Saami Council, and the Association of Aboriginal Peoples of Northern Russia.[704] This started an Arctic-wide co-operation process that provides an "interesting example of international environmental decision-making in which Arctic Indigenous peoples have a stronger influence in decisions concerning the Arctic environment and sustainable development than in regular international regimes where Indigenous peoples can participate only as NGOs."[705] In its 1995 GA declaration the ICC voices its intention to continue participating in the AEPS, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP),[706] and in the proposed Arctic Council (AC). However, the AC and its predecessors reflect the past and present world order where Indigenous participation depends on the generosity and inclusiveness of nation-states which remain the ultimate power-holders in a colonial system.

In Canada, the ICC and ITK (together with the Dene Nation, Metis Nation-NWT and the Council of Yukon First Nations) had already been co-operating with three territorial governments

[704] Huebert, "New Directions in Circumpolar Co-operation," 40-43. The initial initiative for the creation of the AEPS came from the Finish Government led by Ambassador Esko Rajakoski who argued that it was time to start discussing Arctic environmental problems internationally. This idea was based on the understanding that East-West relations had been improving, international legal instruments were missing, scientific Arctic research was in need of improvement, and that the Arctic environment was deteriorating. Moreover, the Global Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission) had issued its report "Our Common Future" that led to "growing international awareness of global environmental degradation." In Canada, scientists had discovered around 1980 that "high levels of pollutants were entering the Arctic ecosystem," but the government only started to deal with the issue in the late 1980s.(Ibid., p. 41, 43).

[705] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 246.

[706] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, "About," 2019, https://www.amap.no/about. AMAP, one of the working groups of the Arctic Council, was established in 1991 to provide information about the threats to and the status of the Arctic environment. It also provides scientific advice to governments on how to deal with "adverse effects of climate change" (Ibid.).

and four federal agencies to manage the Northern Contaminants Program (NCP).[707] In its 1997 Canadian Arctic Contaminants Assessment Report (CACAP), NCP documented the status quo of POP contamination in the Canadian Arctic that would allow for comparisons with other regions around the world. Participation in the program provided a steep learning curve for the ICC that supplied the NGO with a solid understanding of the situation and the science on POPs when it intervened in international negotiations a few years later.[708] And, when Canada entered AEPS, the ICC had already been officially involved in a Canadian national advisory body where it participated as an equal partner in all decision-making processes.[709]

It soon became clear that AEPS should result in the creation of the AC. Mary Simon, who had previously served as ICC President, was assigned the position of Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs. The position's main task was to "develop and promote the Arctic Council." Simon had also been a member of an independent panel tasked with the development of the concept of the AC. When the AEPS eventually led to the creation of the AC in 1996, provisions had been made to promote the three Arctic Indigenous Peoples—who were only observers in AEPS—as Permanent Participants (a new category of representation) in the new forum that would allow for their full participation and consultation in the forum.[710] As a result, in addition to the eight member states—the USA., Canada, Denmark (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Finland,

[707] Terry Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," in *Northern Lights against POPs. Combatting Toxic Threats in the Arctic*, ed. David Leonard Downie and Terry Fenge (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 193. Research findings based on samples of fatty tissue and blood collected among Inuit in northern Quebec and southern Baffin Island in the1980s revealed that POP levels were surprisingly higher than expected. These findings were discussed in Canada's 1991 national state of the environment report and led to consultations that eventually shaped Canada's Green Plan for a Healthy Environment, released in 1990. The NCP was a component of the Green Plan. Over a period of five years, the program received $5 million. Subsequently, it was renewed for an additional five years (Ibid.).
[708] Fenge, 193.
[709] Huebert, "New Directions in Circumpolar Co-operation," 44.
[710] Huebert, 53; Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 247 Indigenous Peoples should be involved in the AC, it was agreed in a preparatory meeting in 1989, because they directly "bear the burdens of environmental degradation" (Ibid., p. 248).

Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Russian Federation—the AC also includes six Indigenous organizations—including the ICC—as permanent participants to participate and be available for consultation within the council. Moreover, the AC consists of six working groups that mainly concentrate their work on the protection of the environment and sustainable development, the "nucleus of the Council's actions in its early years."[711] It is also noteworthy, as Aqqaluk Lynge shared in our conversation, that "in 1996 in Ottawa, the Greenland Premier (Lars Emil Johansen, a Greenlandic Inuk) was the one that signed the document establishing the Arctic Council [pauses], on behalf of Denmark."[712] This also serves as an indicator for the increasing international visibility and impact of the ICC and, by extension, the Inuit.

The AC's permanent participant mechanism in international co-operation "is rare, if not unique, for Indigenous peoples. It has opened many doors and created a platform for discussing human development and sustainability with the governments of the Arctic countries."[713] The ICC has been instrumental in advocating for inclusion of Indigenous Peoples in the AEPS 1991 and in the AC 1996. This model of permanent participation places Indigenous Peoples in an intermediate position between nation-states and observers and, in doing so, it provides Indigenous Peoples with

[711] Arctic Council, "About the Arctic Council," April 7, 2011, http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/about-arctic-council. The other five Indigenous organizations with permanent participation status in the AC are: Aleut International Association (AIA), Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC), Gwich'in Council International (GCI), Saami Council, Russian Arctic Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON). The six working groups are: the Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP), the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP), the program on Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), the Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR) program, the Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME) program and the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG). Huebert, "New Directions in Circumpolar Co-operation," 54. The Council meets biannually, its secretariat and presidency is shared on a rotating basis every two years (Ibid., p. 54); Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 247; Lassi Heininen, "Circumpolar International Relations and Co-operation," in *Globalization and the Circumpolar North,* ed. Lassi Heininen (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010), 279.

[712] Governments of the Arctic Countries, "Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council," September 19, 1996, 4, https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/85/EDOCS-1752-v2-ACMMCA00_Ottawa_1996_Founding_Declaration.PDF?sequence=5&isAllowed=y.

[713] Heininen, "Circumpolar International Relations and Co-operation," 273.

a stronger position and allows for more genuine partnership with nation-states. Although the AC is a soft-law organization incapable of developing legally binding outcomes, it offers the Arctic Indigenous Peoples a platform to connect, share, and have their perspectives heard internationally. ICC members pointed out that, although the Westphalian world order (a world order that follows the logic of nation-states as ultimate power-holders) still constituted the status quo of the current political world order, the creation of the AC was a step in the right direction,[714] slowly carving out space for new actors. As permanent participants they have a more active mandate allowing for direct negotiation with Arctic states and tabling own suggestions and proposals for final decisions.[715]

AMAP was originally established in 1991 to "implement monitoring and assessment components of the AEPS. Once the AC was established, AMAP became one of its six working groups.[716] As an observer in AEPS, the ICC participated actively in AMAP, and its experiences with the NCP in Canada prepared the ICC particularly well to contribute to AMAP.[717]

This overview demonstrates that Arctic Indigenous Peoples have started exerting a considerable amount of influence on international environmental processes because their lifestyle and human rights have started to be seriously threatened by the effects of climate change, and also because "they have gained strong participatory rights in the Arctic Council as permanent participants."[718] This marks the beginning of a new era in the ICC's climate change work: participating in the creation and shaping of new international mechanisms for government co-

[714] It could also be argued that the AC was created to keep Inuit/Indigenous peoples under control (to ensure they do not anticipate independency) rather than providing more power to them.
[715] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 209, 248–49, 253.
[716] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), "Organisational Structure," 2019, https://www.amap.no/about/organisational-structure.
[717] Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 194.
[718] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 210.

operation that allow for a more productive Indigenous input. Indeed, the AC turned out to be a helpful platform for Inuit to directly engage in high-level dialogue with politicians, as Aqqaluk Lynge pointed out:

> We are much more effective like that and giving input on the Arctic Council meetings and we are also there for the Ministerial Meetings so, it's a tremendous opportunity to Indigenous peoples. And, everyone from outside, Indigenous peoples living outside of the Arctic, they envy our situation, because we are able to talk directly to foreign minister Kerry or to Lavrov and we also had Hillary Clinton visiting here in 2011 and you know, those kinds of situations have been established where we know people now. They have faced the Arctic peoples and you know, and touched them and they are flesh and blood, you know. So, the human dimension of the whole work in the Arctic if you are talking about conservation or talking about environment, whatever you talk about, the climate change, whatever, you have people. […] So, it's something that […] I have seen, that when people are engaged and want to fight for the cause that they see that easily done [giggles] in the Arctic Council, in the Arctic co-operation, people are ready to see the results if they also have been in touch with the original peoples of the Arctic.

For Lynge, the major opportunity presented to the permanent participants in the AC to directly engage in dialogue with politicians allows the ICC to lobby more effectively. Moreover, the existing mechanism in the AC also allows for the development of unique relationships between the ICC and high-level decision-makers, and it allows them to see the human-ness in each other, which is beneficial when climate change and other environment-related matters are discussed in the AC. In Lynge's experience, relationships with the Arctic's Indigenous Peoples can foster decision-makers' enthusiasm and belief in an idea. Moreover, Lynge pointed out in the quote above that the ICC is envied for its direct access to high-level decision-makers by many other IPOs around the world. In 1996, the IPCC published its second assessment report, confirming the dire impact of human behaviour on climate change.[719] At the next GA in 1998, hopes were high that the ICC's climate change work would be more successful in the newly created AC.[720]

[719] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 639.

[720] However, Indigenous organizations are only non-voting participants in the Arctic Council, while nation-states remain the sole decision-makers. Nevertheless, the Arctic Council is an important tool for advocacy and dialogue, because it allows Inuit representatives direct access to high-level decision-makers (e.g. the American Secretary of

Acknowledging the contamination of Arctic country food with heavy metals, the ICC urged the AC to "implement the recommendations of the spring 1997 AMAP[721] report dealing with heavy metals."[722]

In the late 1990s the ICC developed a stronger focus on POPs. In its 1998 GA resolution, the ICC acknowledges the bioaccumulation of POPs in the Arctic marine food chain resulting in higher POP levels in the blood of Inuit who consume the food as part of their diet. The document also explains that POPs can negatively impact fetal development and can be passed on to the next generation through the mother's breast milk. The Executive Council was advised to treat circumpolar POP contamination as the highest priority, to advocate internationally for the elimination of POPs in the Arctic, and to communicate with regional and local Inuit organizations on issues related to POPs. The ICC further recommends that the Canadian government renew its NCP, and that the eight Arctic nation-states who are members of the newly founded AC provide funding and political support for AMAP and convince emitting countries to develop a global treaty to "eliminate POPs of concern" in the Arctic. The Saami Council and the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) is urged to co-operate with the ICC in negotiations towards a global treaty, and the ICC is called upon to co-operate with other NGOs and environmental organizations in the International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN)[723] to jointly develop a global treaty on POPs. The document also urges the Russian Federation to sign the POP

State). The ICC is envied for its direct access to decision-makers by many other IPOs around the world (conversation with Aqqaluk Lynge, Nuuk, 2016).

[721] Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 194 The 1997 AMAP "Assesssment Report: Arctic Pollution Issues" is almost 1,000 pages long and contains the results of the collaboration of 400 scientists. It is "the world's most detailed and comprehensive regional contaminants assessment report. .

[722] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1998" (Nuuk, 1998), sec. 25.

[723] International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN), "About IPEN," accessed January 23, 2019, https://ipen.org/about-ipen. IPEN is a non-profit, public interest organization founded in 1998. It is "a global network of public interest NGOs working together for a world in which toxic chemicals are no longer produced or used in ways that harm human health and the environment." The information-sharing network is currently "comprised of over 500 Participating Organizations in more than 100 countries, primarily in countries with developing and transitional economies" (Ibid.)

Protocol to the UN-ECE-LTAP. Lastly, the resolution also recommends that the ICC educates key international organizations (e.g. the UN) about the importance of "transboundary contaminants in the Arctic" and "stressing the Inuit way of life as an indicator of the world's health."[724]

One year prior to the release of the 1998 declaration, the ICC participated in official negotiations to determine the chemicals that should be recognized by UNEP's protocol on POPs. The protocol was guided by the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committees (INCs)[725] that eventually negotiated the UN Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (2001), a legally binding document that prohibits the use of nine POPs.[726] The lead-up towards the Stockholm Convention is an interesting example of the ICC's advocacy work. During the first negotiations in Montreal, the ICC participated as a member of the Canadian Arctic Indigenous Peoples Against POPs delegation (CAIPAP),[727] with Sheila Watt-Cloutier as the group's spokesperson (possibly due to the ICC's UN observer status).[728] Interestingly, Watt-Cloutier, in her role as vice president for ICC International, also represented the interests of Inuit of Greenland, the USA, and Russia.[729] CAIPAP usually operated from the back room during negotiations but Watt-Cloutier requested to intervene at "strategically important moments." Watt-Cloutier—a "gifted public speaker able to convey technical information to a large audience and to do so from the heart"—gave speeches at all five sessions to prepare for the convention.[730] CAIPAP also

[724] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1998," sec. 6.
[725] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 140–41.
[726] Watt-Cloutier, 153, 178. In the meantime, nine additional POPs have been added to the list (Ibid., 181).
[727] CAIPAP represented the interests of Inuit (ICC and ITC), Dene, Metis and Yukon First Nations in Canada (Ibid., p. 258, 263).
[728] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 155; "Right Livelihood Award: 2015 - Sheila Watt-Cloutier," 2015, http://www.rightlivelihood.org/watt-cloutier.html.
[729] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 258.
[730] Watt-Cloutier, 265; Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 202.

organized public displays of furs, hunting items, and country food during negotiations to bring to mind Arctic realities to the delegates.[731]

At the second negotiation session in Nairobi, the ICC connected with Indigenous Peoples of Africa who faced similar struggles with POPs. Furthermore, Watt-Cloutier presented Klaus Toepfer, UNEP Executive President at the time, with a soapstone carving of a mother with a child, made by an Inuk from Nunavik. Toepfer, who presented the carving immediately to John Buccini, the chair of the sessions, determined that the carving would sit in front of Buccini for the remaining sessions. Watt-Cloutier's strong statement (which was doubtlessly also geared to gain media attention) had been taken up by Toepfer, who gave the carving an even more prominent place in Nairobi's sessions. Watt-Cloutier later reminisced about the respect Toepfer showed the ICC. He agreed with the ICC's position that POPs needed to be eliminated rather than managed and he, at all times, supported the ICC).[732] Even high politics are made by human beings, and respect among leaders can certainly be beneficial to further one's agenda.

The next session in Geneva provided the ICC with an opportunity to "reflect and respond in a way that would be appropriate and helpful to the bigger picture" when a conflict developed around the planned prohibition of DDT (a POP), due to its importance to control malaria. As it became apparent to the ICC that 150,000 Inuit were staged against possibly millions of malaria deaths should DDT be prohibited, the NGO developed a strategy that avoided approaching this issue in population numbers. When the ICC was scheduled to speak, Watt-Cloutier emphasized that Inuit would "not be party to any agreement that threatens others," as this is not the Inuit way. In choosing the "high moral ground," Watt-Cloutier suggested that the convention should continue to aim at a complete elimination of POPs while simultaneously ensuring alternatives for DDT in

[731] Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 203.
[732] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 259, 264.

the developing world.[733] At the next session in Bonn, Germany, the ICC brought along Aboriginal artists from Canada (including Inuit drum dancers and throat singers) who were scheduled to perform at a reception hosted by the German government. Individual doubts about the ICC's agenda caused Watt-Cloutier to share the following about her leadership style:

> My emotions may be triggered from time to time. However, I must work through those quickly as it is crucial for the larger scheme of things that I not operate from a position of fear. As an elected leader, it is my responsibility to remain open and to lead with wisdom rather than fear; in light of what was happening we knew we had to bridge the gap between North and South. […] We called upon the collective wisdom of all countries to find ways and means to achieve a strong agreement.[734]

The ICC argued that "the Arctic and its population were particularly vulnerable to POPs"[735] and that country food needed to be safe because the Inuit are one of the world's last hunter-gatherer Indigenous Peoples.[736] Furthermore, the ICC also

> Pressed for financial commitments to implement an agreement. […] Although we in the Arctic were net recipients of these POPs, our message was always to work with the world. As partners, not victims, we once again asked the people of the world for their help, courage and wisdom to build a convention that would provide safety to people in the countries still using these chemicals and to Arctic peoples who were receiving them.[737]

The ICC's approach to finding a middle ground acceptable to everyone, and its emphasis on global co-operation with the ICC as partners, reflects Inuit diplomacy. Together, Arctic Indigenous Peoples "did not quietly play the role of victims of change powerless to influence events." Instead, they advocated successfully for international action to protect themselves and their environment.[738] Being an active agent and a wise leader (instead of a fearful victim) that co-creates reality is an

[733] Watt-Cloutier, 259–60; Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 163.
[734] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 261.
[735] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 140–41.
[736] Watt-Cloutier, 157, 165.
[737] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 261.
[738] Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 192.

important aspect of decolonization where the colonized has agency and returns to the human vocation of making history.

ICC Canada engaged in intensive lobby work with polluting companies, politicians, and film stars to raise awareness.[739] Watt-Cloutier hosted a BBC film team and UNEP communication team that visited Iqaluit, and both produced a film about the impact of climate change on the everyday realities of Inuit. While UNEP's production was shown at the final COP negotiation session in Johannesburg, the BBC production aired on TV before the Johannesburg meeting. Both productions helped further the ICC's agenda of making the Inuit voice heard.[740]

The ICC convinced the Canadian government of the benefits of supporting its cause, gaining a strong nation-state ally throughout the negotiations.[741] The relationship soon developed into a partnership that even served to inspire other countries. At a crucial moment during the negotiations when Canada was publicly criticized for its refusal to help find alternatives to DDT, Watt-Cloutier and two other CAIPAP leaders published an opinion piece in the Globe and Mail defending "the honor of the Crown in a delicate and embarrassing situation."[742] This demonstrated the openness and trust that had developed between the Canadian delegation and CAIPAP.[743] After the signing of the Stockholm convention, Herb Gray, Canadian Deputy Prime Minister at the time, pointed out that the influence exerted by Indigenous Peoples in the negotiations were "out of proportion to their numbers."[744] Despite their small population size the ICC, representing less than 200,000 individuals globally, chose a strategy that made Inuit heard. In the words of Watt-Cloutier:

> Inuit are few in numbers and don't constitute a major lobby group. Until recent years we have not been influential in world affairs as we were still reeling from tumultuous change.

[739] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 172, 174.
[740] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 261–62.
[741] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 160, 179–80.
[742] Fenge, "POPs and Inuit: Influencing the Global Agenda," 209.
[743] Fenge, 209.
[744] Fenge, 210.

> But we are back now and wish to speak out on behalf of the land that has sustained us for hundreds of generations. We are the land and the land is us. We cannot stand by, waiting for slow moving governments to step in and make everything right, rather we must try to effect what change we can.

For Watt-Cloutier, Inuit empowerment is possible despite their small numbers and it is necessary because of the governments' slow pace to act. This quote is also important because Watt-Cloutier eloquently explains the intricate connection between Inuit and the land. Thus, speaking for Inuit means speaking for the land. This means that the ICC is the voice of Inuit and, by extension, the voice of the land. Ultimately, the ICC's input in the lead-up to the Stockholm Convention serves as an example of how an NGO managed to participate in the development of a global treaty through its membership in a national delegation.[745] Watt-Cloutier concluded that the reasons for a partnership with a state and the potential for bridging a wide gulf between the developing and the developed world lie in the ICC's ability to speak "reasonably, wisely, and professionally and always from the "high moral ground."[746] The ICC is so successful in interacting with the government because it prefers "politics of influence" over "politics of protest."[747]

For its consistent commitment to "the values of sustainability and the protection of natural environment on which the lives and livelihoods of Arctic people depend," the World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (WANGO) awarded the ICC (Canada) the Global Environment Award in fall 2002. The NGO is praised for its determination to protect the Arctic resource system from the many environmental assaults external to this region," and it is applauded for its "efforts to focus global attention on the risk faced by the Arctic people." WANGO goes on to praise Sheila Watt-Cloutier for her guidance that helped place the ICC in the "vanguard of

[745] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 251.
[746] Watt-Cloutier, "The Inuit Journey towards a POPs-Free World," 264–65.
[747] Watt-Cloutier, 267.

international efforts to negotiate and conclude a global agreement to address persistent organic pollutants." It further recognizes the Stockholm Convention's importance as the world's first convention to single out Indigenous Peoples "and the Arctic as a vulnerable region," and considers the ICC's "participation in the POPs-negotiation to be of historic significance, which may set a precedent for other Indigenous Peoples to be engaged in global discussions that affect their lives and livelihood." The awards committee considered this a clear expression of a new kind of "Indigenous Statesmanship." The ICC (Canada) is also recognized for its role as a "key player" in the NCP, "a rarely heralded success story that deserves special recognition."[748] Whether this statement contains a patronizing undertone with regards to the extraordinary praise for the ICC's work cannot be discussed in detail here, but it may be said that WANGO is partnering with NGOs, universities, business, but also governments[749]—whose appreciation and support for the ICC constitute only one side of the coin, as governments also have an interest in maintaining the status quo of the international political system—which the ICC is attempting to change. In its GA Declaration 1998, the ICC leadership also recommends a more intensive co-operation with IUCN (as also urged by the PECAP, an ICC document published in 1992) through IUCN's Focal Point for Indigenous Peoples, which was created to support Indigenous Peoples' agendas in the international environmental policy fora.[750]

[748] World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations, "2002 WANGO Awards," accessed January 25, 2019, https://www.wango.org/other_sites/wango2002/awards.htm. Created in 2000, "WANGO is an international organization uniting NGOs worldwide in the cause of advancing peace and global well-being. WANGO helps to provide the mechanism and support needed for NGOs to connect, partner, share, inspire, and multiply their contributions to solve humanity's basic problems" (Ibid.); World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations, "About WANGO," 2019, https://www.wango.org/about.aspx.
[749] World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations -, "About WANGO."
[750] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1998," sec. 17.

6.4 Advocacy for Existing International Co-operation and Frameworks (2002/03)

In its 2002 GA declaration (which is only one-fifth the length of the previous declaration) the ICC generally recognizes the ICC Executive Council's input in the Stockholm Convention.[751] It is noteworthy that of the twenty-five agenda points, only the section on climate change goes into more details in several sub-sections. Here, the ICC strongly promotes the need to keep the Arctic environment safe from POPs, climate change, heavy metals, and unsustainable development by calling upon governments to enact national and "multi-lateral agreements to reduce or eliminate environmental damage and resulting human health problems in the Arctic." The ICC also calls upon governments to ratify, and convince other governments to ratify, the "1998 POPs Protocol to the UN-ECE-LRTAP, the 2001 Stockholm Convention on POPs, and the 1997 Kyoto Protocol pursuant to the 1992 UNFCCC." Furthermore, the declaration instructs the ICC to partner with Arctic and other governments and NGOs to "develop global initiatives to combat climate change in general, and an Arctic climate change program in particular." It also directs the ICC to represent and protect Inuit interests in international fora like the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD).[752]

The ICC starts the new millennium with a declaration that highlights the importance of existing international frameworks and protocols to protect the environment and to be respectful for all living things (which includes the environment). It encourages nation-states and NGOs to co-operate to collectively combat climate change, and it highlights the need for the ICC's international lobby work. Inuit remained true to their values when they helped advance Inuit

[751] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Kuujjuaq Declaration" (Kuujjuaq, 2002), 1.
[752] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 7.

environmental stewardship and protection through the ICC. It has been shown throughout this chapter that the ICC's approaches to peacemaking in conflicts around climate change revolved around (1) acceptance of the existing political structure by actively interacting and engaging with nation-states, (2) attempting to establish and shape new mechanisms (like the AC or the Stockholm Convention) from within the existing structure that reflect Inuit values and CR mechanisms. Accepting the existing Westphalian structure of international politics meant for the ICC to become highly professionalized, to study and maneuver the complex networks and formalities required for successful interactions in the existing system, to become a formal, bureaucratic, professional organization itself. Over the years, the ICC has developed constructive relationships with governments, particularly governments of Arctic countries (in the AC but also bilaterally), and it even defended the integrity of the Canadian government in the lead-up to the Stockholm Convention that have led to the development of respectful relationships with governments. This is in line with the Inuit approach to conflict where co-operation is preferred over confrontation—a pragmatic and future-oriented approach.[753] The ICC's GA declarations emphasize the importance of dealing with and convincing governments, which again proves that the ICC has accepted the existing political structure and is ready to interact with(in) it. The mere fact that the ICC issues "declarations" and "policy" or "strategy" papers in English further drives home the conclusion that the NGO has learnt the language and formalities to communicate with agents in the dominant political system.

However, the changes the ICC initiated on the international level can be understood as rooted in Inuit CR culture where co-operative relationships, collaboration, sharing of information,

[753] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era"; Abele and Rodon, "Coming in from the Cold. Inuit Diplomacy and Global Citizenship"; Gary N. Wilson, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Circumpolar North," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 13, no. 3 (January 1, 2007): 65–80, https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2007.9673443.

and respect for all living things are translated through its ambitions to unite Indigenous Peoples and bring Indigenous Peoples and national governments together in decision-making processes. The ICC's work also reflects the Inuit values of being innovative, creative, and being resourceful to resolve problems (as shown in the description of the ICC's diplomacy in the lead-up to the Stockholm Convention), and the ICC proved to be a patient agent in the time-consuming processes that are often so typical in international politics. Again, Inuit values of trust, community and relationships (the idea of being stronger together), reciprocity (helping each other), sharing, and respect for all living things are reflected in its interactions to mitigate effects of climate change.

Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that the ICC is an agent of Hybrid Peace[754] aiming at positive peace (overcoming any kind of structural violence that could prolong the negative effects of climate change)[755] with regards to its climate change work. One could even take this argument further by looking at the AC as a mechanism of Hybrid Peace, because it brings together governments as decision-makers but also allows Indigenous groups face-to-face interactions, to establish relationships, share stories and experiences, and use collective wisdom—humanizing activities that are informed by Inuit values.[756] The ICC serves as the metaphorical drum, educating others about Inuit perceptions of climate change. But the drummer has learnt to play its tunes differently, using new media outlets like film or formal declarations, thus speaking a different language, to ensure they are being heard. This attests to Inuit pre-contact practices of political realism and adaptability that instruct Inuit to study their context, recognize changed circumstances, and react constructively to create win-win scenarios. Such scenarios can be

[754] Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*.
[755] Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research."
[756] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures"; Tester and Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance"; Aupilaarjuk et al., *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit*; Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, "Transfer of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in Modern Inuit Society," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 33, no. 1–2 (2009): 115, https://doi.org/10.7202/044963ar.

established by emphasizing co-operation towards a common goal (e.g. climate change mitigation and world peace) as in the AC. As a Hybrid Peace agent, the ICC combines both pre-contact Inuit approaches to conflict and, using political realism and adaptation strategies, becomes an agent in the international political system.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the ICC's environmental advocacy from its early beginnings to the new millennium. The 1980s marked a time of need for more research in order to better understand the impacts of climate change, and the NGO has developed a comprehensive understanding of the severe and diverse impacts of climate change on Inuit culture and society in the two decades leading into the new millennium. Abele and Rodon write about the ICC that it

> did not remain very long in the role of reactive protest, since the scope of environmental issues faced by the Inuit was broadening rapidly to include transnational atmospheric pollution, military waste, ozone layer depletion, and global warming. ICC sought international support for means to manage and respond to these threats.[757]

Thus, the ICC presented its IRCS in 1985, which led to the creation of the AEPS in the Arctic countries, and this eventually led to the Rovaniemi Declaration in 1991 and the creation of the AC in 1996.[758] With the creation of the AC, the ICC realized on of its objectives and helped institutionalize the Arctic as a region.[759] The ICC transformed into a major international advocacy organization that actively participated in the shaping of new international mechanisms that are mandated to deal with environmental issues and climate change. At the turn of the millennium, the ICC's main achievements of its climate change advocacy are its observer involvement in the AEPS

[757] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 57.
[758] Abele and Rodon, 57.
[759] Abele and Rodon, 57.

and the successful realization of the concept of permanent participant status for Indigenous Peoples in the newly founded AC. This provides a forum for Indigenous Peoples and decision-makers to meet at the same table. Moreover, the ICC's participation in the UN protocol on POPs (which later resulted in the Stockholm Convention, a legally binding document for nation-states) further demonstrates the NGO's determination to actively shape the existing international political framework to increase climate change awareness and to develop new structures and mechanisms. At the end of the 20th century, the ICC's main focus is on nation-states that have been brought to the table in the AC and were lobbied to sign a legally binding document. In a way, both mechanisms (an inter-governmental forum and an internationally binding convention) are testaments for the decision-making power of nation-states while at the same time attempting to limit these powers by involving Indigenous Peoples' participation. The ICC and other Indigenous Peoples have arrived at the international level where they have made the Indigenous voice heard. Diplomatic practices like the establishment of the AC or the very creation of the ICC "illustrate the effectiveness of steady participation and concerted co-operation toward a specific goal,"[760] which reflect the Inuit values of patience, co-operation to realize a long-term goal, inclusiveness, and relationship-building.

Although the ICC's GA declarations in the 1990s only rudimentarily began to mention the need for Indigenous Peoples' international co-operation (especially with the Saami people and the Russian Indigenous Peoples, but also in IUCN's Focal Point for Indigenous Peoples), this can be understood as leading to intensified co-operation among Indigenous Peoples in the new millennium. Just one year into the new millennium, the US withdrew from the Kyoto protocol, and because the first impacts of climate change were already feasible around the globe, demands

[760] Abele and Rodon, 48.

for adaptation assistance increased.[761] At the 2002 GA, Sheila Watt-Cloutier was elected the ICC's International Chair. In this position, she would shape the ICC's output substantially in the coming years.

[761] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 645.

Chapter 7
The ICC as a "Hunter"
Addressing Climate change in the 21st century

As shown in the previous chapter, the ICC's climate change work has always been closely tied to the global perception and dealing with the conflict. Early on, the ICC developed an awareness for environmental damages caused by a warming climate and not only issued policy recommendations but it also advocated for international co-operation in existing fora and started shaping international mechanisms to help protect the environment. This chapter provides the second part of the analysis of the ICC's climate change work by focusing on the new millennium where the ICC is the first agent to define climate change as a human rights issue. This chapter also provides an overview of the different projects and meetings the ICC organized to develop a more collective Indigenous voice to address climate change (i.e. the Many Strong Voices project, the Arctic Wisdom Event, the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change with the Anchorage Declaration and the ICC's Regional Report) as well as the ICC's role in the creation of UNPFII. The chapter then continues with a discussion of the ICC's framing of climate change as a food security issue, connecting it to a larger realm of issues and conflicts to illustrate the inter-connectedness of different conflicts. This chapter also contains an analysis of the ICC's Inuit Arctic Policy, a document with policy recommendations that was first issued in 1983 and has been revised twice in 1992 and 2010. Eventually, the chapter illustrates the ICC's stronger argumentation for climate change adaptation and its local work. This analysis is continuously interwoven with references to climate change in the ICC's regular GA declarations.

After its initial work as an environmental advocate, the ICC developed into a protest organization with direct connections to decision-makers. The most recent scientific information on climate change—the Brundtland Report (1987) and the IPCCC's first report (1990)—informed

the ICC's first Arctic Policy papers (1983, 1992) and the IRCS (1986), which aimed to provide governments with an Inuit perspective and recommendations on how to tackle climate change. After the ICC successfully helped establish the AC (1990s) and participated in the development of UNFCC (1992), the Kyoto Protocol (1997), and the Stockholm Convention (2001)—mechanisms that acknowledge the existing world order with nation-states as power holders—the ICC started focusing its attention more strongly on different avenues that help strengthen the voice of Indigenous Peoples. During this time, climate change was increasingly linked to development, and climate change adaptation received growing attention.[762] In the early years of the new millennium, new actors emerged on the international arena. Al Gore's 2006 film *An Inconvenient Truth*[763] and US President Bill Clinton's climate change initiative increased global public awareness about the issue. Agents like the World Council of Churches started actively linking climate change to development, and women's organizations began focusing on the impact of climate change on women. In 2007, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Al Gore and the IPCCC, further recognizing the scientific community and its climate change research.[764] Considerable research was undertaken on possible post-Kyoto agreements, and a new wave of interest in local policies developed. Local governments had already been encouraged by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives to develop their own climate change policies, and many nation-states who were reluctant to sign the Kyoto Protocol realized that "their own sub-national government authorities were more active."[765]

Shortly after the beginning of the new century, the ICC held its ninth General Assembly in Kuujuaq, where Canadian Inuk Sheila Watt-Cloutier (who served as the ICC Canada's president

[762] Gupta, 646.
[763] Davis Guggenheim, *An Inconvenient Truth* (Paramount, 2006).
[764] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 646.
[765] Gupta, 647.

from 1995 to 2002) was elected as the new ICC International Chair, leading the ICC into a new era of intense, creative, and persistent climate change advocacy. Watt-Cloutier shaped the ICC's climate change work substantially, and her tireless efforts to make the Inuit voice heard internationally were also noticed by UNEP, which awarded her the "Champions of the Earth Award" in April 2005.[766] Between 2004 and 2006, she received the National Aboriginal Achievement Award from the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (now Indspire),[767] the Governor General's Northern Medal,[768] and the Order of Canada. Additionally, she was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007,[769] a stamp was issued in Canada to honour her as a difference maker in 2012,[770] and she received the Right Livelihood Award in 2015. The importance of individual Inuit leaders for the ICC's success has been discussed at various times in previous chapters. Leaders like Mary Simon, Aqqaluk Lynge, Tagak Curley and Sheila Watt-Cloutier can be understood as "hunters" who acquired important skills that help navigate in the existing environment. The lessons learnt at residential schools could be understood as helpful for navigating within the colonial system. Much like hunters, these leaders also work(ed) to sustain their community by fighting for an Inuit voice and for cultural protection. Due to the boldness and creativity of the ICC's avenues, the NGO and its projects also received a considerable amount of

[766] Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, "Canadian Inuit Leader Sheila Watt-Cloutier Wins UNEP's Champions of the Earth Award," 2005, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/canadian-inuit-leader-sheila-watt-cloutier-wins-ueps-champions-of-the-earth-award.html.

[767] Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, "Sheila Watt-Cloutier Thanks the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation for Her 2004 National Aboriginal Achievement Award," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, 2004, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/communiqu-ottawa-april-21-2004---sheila-watt-cloutier-thanks-the-national-aboriginal-achievement-foundation-for-her-2004-national-aboriginal-achievement-award.html.

[768] The Governor General of Canada, "Governor General Announces New Appointments to the Order of Canada," Text, The Governor General of Canada, July 24, 2006, http://www.gg.ca/en/media/news/2006/governor-general-announces-new-appointments-order-canada-0.

[769] The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Sheila Watt-Cloutier," accessed September 27, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sheila-watt-cloutier.

[770] Canada Post, "Difference Makers," 2018, https://www.canadapost.ca/web/en/blogs/collecting/details.page?article=2012/05/22/difference_makers&cattype=collecting&cat=stamps.

media attention during these years. The first steps in this direction took place in the realm of law-making where the ICC started to argue that the effects of climate change constitute human rights violations.

7.1 Climate Change as a Human Rights Issue (2004/05)

The ICC, along with other permanent participants in the AC, demanded that the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), a scientific milestone in reporting the regional effects of climate change, also concentrate on the cultural and health impacts of climate change, pointing out that climate change threatens Inuit cultural and physical survival. The ICC also ensured that ACIA, which was published at the fourth AC Ministerial Meeting in 2004,[771] included the human aspects of climate change, arguing that Indigenous Peoples are "part of the environment" which means that traditional knowledge, as well as Indigenous Peoples' recommendations, should be incorporated into the assessment. Moreover, the NGO argued that the Arctic states needed to realize strategies to reduce the effects of climate change, to provide information and funding to the communities, and to "acknowledge Aboriginal authority to make decisions to protect and promote their way of life."[772] Based on the understanding that changes in the Arctic will eventually impact the rest of the globe, the Arctic becomes the "health barometer of the planet," and Inuit understand their role as advocates for the health of the globe and its people.[773] This line of argumentation was further refined a year later when the ICC took a bold step to make the Inuit voice heard.

[771] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 215.
[772] Watt-Cloutier, 204.
[773] Watt-Cloutier, 205.

In co-operation with representatives from Earthjustice and the Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL),[774] the ICC decided to "link climate change to human rights" by means of a human rights petition that consequently portrayed the human side of climate change to the public at large. Linking climate change to human rights means acknowledging the impact of climate change and its environmental degradation of peoples' social, economic, and cultural freedoms. In order to protect human rights, detrimental environmental change needs to be prevented. It became clear to the ICC that difficulties protecting the environment would decrease if the protection of the people in the environment were targeted. The ICC argued that in order to realize peoples' social, economic, and cultural rights (which had already been recognized internationally), protection from the effects of climate change was necessary.[775] Thus, in 2005, a petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights[776] (IACHR)[777] was submitted by Watt-Cloutier on behalf of the Inuit in the US and Canada. This petition claimed "that the US failure to control emissions of greenhouse gases is damaging Inuit livelihoods in the Arctic"[778] and violates Inuit human rights:

> At the core of this petition were the numerous ways in which Inuit human rights were violated by climate change. The petition pointed out that the American Declaration of the

[774] Created in 1989, CIEL uses "the power of law to protect the environment, promote human rights, and ensure a just and sustainable society." The organization, with offices in the US and in Switzerland, provides "legal counsel and advocacy, policy research, and capacity building" services. Center for International Environmental Law, "About Us," Center for International Environmental Law, 2015, https://www.ciel.org/about-us/.
[775] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 223–24.
[776] "The IACHR is a principal and autonomous organ of the Organization of American States (OAS) whose mission is to promote and protect human rights in the American hemisphere. It is composed of seven independent members who serve in a personal capacity. Created by the OAS in 1959, the Commission has its headquarters in Washington, D.C. Together with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights ("the Court" or "the I/A Court H.R. "), installed in 1979, the Commission is one of the institutions within the inter-American system for the protection of human rights (IAHRS)." Organization of American States, "OAS - Organization of American States: Democracy for Peace, Security, and Development," Text, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2011, http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/mandate/what.asp.
[777] Byers, *Who Owns The Arctic?*, 124. The petition was entitled "Seeking Relief from Violations Resulting from Global Warming Caused by Acts and Omissions of the United States" (Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to be Cold*, 242).
[778] World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, "Inuit," World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, accessed June 24, 2015, http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=country&category=&publisher=MRGI&type=&coi=CAN&rid=&docid=49749d403c&skip=0.

> Rights and Duties of man (the document that serves as the basis for the IACHR), as well as other international instruments, protects 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 the inviolability of the home." Based on this, the petition pointed out that "because Inuit culture is inseparable from the condition of their physical surroundings, the widespread environmental upheaval resulting from climate change violates Inuit's rights to practice and enjoy their culture.
>
> The petition also argued that we were being denied the right to use and enjoy our traditional lands, as the land was either changing or becoming inaccessible. The fact that we were unable to hunt as before for food and for hides and skins for clothing and that the loss of ice and snow was damaging our snow machines, our sleds and our other tools was a violation of our right to personal property. The Western store-bought diet we were being forced to adopt, the accidents caused by melting ice and snow, and our increasing exposure to UV radiation, among other things, meant that our rights to health and life were being severely constrained.
>
> The petition also stated that our fundamental right to residence and movement was being violated as our homes were damaged and the land upon which many of our communities were built was being eroded by melting permafrost. And finally, Inuit's fundamental right to their own means of subsistence was being denied as climate change was hurting almost every aspect of our hunting culture: the quantity and quality of wildlife, the length of the hunting season, methods of traveling and the ability of our Elders to pass on traditional knowledge.[779]

The petition was endorsed with sixty-three testimonials from various Inuit hunters in Alaska and Canada who had been visited in their communities to share their testimonies, eyewitness accounts of climate change, and expertise. These voices from the communities were the "lifeblood of the

[779] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 236–37; For a detailed discussion of the petition as well as the ICC's preliminary considerations regarding the selection of the most suitable body for the petition, see: Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change." From the beginning, the ICC made its intention of the petition, to connect climate change with human rights, public: For example, Watt-Cloutier discussed the connection in two speeches she gave in 2003 (Ibid., p. 219-220). The GA 1995 was already entitled "Inuit Way of Life—a Human Right," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, "7th General Assembly: Inuit Way of Life—A Human Right," accessed February 7, 2019, https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/general-assemblies/7th-general-assembly-inuit-way-of-life-a-human-right/.

document."[780] Due to internal dissonance,[781] ICC Canada eventually backed out of signing the document but stated its support for the petition. Although the petition was not heard by the commission, Watt-Cloutier was invited to testify with her team at "their first ever hearing on climate change and human rights on March 1, 2007."[782]

The petition is an example of the ICC's specific role as a rights advocate, as Parnuna Egede highlights:

> Whenever ICC is advocating for Inuit interests on the international arena, it's always from a rights-based perspective. Whereas if let's say if I went out to talk about climate change problems as a representative of the government, working for the Greenland government, then we would probably be talking much more about GDP or commitments to reduce carbon emissions or, like, on a more technical or economic level, whereas if I went out to talk about it as an Indigenous Peoples' organization, I would talk much more about the right to be cold you know, to be compensated for the damage done by other countries. Yea. It is really two different angles.

In contrast to governments which tend to focus more on economic and technical aspects of climate change, the ICC's place in the picture is to add a rights-based perspective. The petition marked the first "international legal action on climate change," and it "opened the door to the recognition of collective rights for Indigenous peoples and firmly established the link between climate change and human rights within the mainstream global discourse."[783] The petition's line of argumentation

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[780] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 237; Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 211. The petition also relies heavily on the ACIA (Ibid). Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Petition Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to Oppose Climate Change Caused by the United States of America," Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, 2016, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/inuit-petition-inter-american-commission-on-human-rights-to-oppose-climate-change-caused-by-the-united-states-of-america.html. Five of the signatories came from Pangnirtung (Ibid.).

[781] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 234. Some ICC Canada Executive Council members as well as members from the board of directors were concerned about the petition because they supported "resource extraction or gas and oil pipeline businesses" and "did not want to look like hypocrites." Despite Watt-Cloutier's ensuring that the petition would not ask to stop all development, some individuals found it hard to "embrace the idea that the petition would not threaten development in the North" (Ibid.).

[782] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*.

[783] "Sheila Watt-Cloutier," The Right Livelihood Award, 2016, https://www.rightlivelihoodaward.org/laureates/sheila-watt-cloutier/; Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the

was soon picked up by others and was later also supported by the IACHR.[784] The human rights debate started to become more inclusive of the worldviews of previously excluded groups,[785] and Indigenous Peoples increasingly connected with each other globally to make their voices heard.

The idea to target the international stage with a petition had already been developed in an ICC Executive Council Resolution (2003) that highlighted the importance of the international level for ICC's climate change work, "since many related issues are increasingly regulated at this level."[786] Ultimately, it was challenging for the IACHR to rule on the issue of global climate change,[787] and "the petition was unable to achieve what it aimed at: the effective protection of the rights of the Inuit."[788] Nevertheless, the ICC's petition was a "powerful attempt to make an Indigenous Arctic voice be heard" by decision-makers and the public. As such, it serves as a tool that exposes deficiencies in international law related to Indigenous Peoples, it influences international climate change decision-making processes, and it developed a new way of thinking about existing human rights instruments that serve to "mitigate global climate change."[789] The petition opened up new space for exploration for international cases, using courts as a means to

Challenge of Climate Change," 208. Taken from another perspective, the petition was also the first human rights case involving climate change to be brought before an international human rights body" (Ibid.).

[784] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 237–38, 240. After the ICC initially was informed by the IACHR that "the petition didn't enable the commission to determine whether the alleged facts would characterize a violation of rights protected by the American Declaration" (Ibid., 250). Watt-Cloutier's insistence on setting up a hearing in Washington to clarify missing points was eventually granted, but the commission never got back in touch with her afterwards. Nevertheless, the petition drew wider circles in setting the stage for understanding climate change as a human rights issue: among others, the argument was reflected in the Male Declaration on the Human Dimension of Global Climate Change (2007), UN Human Rights Council Resolution 7/23 (2008), a study by the UN Human Rights Commissioner (2009), at following COP conferences, in an Oxfam study (2008), and communities applied the argumentation in their lawsuits against energy companies. Four years after the Inuit submitted their petition, IACHR issued a press release in another case that connected climate change to human rights, this time accepting the connection (Ibid., 255-257).

[785] Shadian, "Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Indigenous Autonomy," 361.

[786] Quoted in: Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 220.

[787] The petition was not easy to deal with by the IACHR, because it was challenging to find all the connections between human rights and climate change. Moreover, it was also extremely challenging for the body to determine one nation-state as being responsible for a worldwide problem. Lastly, many factors related to climate change were still unknown so that it was not easy to determine the impact of the US's actions alone. Heinämäki, 218.

[788] Heinämäki, 219.

[789] Heinämäki, 208–9, 219.

enforce action.[790] It could serve as a tool to encourage decision-makers to consider Indigenous Peoples' views in their climate change work.[791] At the same time, Watt-Cloutier emphasized the ICC's intent to educate not to criticize, to inform and not to complain,[792] which serves as an indicator of traditional Inuit conflict resolution approaches that allow for co-operation and face-saving, prioritizing influence over protest. Aqqaluk Lynge shared a similar concept of diplomacy in our conversation:

> Of course, most of the work that we are doing also is diplomacy. What others used to call lobbying efforts or whatever I would prefer [calling] diplomacy. […] For ICC, it means that we have a respectful approach to everyone, to every people. […] If you want to be respected you also have to […] respect the people that are in front of you. That we are not coming here and making demonstrations or whatever but that we do have work and that we present a paper or talk in a way that is already researched on. […] I don't start my speech saying well, Canadians and Americans destroyed our lifestyle and the Danish were, you know, so bad colonialists that they almost killed us. I never start with those kind of things. I talk about the positive things that we ourselves have gained in the long run, how we are fighting for the policies to have an influence on the policies and how important it is to respect the culture and the knowledge that are part of us for thousands of years.

For Lynge, lobbying means diplomacy and diplomacy means respecting the other, being well-prepared for meetings in order to be taken seriously, and avoiding direct confrontation (no demonstration or accusation), instead highlighting positive aspects of a relationship and past successes that can help create a common ground. This is a good example of how Inuit pre-contact diplomacy (avoidance of confrontation and emphasis on harmonious relationships) continues into the present through the ICC's work. Ultimately, the ICC is aware of the fact that harmony and non-confrontation can lead to more success than confrontation and complaint. If the ICC wishes to work towards a common goal with nation-states, it is strategically wise to establish respectful and harmonious relationships with the new agents by avoiding direct criticism and emphasizing

[790] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 648.
[791] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 220.
[792] Heinämäki, 220.

the common goal (protection of the environment and of human rights, and world peace) and success stories. These concepts are also found in IQ.

The ICC's petition at the IACHR serves as an interesting example of Inuit's conflict resolution and international diplomacy as a hybrid agent of peacemaking. On the one hand, it reflects Inuit values of community (the petition was informed by local knowledge), collective well-being (aiming at protecting humankind), environmental stewardship and protection, portraying the human side of climate change (as a face-to-face culture), using the petition to educate—and not criticize—a larger community about the impact of climate change on Inuit livelihoods, and respecting each other. On the other hand, the ICC's peacemaking goes beyond pre-contact CR approaches. Ingrained in its pre-contact CR mechanisms lies the possibility to adapt and remain realistic about a situation. Combined with Inuit practices of being innovative and resolving challenges creatively, Inuit realism and adaptability resulted in a careful observation of the given situation and existing power structures to be able to create change from within. In this case, it meant immersion in Western ways when the ICC drafted a formal petition in English and approached the IACHR (a Western structure). And while an argument can be made that singling out and accusing one nation-state is direct criticism and a rather confrontational act, one can also argue that the ICC employed a face-saving strategy when US politics were criticized by a Canadian Inuk leader and the Canadian branch of the ICC (and not the US-side of the ICC).[793] The ICC has successfully shaped the climate change debate and helped making history as the first agent that emphasized climate change as a human rights issue (which was later picked up by other agents).

[793] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era."

7.2 The Many Strong Voices Project (2005–present)

2005 was a busy year for the ICC. Based on the perceived need for collaboration to raise awareness about the impact of climate change in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in the Caribbean, South Pacific, Indian Ocean, and in the Arctic as well, the Many Strong Voices (MSV) programme was developed at the UN climate change conference (COP 11) in Montreal in December 2005. The programme brings together over twenty non-government and government organizations from these two most vulnerable regions to climate change in the world, "to take collaborative and strategic actions on climate change mitigation and adaptation on the local, regional and international level."[794] The ICC, one of three NGOs representing Arctic Indigenous Peoples,[795] also became involved in the MSV project which aims at giving both regions' Indigenous Peoples a voice to speak about climate change and to highlight the connection between melting ice and rising sea levels.[796] MSV shares information on climate change's impacts on SIDS and in the Arctic in UNFCCC negotiations—for example, by organizing side events (on food security and human rights)—where ICC representatives also function as speakers. MSV also helps draft passages for official UNFCCC documents and strongly engages in various outreach activities like interviews with media or participation in Development and Climate Days.[797] MSV also makes

[794] The three main objectives of MSV are developing a stronger voice in international negotiations, raising awareness of the impacts of climate change, and to "increase understanding of the needs, solutions, and practical measures for adaptation" based on community-driven capacity and vulnerability research and local adaptation projects. Many Strong Voices, "About the Many Strong Voices Programme," 2014, http://www.manystrongvoices.org/about.aspx?id=5068.
[795] The other two NGOs are the Aleut International Association and the Arctic Athabascan Council.
[796] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 243–44.
[797] Development and Climate Days take place in the middle weekend during the UN climate change talks. They feature debates on topics at the intersection of climate change and development. International Institute for Environment and Development, "Development and Climate Days. Key Messages," n.d., https://www.iied.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2018/12/dc_days_2018_key_messages_0.pdf; International Institute for Environment and Development.

use of its observer status at the IPCC[798] to support efforts by its Arctic and SIDS members. Moreover, MSV realized the Portraits of Resilience Project to illustrate the youths' perceptions of climate change. The stories and photographs collected in twelve communities in the Arctic,[799] as well as from youth from the island states of the Seychelles, the Marshall Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and Samoa resulted in an exhibition that toured various museums around the world. It was also presented at COP events in Copenhagen (2009), Durban (2011), and Warsaw (2013), and it was also featured by UNEP.[800] Other MSV activities include a Clean Energy workshop (2013) and awareness-raising related to climate-change-induced (threats of) relocation, where communities in the Arctic and SIDS are consulted to share their experiences and best practices that can help guide these relocations. The project will also analyze the human rights implications of the relocations of vulnerable local communities. Using this as a foundation, MSV also held a global consultation with affected communities and peoples at COP 19 at the UNFCCC in Warsaw in 2013.[801]

Due to its exposure to severe climate change impacts in the Arctic and its experiences as a Permanent Participant in the AC, the ICC has developed into an international leader whose strategy is connecting with other Indigenous Peoples, advocating for increased participation in climate change mechanisms.[802] Faegteborg argues that, though its work, the ICC has become an inspiration for other Indigenous Peoples, for example thee Association of Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet

[798] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "About — IPCC," accessed January 26, 2019, https://www.ipcc.ch/about/. The IPCC was created in 1988 by UNEP ad the World Meteorological Organization. "The objective of the IPCC is to provide governments at all levels with scientific information that they can use to develop climate policies. IPCC reports are also a key input into international climate change negotiations. The IPCC is an organization of governments that are members of the United Nations (Ibid.).

[799] Paniqtuuq was of the Arctic communities represented in the Portraits of Resilience project.

[800] Many Strong Voices, "About the Many Strong Voices Programme"; Many Strong Voices, "Global Engagement in Climate Negotiations & IPCC," 2014, http://www.manystrongvoices.org/activities.aspx?id=5153; Many Strong Voices, "Portraits of Resilience," 2014, http://www.manystrongvoices.org/portraits/.

[801] Many Strong Voices, "Climate Change and Community-Based Relocation," 2014, http://www.manystrongvoices.org/activities.aspx?id=5155.

[802] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 210.

North.[803] As an Indigenous peacemaking tool, MSV functions as the metaphorical Inuit drum when it shares local Indigenous Peoples' voices with decision-makers. MSV can be considered an Inuit peacemaking tool, because it reflects the Inuit practice of co-operation with other Indigenous groups to work towards a common goal (climate change awareness and mitigation) and expressing the effects of climate change indirectly without using confrontation or accusation. Reflecting important Inuit values, MSV is a creative, innovative, and inclusive relationship-building tool to deal with climate change outside established avenues. Again, Inuit political realism and adaptability (which are part of Inuit pre-contact diplomatic approaches,[804] are also reflected in this project, when MSV information campaigns target nation-states at COP events, when the ICC—through MSV—helps draft official UNFCCC documents, or in MSV's structure that brings Indigenous Peoples and government agents together. In sum, the ICC's Hybrid Peacemaking is reflected in the MSV project (which itself could be considered an agent of Hybrid Peace).

7.3 The Arctic Wisdom Event (2005)

On April 21 and 22, 2005, the ICC's "Arctic Wisdom" event in Iqaluit (sponsored by the advocacy organization Natural Resources Defense Council and the national environmental organization Global Green USA.) provided a platform for sharing information about cultural, scientific, and political issues related to climate change in the Arctic. On Earth Day (April 22), when several awareness-raising events usually take place around the globe, a "dramatic human aerial art image" was taken to remind the world of the severe impact of climate change on Inuit. A total of one thousand Inuit joined by two Hollywood celebrities, Salma Hayek and Jake

[803] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 247.
[804] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 48.

Gyllenhaal, stood together on the snow to form the message "Arctic Warning" and to form the image of a drum dancer.[805] This image highlights the importance of the ICC as a drum and as a communication tool. The photo, taken from an airplane, raised public and media interest and quickly drew the world's attention.[806] The ICC uses media to share their voice with the world. However, media attention does not mean that the Inuit voice also gets heard, as one ICC representative pointed out:

> I think, sometimes what we are also saying in regards to the Greenland-Denmark relation is that we do not just want to be the picture in the newspaper. We want to be part of the actual negotiations and so on. For example in the Arctic Council. So, media also gives us a tool to say, well, the media has our attention and we need to be there, at the table. […] We saw that for example when we had the big climate debates and climate meetings, international meetings […]. There are a lot of reports from Greenland, a lot of media reports. Pictures of our ice. So, in that way, we have their attention. I think it's not enough just to be the background picture.

The fact that nation-states are the decision-makers and signatories of policy papers on the national and international stage often means that media pays more attention to these agents than to the voices of national minorities during international meetings dealing with climate change. This is where the ICC's input is crucial, as it ensures that representations of Inuit climate change realities go beyond the portrayal of mere pictures of ice. The event serves as another example of Inuit peacemaking where nation-states (and everyone else) are indirectly reminded of the warming of the Arctic. The public relationship-building event is highly inclusive and participatory. It is an example of how co-operation and working towards a common goal (typical Inuit CR values from

[805] As discussed in a previous chapter, the image of a drum is a powerful metaphor for the ICC's work and the image is yet again, and very fittingly, employed in this context of a media campaign where the ICC intends to make its message (Arctic warning/ Arctic warming) and the voice of Inuit heard by a larger audience.

[806] Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold*, 245; "Arctic Wisdom," April 26, 2005, https://web.archive.org/web/20050426152425/http://arcticwisdom.org/home.shtml; "Hollywood's Hayek, Gyllenhaal Join Inuit for Arctic Circle Event on Earth Day," *The New York Times*, April 23, 2005, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/23/arts/hollywoods-hayek-gyllenhaal-join-inuit-for-arctic-circle-event-on-earth.html; CBC News, "Star-Struck Iqaluit Prepares for Photo Shoot," CBC, April 22, 2005, https://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/star-struck-iqaluit-prepares-for-photo-shoot-1.525042.

pre-contact times)[807] can go innovative new (non-governmental) ways by using of photography and involving of Hollywood stars.

7.4 Addressing Old and New Challenges (2006–2008)

The 2006 GA declaration demonstrates the ICC's extreme concern about the impact of climate change, highlighting the Arctic as the "world's barometer of environmental health." This supports UNEP's resolution 22-11 (Sustainable Development of the Arctic), adopted in 2003, and acknowledges rapid environmental changes in the Arctic due to the opening north polar sea route. The preamble also reminds the reader of the "fragility of the Arctic's biological diversity" which makes climate change, industrial activity, and other developments "a much greater concern than elsewhere."[808] The 2006 declaration mentions for the first time the term "human induced climate change" and calls for participation in the Arctic Council's ACIA follow-up activities as well as in the UNFCCC implementation process. The same section also highlights the ICC's support for its climate change petition to the IAHR,[809] followed by a call to the ICC to continue its work to eliminate POPs that threaten the well-being of Inuit and the environment through regional and national participation in the development of "plans to implement the global Stockholm Convention on POPs."[810]

The 2006 GA marks an interim phase for the ICC's climate change work. While support for existing mechanisms is highlighted (AC, ACIA, UNFCC, and the petition), new issues have started to gain the NGOs' attention in the declaration: the open polar waters in summer require

[807] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 48.
[808] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Utqiagvik Declaration," 1.
[809] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 10.
[810] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 11.

further studies to develop a better understanding of the impact on Inuit culture and society, and a stronger focus on health-related impacts of climate change have become apparent. 2006 marks the first time that the open polar seas are discussed as a concrete result of climate change. Thus, section 21 calls for the study of the environmental, socio-economic, and cultural impacts of the opening of the Arctic Ocean on Inuit communities.[811] Further, the ICC also suggests a pan-Inuit summit to discuss social challenges, well-being, and health; to share experiences and best practices;[812] and for the development of a Circumpolar Inuit Health Action Plan to lay out health issues and ways of advancing Inuit health. The declaration instructs the ICC to insist that governments support healthy communities' initiatives.[813]

In its 2008 report, the Human Rights Council argues that "climate change will affect the rights of groups of individuals, displace them, and lead to enhanced security risks," connecting climate change further with human rights issues as the ICC had already done in 2005. Security risks, displaced people, and rights violations on a global scale resulting from climate change could obviously exacerbate the structural (and possibly direct) violence already caused by climate change and move the world further away from conditions of positive peace. Thus, the ICC's climate change work is in high demand to make peace for Inuit and the world. However, the 2008 economic crisis and resulting recession put a new issue on the agenda that required immediate attention, reducing the urgency for climate action.[814]

[811] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 21.
[812] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 25.
[813] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 26.
[814] Gupta, "A History of International Climate Change Policy," 650.

7.5 ICC's Work in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)

The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) was established on July 29, 2000. It functions as a high-level advisory body to the UN ECOSOC.[815] The ICC directly represents Inuit in the UNPFII's sixteen-member panel as regional representatives for the Arctic. Aqqaluk Lynge, "in recognition of the consistent participation of Inuit diplomats in the United Nations affairs,"[816] served as a member from 2005 to 2007, and current ICC International Chair Dalee Sambo Dorough served in the panel for two terms (2011–13 and 2014–16).[817] UNPFII's aim is to discuss Indigenous issues (cultural, economic, environmental, social, educational, human rights, and health) and provide recommendations and advice to the Council, UN funds, agencies, and programmes, promote awareness and integration of Indigenous issues in the UN system, and distribute information on Indigenous issues. UNPFII holds two-week sessions every year in New York, with regular ICC representation.[818] At the UNPFII in 2017, the ICC delivered a presentation on behalf of the Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic (consisting of the ICC, the Saami Council, the Saami Parliaments, and youth representatives), and a report on the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was discussed.[819]

Many ICC representatives spoke much about the importance of the NGO's international work, as Ineqi Kielsen exemplarily shared: "It's very important to tell people outside Inuit countries how Inuit feel about climate changes [at the UNPFII]." For him, the international level

[815] United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, "Permanent Forum," accessed January 25, 2019, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/unpfii-sessions-2.html.
[816] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 56.
[817] United Nations, "UNPFII Members," accessed January 13, 2019, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us/members.html.
[818] Inuit Circumpolar Council Greenland, "Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues," accessed January 26, 2019, http://inuit.org/our-work/international-involvement/un/the-permanent-forum-on-indigenous-issues/.
[819] "ICC Greenland Newsletter" (ICC Greenland, 2017), http://inuit.org/fileadmin/user_upload/File/Newsletters/ICC_news_8-17.pdf.

and UNPFII are key platforms to make the Inuit voice heard. In co-operation with Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, Aqqaluk Lynge (who had been appointed a year earlier at UNPFII's sixth session as special rapporteur) presented a paper for the UNPFII's seventh session in 2008 that dealt with climate change in particular. The report on the impact of climate change on Indigenous Peoples and their lands recommended the meaningful participation of Indigenous Peoples and that the Arctic should be designated a "special climate change focal point" due to its higher vulnerability.[820] Together with the Saami Council, the ICC formed the Arctic Caucus at UNPFII, which made strong statements on climate change at its seventh session. For example, the caucus recommended that UNPFII create a seat for Indigenous Peoples to allow for direct access to politicians, similar to the Permanent Participant status in the AC.[821] Lynge concluded in his regional report in Anchorage in 2009 that the forum had "learnt a great deal" about the impact of climate change on Indigenous Peoples and their cultures, as well as about Indigenous Peoples' adaptation strategies.[822] With this report, Lynge ensured that climate change impacts on Inuit culture and society were given importance and received international attention. Okalik Eegeesiak spoke about the fruitful co-operation with the Saami people, an Indigenous group in Scandinavia, on the international level:

> Under the United Nations framework we do have an Arctic caucus. We work the closest with the Saami Council. So, we take turns being heads of the delegation. We take turns in doing that, so we partner with the Saami Council in getting our Arctic issues heard. And, we just carry that forward to things like Marrakesh and Paris, like the COP discussions. We prepare together through the internet and agree on common messages.

With regards to climate change, the ICC not only represents the collective voice of Inuit, but it

[820] Tauli-Corpuz and Lynge, "Impact of Climate Change Mitigation Measures on Indigenous Peoples and on Their Territories and Lands."
[821] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 250–51.
[822] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change" (Anchorage: Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 2009), sec. 47, http://www.un.org/ga/president/63/letters/globalsummitoncc.pdf.

also coordinates with the Saami people to speak with a united voice for both Arctic Indigenous groups at the UNPFII and UNFCCC's COP meetings. The international level enables co-operation and coordination among different groups of Indigenous peoples[823] that strengthens their voice. The ICC's participation and input in UNPFII is another example of how Inuit pre-contact CR approaches of working cooperatively to deal with a common goal (decolonization, climate change mitigation) which again highlights the high values of relationships, information sharing, and inclusivity continues to be used through the ICC. It is also an example of Inuit political realism and adaptability (i.e. accepting the current world order as it is and becoming part of it to initiate changes from within) by establishing an Indigenous Peoples NGO forum in the footsteps of an organization (the UN) whose structure and work represents this world order with nation-states as power holders. It is a modern example of how voluntary associations can shape new and strong co-operative relationships that allow for mutually beneficial information sharing—another Inuit pre-contact diplomatic practice.[824] Thus, helping to establish and shape UNPFII means that the ICC needs to be innovative, creative, and resourceful in dealing with challenging situations. Without going into further detail about UNPFII, it can generally be stated that the forum is also the result and product of Inuit peacemaking.

[823] Developing a common message might also take place for pragmatic and economic reasons, given that the (financial) resources of an NGO are limited and given that the internet provides an excellent (and low-cost) way of communication that allows for coordination between the Saami people and the ICC.
[824] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 48.

7.6 “No longer in a period of climate change but in climate crisis.”[825]

The Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change (2009)

Only three years after the ICC called for a pan-Inuit summit, the NGO hosted the Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change in Anchorage (Alaska) from April 20 to 24, 2009,[826] an event that connected global Indigenous Peoples impacted by climate change. Almost 500 Indigenous representatives from 5,000 Indigenous groups in eighty nations from Russia, the Caribbean, North America, the Pacific, Asia, Pacific, Africa, Latin America, and the Arctic[827] attended the event that marked the first meeting on climate change to concentrate completely on Indigenous Peoples[828] and “discuss how to integrate Indigenous views, policies, traditional values and visions into the global response to the challenges of climate change.” The summit’s format provided an opportunity for knowledge sharing and exchange, learning, discussion, and networking for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants (including UN agencies,[829] the World Bank, NGOs,[830] donors,[831] and representatives from the private sector[832]).[833]

[825] Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change, “Report of the Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change,” 6.
[826] Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change, 13.
[827] Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change, 6. Indigenous delegates represented each of the UNPFII’s regions, and attention was paid to ensure gender balance and a balance in the representation of expertise and participation of stakeholders (Ibid., p. 13).
[828] Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change, 9.
[829] UNU, UNEP, UNESCO, UNDP-GEF, UN-REDD, UNPFII.
[830] Conservation International, WWF, Global Partnership on Mountain Ecosystems,/ FAO, Earth Justice, Alaska Conservation Solutions.
[831] The Christensen Fund, Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, Lia Fund, Oak Foundation, Wilburforce Foundation, David and Lucille Packard Foundation.
[832] Shell, US Arctic Research Commission, Alaska SeaLife Center, US Intertribal Council on Utility Policy.
[833] The summit also provided briefings on international processes relevant for Indigenous Peoples and climate change that reviewed the work of the Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development (FIELD), Many Strong Voices, UN processes (UNPFII, UNEP, UNESCO, UNFCCC), CBD, World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), and World Bank.

Bringing Indigenous Peoples from around the globe together for relationship building, information sharing (about the different climate change challenges and existing mechanisms on the international level), the formation of alliances working co-operatively to realize a common long-term goal (climate change mitigation) are reflected in the summit. This serves as another example of the ICC's active implementation of pre-contact Inuit diplomatic practices.[834] However, the information workshops on international processes relevant for Indigenous Peoples also points to the fact that the summit is rooted in political realism, preaching, and readiness to adapt to a given situation. These are also typical Inuit concepts of CR, but these concepts pave the way for the ICC to deal with the Western system implemented by the colonizer. Thus, dealing within this system, educating themselves about political possibilities, and inviting other NGOs (entities that have been founded within the frameworks of participation granted by nation-states) illustrates the ICC as an agent incorporated within the given Westphalian world order. These two tendencies (ICC's use of pre-contact Inuit diplomacy and its incorporation within and adaptation to the existing international system) are indicators of the ICC as an agent of Hybrid Peacemaking.

7.6.1 The Anchorage Declaration (2009)

Patricia Corchran, then ICC chair and chair of the summit, pointed out the summit's potential for Indigenous Peoples to speak with a united voice and to compose a global action plan and develop a unified position in preparation for the 15th session of the Conference of the Parties

[834] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era."

(COP 15) to the UNFCCC in Copenhagen eight months after the summit. In December 2009, the summit's recommendations were presented to COP 15 in Copenhagen.[835]

The Anchorage Declaration, the summit's main political message, was adopted by consensus and it epitomizes the participants' common position. The document emphasizes that unsustainable development causes climate change and has negative impacts on Indigenous Peoples' "cultures, human and environmental health, human rights, well-being, traditional livelihoods, food systems and food sovereignty, local infrastructure, economic viability, and our very survival." The document goes even further pointing out that "Mother Earth[836] is no longer in a period of climate change but in climate crisis."[837] It demands an "immediate end to the destruction and desecration of the elements of life" and highlights the crucial role of Indigenous Peoples in the defence and healing of Mother Earth. It upholds the importance of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)[838] in all decision-making processes

[835] IISD, "UN Backed Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change Ends with Declaration Calling for Fossil Fuel Phase-Out"; In a 2017 presentation, Patricia Cochran spoke about the disappointment felt by Indigenous Peoples on the COP 15 Copenhagen Accord: the agreement is not legally binding, does not contain "major commitments to reduce" greenhouse gases (commitments to reduce emissions remain below scientists' recommendations for what is considered necessary). Patricia Cochran, "Displaced by Climate Change," https://www.alaskapublic.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Displaced-by-Climate-Change-Patricia-Cochran-Slides-6.6.2017.pdf.

[836] The concept of "Mother Earth" is not found in Inuit cosmology. For other Indigenous cultures, however, this is an important concept, which explains its use in this quote.

[837] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 6.

[838] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," accessed January 26, 2019, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html; Mieke Coppes, "Canada's Acceptance of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Implications for the Inuit," The Arctic Institute – Center for Circumpolar Security Studies, August 9, 2016, https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/canadas-acceptance-declaration-rights-indigenous-peoples/; "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (United Nations, 2007), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf. UNDRIP is a not legally binding instrument that was adopted in September 2007 by the UN General Assembly by 144 states. At the time, Canada and the US voted against it, and Russia abstained. In the meantime, the US and Canada have revised their positions and support the declaration. "Today the Declaration is the most comprehensive international instrument on the rights of Indigenous peoples. It establishes a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the Indigenous peoples of the world and it elaborates on existing human rights standards and fundamental freedoms as they apply to the specific situation of indigenous peoples" (Ibid.).

related to climate change (especially Indigenous Peoples' rights to natural resources, lands, environment and territories, as well as the right of self-determination) and that UNFCCC must reflect UNDRIP's principles. Reiterating the "urgent need for collective action," the declaration concludes with Indigenous Peoples' offer to share their innovations, practices, and Traditional Knowledge with regards to climate change if their "fundamental rights as intergenerational guardians of this knowledge are fully recognized and respected."[839]

The declaration's fourteen calls for action encompass recommendations for the upcoming COP 15 conference,[840] and nation-states are asked to decrease their dependency on fossil fuels, to recognize Indigenous Peoples' knowledge and practices in developing approaches to deal with climate change, to abandon "false solutions to climate change" that have negative impacts on Indigenous Peoples' rights and environments,[841] and to recognize, respect, and ensure Indigenous Peoples' human rights to protect their forests and forest livelihoods.[842] It also directs states to respect and implement Indigenous Peoples' human rights, including their collective rights, and their right to mobility (including their right to not be forcibly removed) and voluntary isolation. Moreover, the rights, conditions, and status of climate change migrants must be addressed by

[839] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 8.
[840] The signatories of the Anchorage Declaration recommend in their first call for action that the developed countries meeting at COP15 "support a binding emissions reduction target" for developed countries "of at least 45% below 1990 levels by 2020 and at least 95% by 2050."
[841] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change"; Clean Development Mechanism, "About Clean Development Mechanism," Clean Development Mechanism, 2019, https://cdm.unfccc.int/about/index.html. The declaration lists the following examples of "false solutions to climate change:" "nuclear energy, large-scale dams, geo-engineering techniques, 'clean coal,' agro-fuels, plantations, and market based mechanisms such as carbon trading, the Clean Development Mechanism, and forest offsets" (point six). "The CDM allows emission-reduction projects in developing countries to earn certified emission reduction (CER) credits, each equivalent to one tonne of CO2. These CERs can be traded and sold, and used by industrialized countries to a meet a part of their emission reduction targets under the Kyoto Protocol. The mechanism stimulates sustainable development and emission reductions, while giving industrialized countries some flexibility in how they meet their emission reduction limitation targets" (Ibid.).
[842] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 7.

nation-states.[843] In addition, national states are directed to "return and restore lands, territories, waters, forests, oceans, sea ice and sacred sites that have been taken from Indigenous Peoples," limiting access to traditional ways of living and causing them to "misuse and expose" their lands to "conditions that contribute to climate change."[844]

The summit participants also agreed to make use of the many existing international bodies and fora and directed the IPCC, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment,[845] and other institutions to support Indigenous Peoples' climate change assessments.[846] Indigenous communities are encouraged to engage in information exchange. It furthermore calls on the UNFCCC to provide more formal structures that include Indigenous participation (e.g. "regular technical briefings by Indigenous Peoples on Traditional Knowledge and climate change," closer co-operation with the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Climate Change,[847] the establishment of an Indigenous focal point in the UNFCCC secretariat, appointing "Indigenous Peoples' representatives in UNFCCC funding mechanisms," and taking steps to ensure local and Indigenous communities' participation "in formulating, implementing, and monitoring activities, mitigation,

[843] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 8.
[844] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 8.
[845] Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, "Overview of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment," Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005, https://www.millenniumassessment.org/en/About.html#1. "The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) was called for by the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2000. Initiated in 2001, the objective of the MA was to assess the consequences of ecosystem change for human well-being and the scientific basis for action needed to enhance the conservation and sustainable use of those systems and their contribution to human well-being. The MA has involved the work of more than 1,360 experts worldwide. Their findings, contained in five technical volumes and six synthesis reports, provide a state-of-the-art scientific appraisal of the condition and trends in the world's ecosystems and the services they provide (such as clean water, food, forest products, flood control, and natural resources) and the options to restore, conserve or enhance the sustainable use of ecosystems" (Ibid.).
[846] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 7.
[847] "Who Are We?" International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change, accessed January 20, 2019, http://www.iipfcc.org/who-are-we/. "The International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change (IIPFCC) was established in 2008, as the Caucus for IPs participating in the UNFCCC processes" (Ibid.).

and adaptation relating to impacts of climate change").[848] The document furthermore recommends a few concrete steps for financial compensation and support for Indigenous Peoples.

The many stories shared by the participants during the week allowed for the crystallization of the following recurring, universal themes: Indigenous Peoples "already practice low carbon lifestyles" which put them into a position of contributing the least to climate change, but they find themselves in situations where they live in areas most affected by climate change and where they are usually the "most socio-economically disadvantaged." Indigenous Peoples' dependency on the natural environment is seriously threatened by human activity that changes the climate. Their important contribution in addressing climate change based on their experience, knowledge, and rights has remained largely ignored. The climate change impacts on Indigenous Peoples, as well as their "local mitigation and adaptation measures," need to be documented and made public, and Indigenous Peoples need to be included and involved in all processes dealing with climate change. This includes the promotion and implementation of UNDRIP, Indigenous engagement in UNFCCC (including input to the Copenhagen agreements), and capacity-building of Indigenous Peoples to "mitigate and adapt to climate change" and "implement their self-government."[849] Before the Anchorage Declaration was accepted at the end of the summit, seven regional reports were presented that provided insight into the regional impacts of climate change, adaptation strategies, and recommendations for the future.

The Anchorage Declaration is another example of the ICC as an agent of Hybrid Peacemaking where the pre-contact Inuit CR approaches of working collaboratively towards a common goal (including the bundling of Indigenous perspectives into one collective voice) and

[848] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 7.
[849] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 12–13.

establishing alliances and networks for information exchange are paired with a vivid engagement with the existing power structure (e.g. dealing with nation-states, NGOs) that indicates the ICC's embeddedness in the Western peacemaking system.

7.6.2 The ICC's Regional Report

The first regional report focused on the Arctic and included presentations from the ICC, the Saami, and Indigenous Peoples in Russia. The ICC's twenty-six-point report (the longest of all regional reports) was presented by ICC Greenland president Aqqaluk Lynge.[850] He pointed out the various climate-induced changes and challenges faced by Inuit[851] by sharing quotes from local hunters.[852] Lynge discussed that ways of dealing with climate change needed to include teaching youth the necessary skills; cooperating with researchers, politicians and business leaders;

[850] United Nations, "UNPFII Members."

[851] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," secs. 57–58. In detail, his report mentioned that average temperatures in the Arctic have increased twice as much as the global average, exacerbating the impact of climate change in the Arctic more than in other regions. The melting of sea ice leads to new challenges related to the opening of Arctic waterways for navigation, but climate change (new microorganisms and bacteria are brought to the Arctic, food is more difficult to freeze traditionally, melting permafrost damages sanitation and water supply systems) also challenges the physical health and well-being of Inuit (the safety of water and food is threatened by melting permafrost, introduction of new microorganisms and bacteria, and disappearance of traditional freezers). At the same time, this situation threatens the Inuit way of life and affects the mental and social wellbeing of Inuit. The melting of sea ice and permafrost also allows for increased economic development in Inuit Nunaat, particularly in the sectors of uranium mining and oil drilling. Although he pointed out that no economic benefit can compensate for the damage caused on the health and well-being of Inuit, Inuit remain open to exploring new technological opportunities that can help them cope with the new challenges, highlighting that Inuit are an "adaptable and pragmatic people" who "have taken on new technologies very quickly when it was in their interest to do so" (Ibid.).

[852] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, secs. 51–54. In Greenland, the ICC's Sila Inuk project (see chapter xy) collected Inuit hunters' experiences with climate change (thinning sea ice makes hunting more dangerous, seal and fish move further north, rising sea levels cause tidal fluctuation, lack of reliance on traditional knowledge to predict ice conditions). In Canada, Inuit reported that melting sea ice results in shoreline erosions and melting permafrost destroyed local infrastructure and threatens the local cemetery. Melting sea ice and permafrost in Alaska confronts Inuit with deteriorating infrastructure and relocation, contaminated drinking water and melting of natural ice cellars. Inuit in Chukotka most often noted the "melting of old ice" which led to shoreline erosion and made hunting more challenging. New fish and birds have been noticed and lynxes and badgers were observed more frequently. Berries ripen but also rot more rapidly in the summer heat (Ibid.).

researching the impact of climate change and making research results available to decision-makers and translating results into Indigenous languages; learning about new economic and commercial opportunities and new hunting techniques; finding financial resources; and identifying barriers to adaptation.[853] Responses to climate change need to include adaptation strategies while simultaneously preserving cultural elements. This approach requires a combination of scientific and experience-based knowledge. Inuit are open to new partnerships in the private and public sector and with civil society to make use of the existing knowledge in different fields (e.g. political science, epidemiology, medicine, and economic development). Such partnerships need to include consultation, knowledge sharing, and commitment to the partnership that serves the needs of both partners.[854] Compared to the summaries of the other six regional reports, it stands out that only the Arctic report's recommendations for the future suggested finding a balance between "old and new ways," effectively arguing for the construction of a mixed or hybrid response in dealing with climate change that incorporates Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways.[855]

Lynge also highlighted that the ICC takes climate change very seriously and dedicates a lot of its resources to international lobbying (particularly in the AC and the various UN bodies) to limit the effects of climate change. [856] But, besides the importance of international instruments in dealing with climate change and the language of climate change, he encouraged summit participants to remember that the most important climate change language is found in the local

[853] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 59.
[854] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, secs. 7, 69-70.
[855] Other regional reports' recommendations focused on the need for education, resilience and capacity-building; the need to develop more sustainable adaptation and mitigation strategies; the need for more co-operation among Indigenous Peoples; inclusion of Indigenous Peoples in all relevant political processes related to climate change; rehabilitation of local environments and more locally controlled energy projects as well as "low carbon lifestyles;" communicating climate change impacts as a human rights issue (presented in the Africa regional report); and rejection of mitigation strategies that threaten Indigenous rights, sovereignty and livelihoods (e.g. nuclear power projects or genetically modified food). Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 9–11.
[856] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 60.

communities, in hunters' camps, and close to eroding coastlines.[857] Language, as a form of communication, can also encompass the use of gestures (using one's body), which then allows for an expanded concept of language as an embodied performance.[858] In the context of locals and hunters, the reference to "climate change language" could refer to their physical and everyday experiences of climate change (and not just their communication about it).

A growing understanding of the importance of higher education and raising awareness resulted in plans to establish Inuit learning centres in Greenland (Centre for Human Rights and Indigenous Studies) and in Canada (Inuit Knowledge Center) that help Inuit address issues related to climate change.[859] Lynge furthermore envisioned continued international co-operation and climate change impact avoidance as a major benchmark for a successful post-Kyoto 2012 process. Also, he highlighted the need for inclusion of Inuit in Arctic science and research processes[860] and he acknowledged that sustainable development as a way of dealing with climate change depends on progress toward Inuit self-determination as laid out in the ICC's Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.[861] Furthermore, the ICC envisioned that decision-makers would focus on long term sustainability of climate change policies, and that decision-makers and scientists should consult with Indigenous Peoples so that Indigenous knowledge can inform their policies and studies.[862] Lynge concluded his report assuring that Inuit are optimistic and enthusiastic for the future.[863]

The ICC's regional report is a fine example of the ICC as an agent of Hybrid Peacemaking. On the one hand, the report reflects and highlights Inuit CR approaches like relationship-building,

[857] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 62.
[858] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures."
[859] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," sec. 63.
[860] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 64.
[861] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, secs. 65-67. The Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty was presented a few days after the summit at the Ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council in Norway (ibid.).
[862] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 68.
[863] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, sec. 72.

international co-operation, and sharing information (among Indigenous Peoples and with governments and scientists). Such practices naturally create a more inclusive and participatory atmosphere – concepts that are rooted in IQ.[864] The ICC recommends that decision-makers and scientists consult with Indigenous Peoples to ensure policies are informed by Indigenous Knowledge. Sharing local climate change knowledge at the summit and emphasizing the importance of such knowledge is not only an information-sharing practice, but also an act of inclusiveness. Furthermore, this practice reflects Inuit ways of learning and knowing that value subjective knowledge.[865]

The report also emphasized the importance of skills and knowledge acquisition (for Inuit youth and all other Inuit) and even resulted in the development of learning centres and highlighted the importance of long-term sustainability that can be understood as ways to prepare for the future (another concept rooted in IQ). The report's intention is to educate and inform others, and Lynge's optimistic conclusion at the end is reflective of the Inuit strategy to avoid conflict and confrontation. Additionally, the ICC's report also contains recommendations for adaptation that illustrate the NGO's political realism and readiness to decolonize from within by accepting and working with the existing structures. This approach reflects the IQ concept of being open to innovation and exploration of new avenues. The fact that only the Arctic's report suggests such a hybrid approach is itself a testament to the ICC's exploration of new avenues.

[864] Laugrand and Oosten, "Transfer of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in Modern Inuit Society."
[865] Jarich Oosten and Frederic Laugrand, *Introduction: Interviewing Inuit Elders*, vol. 1 (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2012).

7.6.3 Other ICC Input

Besides the regional report, other ICC representatives also shared their insight into climate change in the Arctic. Greta Schuerch (Alaska, Inuit Circumpolar Youth Council Chair) predicted in her opening statement that the current young generation would feel the most severe impacts of climate change and that resilience and concrete actions are needed instead of complacency or just good intentions.[866] In its role as summit organizer, the ICC also engaged in sharing its knowledge and analysis in a briefing on the role of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) presented by the ICC Executive Member Violet Ford.[867] In a video keynote address, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, International Chair of ICC from 2002 to 2006, highlighted the impacts of climate change on Indigenous Peoples' health and contextualized climate change as an effect of globalization. Thus, the struggles for Indigenous Peoples are manifold: adaptation to a new reality while exposure to traumatic experiences of structural violence (e.g. through forced relocations, the tearing apart of families, sexual abuse, dog slaughter, and the collapse of the sealskin market) take place simultaneously that can generate the feeling of loss of control over their lives and led some to substance abuse or suicide. Watt-Cloutier assured that the Elders' wisdom, Inuit life skills, and the connection to land (and its resources) are crucial for Inuit to be successful in the modern world, and she encouraged Inuit to find ways of living and balancing both realities. She continued to point

[866] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, "Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change," 16–17.

[867] She shared that, whereas the creation process to establish UNFCCC lacked Indigenous participation and consultation, the CBD was among the first environmental treaties with Indigenous Peoples' participation. Many parties to the CBD are also UNFCCC parties. Importantly, she pointed out that signatories to the CBD have agreed to protect Indigenous Peoples' dependency on biological diversity and their unique role for the conservation of life on the planet (article 8[j]). She pointed out that Inuit in Canada already make use of their Indigenous knowledge with regards to climate change (e.g. hunters finding new hunting and travel routes, adaptation to shifting animal migration routes, and introduction of new species). Ford also highlighted the urgency for Indigenous Peoples to participate in climate change processes now and that they "cannot wait for climate change process to recognize them" (Ibid). Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, secs. 274–279.

out that global consciousness of the interconnectedness of climate change causes and impacts is growing, which resulted in the eventual adoption of UNDRIP. The Inuk leader also discussed the ICC Canada's work and submission of the human rights petition in December 2005. The petition's new approach of linking climate change to human rights was soon picked up by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, who pointed out that climate change can impact different rights and recommended a human rights approach in future dealings with climate change. Watt-Cloutier spoke of "reframing the debate" around implementing UNFCCC, and of the need to "reshape negotiations" to include Indigenous wisdom and knowledge, to "rethink our practices" to ensure a focus on long-term impacts of development programs, and to ensure that the harmful approaches practiced in the rest of the world are also avoided in Inuit Nunaat. So-called "green technologies" currently being discovered by the southern world have always been part of the ways of Indigenous Peoples, thus, sustainable development in the north needs to be centred on the people and focus on the future. She concluded her speech by reminding everyone of the importance of preserving human rights and the Indigenous spirit's potential for realizing sustainability.[868]

The 2009 summit and resulting declaration mark several important milestones in the ICC's climate change advocacy. First, the fact that the ICC invited the world's Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous representatives to a large gathering in the Arctic to discuss climate change has symbolic relevance, and it also shows the ICC's capacity to realize a large-scale international event. Thus, the ICC has positioned itself as an important and well-known international actor in the realm of climate change. Second, the link between climate change and human rights, established for the first time in the ICC's petition in 2005, is mentioned several times in the Anchorage Declaration. This indicates that the ICC's original line of argumentation is now

[868] Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, secs. 172-180.

supported by Indigenous Peoples globally. Third, summit participants have managed to channel their concerns and recommendations through a strong and comprehensive declaration that contains recommendations for concrete actions. Fourth, a close look reveals that the ICC is beginning to more strongly highlight the importance of the local communities, on the one hand for gaining insights into climate change perceptions and adaptation strategies (when Lynge pointed out in the regional report that local communities contain the most important climate change language). On the other hand, the ICC also pointed out the importance of sharing knowledge with local communities when they recommended the need for more translation of research findings into Indigenous languages. Fifth, a careful study of the summit documentation and the Anchorage Declaration reveals the ICC's practice of Hybrid Peacemaking approaches to climate change: the regional report calls for a mix between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways in responding to climate change. Watt-Cloutier recommends finding a way of balancing Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways as a prerequisite for a successful life. The ICC combined Inuit pre-contact CR approaches of co-operation, sharing information, skills and knowledge acquisition, innovative approaches, relationship-building to develop a strong and united Indigenous Peoples voice (where the metaphor of a drum resonates here again). The Anchorage Declaration is an example of the Inuit CR approach of building consensus, but at the same time the formats of briefing and declaration are Western diplomatic forms of dealing with a conflict. Also, addressing nation-states reflects the ICC's acknowledgement of and adaptation to the current world order. One year after the summit, the ICC held its next GA in Nuuk and published its most recent Circumpolar Arctic Policy.

7.7 Climate Change as a Food Security Issue (2010)

The ICC GA Nuuk declaration 2010 marks a considerable change. The focus has shifted from climate change as an overall issue to more specific matters resulting from climate change. And while the previous GA declaration outlined the increasing accessibility of the northern sea route in more detail, the 2010 declaration refers more generally to the "melting of ice in the Inuit homeland" that the ICC observes with growing concern and fear. Interestingly, the same paragraph also discusses Inuit adaptability and pragmatism in dealing with the challenges caused by climate change, stating that "Inuit have a history of finding resources within their communities and elsewhere to adapt and meet challenges created by change."[869] Of the fifty-four sections, only three (38–40) directly relate to climate change. The declaration points out the continuance of Inuit environmental stewardship, and that the ICC shall aim at "promoting a healthy and abundant source of renewable resources for Inuit tomorrow."[870] And, while the protection ofInuit rights to Arctic seas, coasts and waterways as well as the means to prevent damages to Inuit waters are discussed in sections 33 to 35 (followed by two sections dealing with Inuit health and well-being) climate change enters the declaration for the first time in section 38, where Inuit food security is described as threatened by the effects of climate change and by contaminants and regulatory decisions on various Arctic animals. Thus, the declaration urges the ICC to link Inuit food security to all its health- and climate change-related work.[871] In sections 39 and 40, the ICC is instructed to continue with all efforts to address anthropogenic climate change and to find ways to adapt to the "new Arctic reality," for example by working towards an inclusion of Inuit communities in the

[869] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Nuuk Declaration - Inoqatigiinneq, Sharing Life" (Nuuk, 2010), 2.
[870] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 19.
[871] Inuit Circumpolar Council, secs. 33-38.

suggested $20 billion International Climate Change Adaptation Fund.[872] In section 40, the ICC is instructed to continue its regional, national, and international efforts to reduce emissions of contaminants that bio-accumulate in the Arctic and to "engage in activities that advance and strengthen the provisions of international instruments" like the Stockholm Convention, the International Agreement on Mercury Pollution (under negotiation at the time), and the 1972 Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter.[873]

Again, in 2010, the ICC shows consistency as a Hybrid Peace agent. Its work is guided by typical pre-contact Inuit CR tools and IQ concepts (environmental stewardship, working cooperatively towards a common goal, engaging in relationships and alliances) and also by engaging with Western peacemaking traditions that encompass advocacy among governments for existing conventions and agreements. But, the Nuuk Declaration did not remain the only important ICC document in 2010. It also released the third revised and updated version of its Inuit Arctic Policy.

7.7.1 The Inuit Arctic Policy (1983, 1992, 2010)

At the GA in 1983 it was decided that a comprehensive policy document should be developed that includes "all matters affecting the Inuit and our circumpolar homeland."[874] The goal was to provide guidelines for further action to protect the northern environment and to ensure the

[872] Adaptation Fund, "Adaptation Fund," Adaptation Fund, accessed July 16, 2019, https://www.adaptation-fund.org/about/"The Adaptation Fund finances projects and programmes that help vulnerable communities in developing countries adapt to climate change. Initiatives are based on a country's needs, views, and priorities. The Adaptation Fund was established under the Kyoto Protocol of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, and since 2010 has committed US $564 million to climate adaptation and resilience activities, including supporting 84 concrete adaptation projects" (Ibid.).
[873] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Nuuk Declaration - Inoqatigiinneq, Sharing Life," sec. 40.
[874] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy" (Montreal: Centre for Northern Studies and Research, McGill University, 1992), 2.

survival of the "distinct identity and values of Inuit."[875] In the Inuit Arctic Policy's first three-page version (1983), the ICC bears witness to the "degradation of the Arctic environment and pollution threat" and commits to taking every necessary step to protect the "fragile Arctic environment, sea and land" by "taking into account" noise, biological, and chemical pollution.[876] Although climate change is not mentioned in the 1983 document, it calls on the ICC to enhance environmental protection. After this first basic outline,[877] the ICC issued two revised versions of the document in 1992 and 2010 to reflect the changes and new developments in Inuit Nunaat. Over the years, the Inuit Arctic Policy has become an important position paper on Inuit concerns, viewpoints, and values in the areas of rights; peace; security; environment; social, cultural, and economic issues; education; and research. The ICC encourages governments and others who engage with the Arctic in their work to use the Inuit Arctic Policy.[878]

> Alfred Jakobsen emphasized the ICC's leadership on many issues in the 1992 document:
>
> ICC started the draft report on the Inuit Arctic Policy. It was called the Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy. And, at that time, the Brundtland commission also came up with its report on sustainable development, and then, later, focus on Arctic haze and pollution and the contaminants in the marine mammals, fish and other species, also came up. But, all these issues were already being dealt with by the ICC and Inuit. Those were the ones who we are actually very, very concerned about. And all these issues are now more or less global issues.

As Jakobsen points out, the ICC's PECAP almost coincided with the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987,[879] which introduced the term "sustainable development." The concepts that

[875] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 2. The 1992 document compiled all previous ICC resolutions and principles as well as results from two workshops held in 1985 and 1988 (Ibid.).
[876] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Resolutions 1983," sec. 83.30.2.
[877] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, sec. 30. The 1983 call for an ICC Circumpolar Arctic Policy did not mention the term "climate change" but mentioned that the ICC is committed to take every necessary step to protect the fragile Arctic environment (sec. 30.2).
[878] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)," 1001.
[879] World Commission on Environment and Development, "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future (Brundtland Report)" The Brundtland Report called "Our Common Future" was released by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which was sponsored by the UN and led by the Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland. "The report laid the foundations for the Rio Summit, held in Rio de

underlie sustainable development (environmental stewardship, respect and care for the environment, and keeping the future generations in mind) are important cultural values among Inuit. As pointed out in the document's introduction, PECAP were likely the first extensive policy recommendations on a large array of Arctic-related subjects,[880] and although the 54-page document (1992) does not mention climate change yet, the term "sustainable" (in relation to the use of resources and development) is used eleven times. Furthermore, the document acknowledges the IRCS for Inuit aiming at the protection of "essential ecological processes and life-support systems" and ensuring the "sustainable use of species and ecosystems."[881]

Compared to the two earlier versions, the 2010 Inuit Arctic Policy substantially developed the field of climate change.[882] Not only did the ICC accumulate and share more knowledge about the complex and interconnected aspects of climate change, but the paper also outlines several concrete actions for the ICC that target governments, the international community, other NGOs, and researchers. Among the six issues discussed in the 121-page document,[883] environmental issues rank second, and climate change in the Arctic is featured prominently as the first theme within the chapter. In twenty-one points, the ICC lays out that the "dangerous climate change that will adversely affect Inuit livelihoods" needs to be prevented. Highlighting the Arctic's importance in the world and to climate change, the paper recommends political decision-makers consider "minimizing climate change impacts on the Arctic as one of the key benchmarks for effectiveness."

Furthermore, the ICC voices its concern about the "health of the Arctic environment,"

Janeiro in 1992, which then ultimately led to the creation of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development that same year" (Ibid.); Michelle E. Jarvie, "Brundtland Report," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Brundtland-Report.

[880] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy," 2.

[881] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 33.

[882] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, "Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy"; Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy."

[883] The other five issues are: Rights, peace, security; social issues; cultural issues; economic issues, and educational and scientific issues (Ibid.).

which is the foundation for Inuit livelihood ("culture, health, spirituality, and economy") but also for Earth's well-being. The development of a post-2012 agreement "that will stabilize greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations at 350 parts per million by volume, in order to ensure that long-term temperature increases will remain as close to 2 degrees Celsius, as possible" is recommended. One of ICC's tasks is helping international organizations "recognize the impact of climate change on Inuit" and to "put resources in place to help Inuit adapt." Also, the ICC calls for the recognition of traditional knowledge and asks the UN, the IPCC, and researchers to develop an "assessment on climate change and Indigenous peoples" that acknowledges the importance of traditional knowledge in decision-making processes and in research. The ICC also calls on the international community, especially the G20 countries, to establish an International Climate Change Adaptation Fund, financed by the G20 countries to help Indigenous Peoples […] to adapt to the inevitable changes and to accelerate technology transfer." The ICC argues that Arctic communities, which are already significantly impacted by climate change, should receive direct financial support for adaptation measures. The ICC suggests urging global leaders to commit to providing significant funding. It furthermore recommends the decision-making and funding "must be devolved to the lowest possible level (i.e. communities)" and should also include the right to free, prior, and informed consent as outlined and adopted in UNDRIP. The policy paper also recommends that Inuit "call upon the international community for funds to ensure that all countries participate in the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions including Short Lived Climate Forcers (SLCF) such as Black Carbon." Adaptation assistance (and financing) is also understood as supporting "appropriate, small-scale, green energy technology" to maintain healthy communities. The ICC recommends that Inuit adapt and creatively develop "healthy, sustainable, self-governing communities" in the areas of food security, housing shortages, unemployment, and chronic health

issues. Costs of living should also be addressed in any adaptation strategy. The paper also highlights the need for active engagement in UNFCCC, CBD, UNPFII, the AC and international science bodies (e.g. ICSU, IASC, IASSA) to ensure the reflection of Inuit perspectives and knowledge in these mechanisms and resulting policies.[884]

As climate change is likely to increase marine transportation, the ICC recommends creating "rules for international marine coordination in the Arctic on safety, emissions, and infrastructure," and that Inuit should work closely with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and the International Maritime Organization (IMO). The document points out the Ilulissat Declaration 2009 as a starting point to address these issues. Moreover, the ICC recommends making efforts to ratify UNCLOS and continue participating in COP conferences, and it advocates for greater respect for existing international human, cultural, and Indigenous rights documents.[885] Also, the ICC works to ensure "that any international agreements on climate change recognize the unique cultural, economic and physical issues faced by Inuit in adapting to climate change." And, it is recommended that the ICC encourages governments and organizations to "develop policies that would coordinate the Arctic states' research programs on climate change." The ICC highlights that the Inuit—as Arctic inhabitants—should "be involved in and can contribute significantly to the issues of Arctic Sovereignty as well as development and management of renewable and non-renewable resources, boundaries, tourism, food security and environmental concerns" and in weather-observing stations and field stations.[886]

Climate change is also referenced in many other chapters of the 2010 Inuit Arctic Policy:

[884] Inuit Circumpolar Council. Inuit Arctic Policy, 2010.
[885] UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); International Covenants of 1966 on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, 1989 (No. 169), UNDRIP, 2007.
[886] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy," sec. 3.

environmental protection is described as a "fundamental objective" of the Arctic Policy, and that the "right to a safe and healthy environment is an emerging human right" that is "especially important for Inuit," who call it their responsibility and their right to protect the Arctic environment.[887] It also highlights the global impact of Arctic environmental changes, because environmental problems are globally interrelated, and it thus calls for a holistic and inclusive approach in dealing with the conflict.[888] Any development project should respect the care of the natural environment and be preceded by impact assessment procedures (provided that Inuit gave their free, prior, and informed consent and that they participate in all aspects of the project), and initiatives to protect the Arctic environment are recognized as economic opportunities for Inuit (who should receive specialized training to enhance their qualifications for these jobs).[889] The document further calls for the development of an Arctic Environmental Bill of Rights that strives to protect the "quality of human life and stewardship of the natural environment." It includes the right to "a reasonable level of environmental quality based on Indigenous rights, individual and collective rights of Inuit to lands and resources and the right to be compensated for damage to their culture and to the Arctic environment and its resources upon which they depend." Moreover, the document recommends Inuit participation in the development of national environmental standards, and in situations where the "burden of proof should be shifted to the polluter." It also calls for the provision of funding for Inuit and other groups for environmental and social impact assessment processes and for the development of environmental standards, and it suggests the creation of legislative standards to ensure that courts can review actions by agencies who are supposed to protect the Arctic environment.[890] It even goes a step further by suggesting that crimes against the

[887] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 26, point 1, 2.
[888] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 27, 28, point 3, 7.
[889] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 27, points 8 to 11.
[890] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 28, points 12 and 13.

environment should be punished on the regional, national, and international levels.[891] Moreover, the Arctic Policy declares concern about transnational pollution's impact on the Arctic, highlighting the necessity for international co-operation and management to support existing international agreements (e.g. on contaminants and acid rain), to create international monitoring agencies to measure national environmental protection performances, to develop binding procedures for transnational environmental conflicts, and to promote research and to develop Arctic-wide impact assessment procedures.[892]

Because climate change severely impacts Inuit subsistence practices (hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering) which are, as a way of life and as a means of communicating with the natural world, crucial for their cultural and physical well-being, the Artic Policy highlights Inuit collective and individual subsistence rights over Arctic land and marine areas, including renewable resources like hydro-power.[893] The Policy paper further emphasizes the dangerous impacts of climate change on Arctic fresh water resources through acid snow and rain, POPs, and mercury pollution that are mostly produced outside the Arctic. The ICC directs governments to pay more attention to these dangerous new threats and to develop "stronger initiatives at all levels." To deal with water- and airborne transboundary pollution, the ICC is instructed—in the section on Fresh Water Use and Management—to protect the Arctic environment from POPs and heavy metals through lobbying governments to enact national legislation and to implement and promote international agreements to limit or eliminate "harmful environmental damage and resulting human health problems in the Arctic." In concrete terms, governments should be lobbied to ratify (if they have not yet done so), and to convince other nation-states to ratify, the 1998 POPs Protocol

[891] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 28, point 14.
[892] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 29, points 15 and 16.
[893] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 29, points 1 and 2.

to the UN/ECE LRTAP, the 2001 Stockholm Convention, and the 1997 Kyoto Protocol that followed the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change. The document also acknowledges the Arctic air pollution through fine dust and vapours from other continents and, thus, demands "access to adequate and reliable information on transboundary sources of pollution […] through greater international co-operation, such as the UN International Repository for Potentially Toxic Chemicals."[894]

The chapter on "Arctic Marine Use and Management" also touches on climate change. Marine life (plants, fish, mammals, birds, and shellfish), as the main source of Inuit subsistence economy, ensures the survival and health of Inuit culture, society, and spirituality. However, marine life is negatively impacted by the sea ice's movement, formation, melting, and the extent of the sea ice cover caused by climate change. As a result, the ICC demands the protection of sea ice "as a habitat and platform for marine mammals," and that decision-makers adequately recognize the importance of sea ice to Inuit for harvesting, travelling, camping, and for recreational reasons. It suggests the development of an Arctic sea ice policy protecting the sea ice and polynyas, which are important for marine life and Inuit culture and subsistence economy, that factors in the impact of climate change on the sea ice.[895]

In the area of Arctic Marine Transportation, the policy document elaborates on the domino effect of climate change causing warmer temperatures which, in turn, allows for longer ice-free periods in the Arctic waters and waterways. This attracts new agents to the region who seek to use the ice-free corridor (that was previously impossible to navigate) for their touristic, scientific, or economic exploration. Combined with innovations in marine technology, this has led to intensified Arctic marine traffic and a multitude of new challenges for Inuit, including additional challenges

[894] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 38-40, NaN, 12-14.
[895] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 3, pg. 40-45.

like vessel noise, potential oil spills and oil pollution, ship tracks, and their impact on marine mammal migration and Inuit subsistence economy. Thus, the Arctic Policy acknowledges the AC's and other international fora's steps on issues like navigation safety, environmental monitoring, search and rescue, disaster response, and scientific co-operation and highlights the need to consult Inuit in all these matters with regards to the Arctic Ocean.[896] Moreover, the document instructs the ICC to study the cultural, environmental, and socio-economic impacts of the opening of the Arctic Ocean, the Northwest Passage, and other waterways on Inuit communities and to participate actively in the AC's work related to these waterways. The AC's work should be communicated by the ICC to the local and regional organizations. More research on pollution caused by marine transportation is required that includes "direct Inuit participation at all stages and the use of traditional knowledge."[897]

The Arctic Policy also touches on climate change in the section on Social Issues with regards to Health and Social Wellbeing where it is laid out that a holistic understanding of health (including physical, emotional, psychological, and spiritual well-being) demands that environmental and cultural factors need to be taken into consideration.[898] It also highlights that the right to health includes the "protection against external risks likely to endanger health," such as environmental health risks in the Arctic. The document warns that a lack of control and the

[896] Moreover, the ICC recommends improved safety measures while (un-)loading oil or chemical shipments to allow for "early detection of spills." Furthermore, the ICC recommends improvements of ship designs (oil tankers should have double hulls and tankers in general should be reinforced), a charge for tankers that do not meet national standards, prohibition of unnecessary tanker traffic in the Arctic, a registration system for tankers traveling in the Arctic, the need to develop updated Arctic "navigational and hydrographic charts," better mapping of the waterways, equipment of coastal communities with emergency equipment to be able to respond to oil or chemical spills, investigations into the scope of harm done by oil spills on the environment, development of technologies for clean-up of oil spills, "strict liability for ship owners and oil drilling rig owners for ocean pollution," the ability for Inuit to sue for damages done in the Arctic environment, ensuring that national governments recognize the Inuit right to full compensation from marine pollution damages (Ibid.).
[897] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy," sec. 3, pg. 45-48.
[898] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 4, pg. 51, section 2.

containment of environmental contaminants to prevent diseases could severely impact Inuit development as a people but also individually.[899] The policy paper further points out that Inuit have the "right to develop a balanced and diversified Arctic economy" which includes subsistence economies. Subsistence practices are an important part of Inuit economy but also of Inuit cultural development and, as such, are interconnected with Arctic environmental protection.[900] Moreover the ICC requests that Arctic nation-states and other developed countries take necessary steps to end the release of toxic chemicals into the world's oceans.[901]

Besides the focus on primary impacts of climate change, the ICC also acknowledges secondary challenges caused by a warming climate. Thus, the document instructs the ICC to study the cultural, environmental, and socio-economic impacts of the opening northern sea routes on Inuit communities, (particularly in the AC) and ensure that results are shared with Inuit through local and national Inuit organizations.[902] Acknowledging that melting permafrost threatens the stability of airport runways, the NGO suggests updated safety features in such areas.[903]

The Arctic Policy is an important ICC position paper. Increased knowledge and experience with climate change have led to increased concerns and a higher number of recommendations in the 2010 document than previously noted. The document particularly emphasizes the need to broaden the climate change discussion to include traditional knowledge; expand on concepts of sovereignty; make funding available to support Indigenous Peoples, new technologies, and adaptation strategies; the right for compensation for damages to the Arctic environment as well as

[899] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 4, pg. 52, section 10 and 11.
[900] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 5, pg. 65, point 3; Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 5, pg. 80, point 8.
[901] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Arctic Policy," sec. 5, pg. 88, point 8.. The ICC criticizes the delivery of toxic products like PCBs and chlordane (pesticide) to "less developed countries that are not in a position to properly store and dispose of toxic substances." Due to their bioaccumulation in the Arctic Ocean, marine mammals, and eventually Inuit, will be exposed to these dangerous chemicals through their food chain, creating serious health problems among Inuit and possibly leading to the extinction of some marine mammals (Ibid.).
[902] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 5, pg. 82, point 22.
[903] Inuit Circumpolar Council, sec. 5, pg. 86, point 6.

punishment for "crimes against the environment," and the human right to a healthy and safe environment. It highlights the importance of the Arctic and Arctic climate change for the world, and it also notes the need to create sustainable communities and to communicate the high-level work to the regional and local levels. As such, the document offers the ICC's unified position on climate change (reflecting the Inuit CR concept of consensus decision-making), but it is also intended that the policy's positions find their way to binding policy making on the national and international level.

2010 was an important year for the ICC as it issued two policy papers. It marks the time when the ICC begins connecting climate change with issues related to food security, and voices the need for financial support for various adaptation strategies. The two documents also emphasize the need for increased knowledge acquisition and the importance of the Arctic for the whole world, adding a sense of urgency to develop or maintain climate change mechanisms in the Arctic. Finally, the papers point out the need to include Inuit traditional knowledge in all climate change-related processes, ensuring the acknowledgement and inclusion of Inuit wisdom—a point that will continue to resonate in the future. All these aspects (inclusivity, co-operation towards a common goal, knowledge- and skill acquisition and sharing, communication and relationship-building with communities, international organizations and governments, and caring for other people reflect Inuit CR approaches. However, issuing a policy paper to influence decision-makers by advocating for political changes, financial support, and ratifying documents, suggesting the development of new policy papers[904] and demanding rights and urging for punishment for "crimes against the environment," are very Western-based—and rather confrontational—approaches that reflect the increased urgency to deal with the conflict. Thus, a closer look at the Arctic Policy paper reveals

[904] E.g..an Arctic Environmental Bill of Rights, International Climate Change Adaptation Fund, an Arctic sea ice policy.

the ICC's work as a Hybrid Peace agent.

This position paper leaves no question about the ICC's perception of climate change as structural violence that insults Inuit human needs (for survival, well-being, identity, and freedom[905]) and exposes the Inuit to unequal life chances[906] and disadvantages[907] the Inuit compared to others who benefit from climate change. Existing economic, political, and social structures (regulated by governments) deprive Inuit in a systematic way of satisfying their needs, and these structures violate their human rights as well. As an everyday reality of structural violence, the effects of climate change are everyday violence for Inuit. As the Arctic Policy makes clear, the effects of climate change are manifold and create conditions that hinder Inuit from their self-realization—another consequence of structural violence.[908] As a non-state nation and national minorities, Inuit are also exposed to structural violence through "denied access to political, economic, social and other resources typically enjoyed and controlled by the majority in-group, primarily because of the former's involuntary status as minorities."[909] This reality explains the ICC's tireless advocacy work among governments.

7.8 Adaptation to climate change (2014–present)

Similar to the 2010 declaration, the ICC's 2014 GA Declaration indicates that Inuit are a resilient and resourceful people capable of adapting to environmental challenges. It also recognizes the importance of food security and Inuit well-being, and it cautions about the dangerous effects

[905] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 292; Human needs are genetically developed, constant, and common to all humankind (Ibid.) Christie, "Reducing Direct and Structural Violence," 316; Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 20.
[906] Ho, "Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation," 4.
[907] Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," 175.
[908] Parsons, 175.
[909] Sandole, "Typology," 54.

of environmental pollution on the Arctic. The declaration's second theme focuses on environmental stewardship—a key priority for the new ICC leadership until 2018—capitalizing on the effects caused by a changing climate. In this section, the ICC is mandated to continue highlighting the human impact of climate change on Inuit, to urge for international co-operation to mitigate climate change, to "develop adaptation strategies," and to promote future renewable resource use. The section further mandates the ICC to continue its international work and efforts in the CBD, IUCN, and CITES, and that it should "advance and strengthen the provisions of international instruments" like the Stockholm Convention on POPs and the Minamata Convention on Mercury[910] to reduce global emissions of contaminants that end up in the Arctic and have negative impacts on Inuit. Acknowledging clean water as a human right, the document also mandates the ICC to lobby for "regulatory policies that protect Arctic freshwater systems from unsustainable pollution and depletion."[911]

Furthermore, climate change is woven into the issue of food security, and the ICC is instructed to promote food security in all aspects of its work and to communicate the impact of nutrition transition (caused by contaminants and climate change, as well as regulatory decisions and changes of social and economic conditions) on Inuit food security and to advocate for "improved access to sufficient Inuit traditional food sources."[912]

One year after the 2014 GA, world leaders met in Paris for another COP conference. The ICC and the Saami Council represent the Arctic Indigenous peoples in the International Indigenous

[910] UN Environment, "History," Minamata Convention on Mercury, accessed February 1, 2019, http://www.mercuryconvention.org/Convention/History/tabid/3798/language/en-US/Default.aspx. The Minamata Convention on Mercury is an international treaty to protect the environment and human health from releases of mercury (compounds) and anthropogenic emissions. It was adopted and signed in 2013 and entered into force in August 2017. Denmark, the US, and Canada have signed and ratified the convention. Russia has so far only signed it (Ibid.).

[911] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Kitigaaryuit Declaration - Ukiuqta'qtumi Hivuniptingnun, One Arctic, One Future" (Inuvik, 2014), secs. 10-12, 14, 15.

[912] Inuit Circumpolar Council, secs. 36, 37.

Peoples Forum on Climate Change (IIPFCC), established in 2008, the caucus for Indigenous Peoples at UNFCCC processes.[913] At the conference, the ICC delegation (youth and leaders from Alaska, Canada, and Greenland) negotiated to have the rights of Indigenous Peoples recognized in the Paris Agreement.[914] It also advocated for financial support for projects that enhance climate adaptation and mitigation, and lobbied for recognition of Indigenous knowledge and for an understanding of climate change as a human rights issue. This position was distributed to all national delegations in a position paper ("Inuit Call for Action from Global Leaders"). In the paper, the ICC also advocated for a threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius of global temperature increase compared to pre-industrial levels (in opposition to the generally accepted increase of 2 degrees).[915] Together with the governments of Nunavut and Greenland, the ICC also recognized in a joint statement on climate change that Inuit food security needs to be protected, that cost increases for living in the Arctic are unacceptable, and that everyone has equal rights to development.[916] Furthermore, the ICC suggests that the UN help Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples by establishing a Green Climate Fund (funded by developed nations) that allots a certain amount of money to Aboriginal peoples. The NGO also highlighted the need for community support to create

[913] "The Arctic," International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change, accessed January 20, 2019, http://www.iipfcc.org/the-arctic/; "Who Are We?"

[914] United Nations, "Paris Agreement" (Paris: United Nations, 2015), https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf The Paris agreement directs nation-states to consider the rights of indigenous peoples in their climate change actions (preamble) and that adaptation actions should take into consideration the knowledge of indigenous peoples (article 7.5) (Ibid.) .

[915] ICC, "Chair's Message. Inuit Voices Informing Action," January 2016; ICC, "Progress Made in Paris: ICC Urges Action Now" (Ottawa, Dez 2015), http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/press_release_progress_made_in_paris_icc_urges_action_now.pdf; Nunatsiaq Online, "Climate Change Linked to Human Rights, Inuit Leader Says," December 4, 2015, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674climate_change_linked_to_human_rights_inuit_leader_says/.

[916] Government of Greenland, Government of Nunavut, and ICC, "Joint Statement of Inuit Circumpolar Council, the Government of Greenland and the Government of Nunavut on Climate Change," December 8, 2015, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/joint_statement_on_climate_change_unfcc_cop21-eng.pdf; This refers to the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development where article one states that "The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized." UN General Assembly, "Declaration on the Right to Development," 1986, https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/righttodevelopment.aspx.

renewable energy to reduce its own emissions. This shows that the ICC has moved from advocating for international agreements to more concrete suggestions to help Inuit financially cope with the effects of climate change.

An ICC representative used the Paris Agreement to illustrate the different and complementary roles of the ICC and the government:

> I think that the government should first and foremost be the one that speaks for Greenland, and then the ICC speaks for the Inuit. And there's not a contradiction between Greenland and Inuit, it's just two different platforms. And, the ICC there has a different role than the government, being an Indigenous Peoples' organization working from other channels in the international arena. And, the ICC and the Greenland government does not always have to have the same opinion. But, I think it's important to be aware of how things are working and how we can work with our struggles through different channels.

Although the ICC advocated for the Paris Agreement and provided its own suggestions for change, Greenland decided not to sign it because becoming an independent country requires revenues from resource development that the Paris Agreement would limit.[917] In this case, the government and the ICC had different opinions. Because governments' positions do not always satisfy the interests of Inuit and sometimes even neglect Indigenous Peoples' issues on their broader national agendas,[918] it is crucial that the ICC in its function as an NGO understands the (international) political system and is represented there so that it can make the specific voice of Inuit heard. Moreover, one has to keep in mind that the ICC—in contrast to the Greenlandic government, for example—is not restricted on what issues it wishes to discuss. While the Greenland self-government is unable to deal with foreign affairs matters,[919] there is no reason for the ICC not to

[917] John Vidal, "Independent Greenland 'Could Not Afford' to Sign up to Paris Climate Deal," *The Guardian*, January 28, 2016, sec. Environment, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/jan/28/independent-greenland-could-not-afford-to-sign-up-to-paris-climate-deal.

[918] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 240.

[919] "Greenland Aiming to Opt Out of Paris Climate Accord," The Heartland Institute, accessed March 6, 2019, https://www.heartland.org/news-opinion/news/greenland-aiming-to-opt-out-of-paris-climate-accord. Greenlandic politicians argued that emissions limits do not keep in mind the special Greenlandic situation with longer winter months requiring more heating as well as the need to use air transportation more frequently (communities are not

bring up matters related to foreign policy if it wishes to. As such, the ICC fills a gap that the government in Greenland is unable to address at this point.[920]

COP conferences can provide opportunities for the ICC to be heard, but they can also be challenging as they remind Inuit of the status quo of the international political system, as Ineqi Kielsen remembered:

> I can call myself a Greenlander. But I have a little troubling story from last year when I was in COP 21 in Paris. I got an (access) pass to coming in to the events, and it says I'm from Denmark. I went to United Nation staff, telling that I am a representative from the Greenlandic society, Member of Parliament, I'm not from Denmark. I've never lived in Denmark. […] I told her, the United Nations staff. I'm standing here, beside the United Nations staff and they tell me that I'm still under the Danish. […] Of course, she cannot answer the question but some realities are like this—that we are not in the list of colonies, because Greenland was forced to become a part of Denmark in 1953. With which the constitutional law of Denmark was changed last time.

With Greenland being subsumed under Denmark at the COP conference, it is also the ICC's role to educate COP participants and the world about the colonial impacts in Inuit Nunaat. However, UN climate change negotiations are also platforms for the ICC to cooperate with other Indigenous Peoples around the globe as Okalik Eegeesiak discussed:

> I think the Inuit voice has been organized for a bit longer than some Indigenous organizations and our work at Marrakesh and our work at Paris last year focused on collaborating and coordinating our issues with all the Indigenous organizations and all the Indigenous regions. […] And, we fought for inclusion in both forums. And I think Marrakesh was a bit of an accomplishment where […] Indigenous organizations were given time to work together to come up with a framework on how we will be involved in the climate change discussions. So, by the next COP we should have, if we all agree, we should have some kind of framework in Indigenous participation.

The ICC, together with other Indigenous organizations, successfully lobbied at the UN Marrakesh climate negotiations in 2016 to establish a framework allowing for Indigenous organizations to

connected by roads), which results in higher CO2 emissions on the island. Thus, Greenland considered opting out from the Paris Agreement. The Danish government allows Greenland to make its own decisions with regards to emissions decisions (Ibid.).

[920] Faegteborg, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an Indigenous Organization as an Instrument of Change," 248.

formally participate in future COP negotiations.[921] The Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform was established at COP 24 in Katowice in 2018. It provides a direct connecting link between the UNFCCC and Indigenous communities. The platform is meant to allow for the sharing of experiences and best practices. Establishing a more formal representation for Indigenous Peoples at UNFCCC is indeed "a step in the right direction" (Eegeesiak), because it serves to strengthen the Indigenous voice at COP. The ICC continues to provide a strong voice for Inuit and Indigenous Peoples at COP events. Most recently, ICC representative Ruth Kaviok (National Inuit Youth Council of Canada) provided the IIPFCCs opening plenary statement, calling upon the delegates to "commit to a just transition to sustainable energy" and sharing Indigenous Peoples' commitment for co-operation "based on equal participation."[922]

The ICC also continues its work in established mechanisms to push processes of climate change mitigation further. In summer 2017, the ICC participated in the AC's Arctic Environmental Impact Assessment kick-off event in Rovaniemi, Finland. It is the ICC's merit that the AC has adopted concepts of Indigenous knowledge into its work and that the terms Traditional Knowledge, Local Knowledge and Local Traditional Knowledge have been used.[923] The two-year project (Arctic Environmental Impact Assessment) was initiated by the AC's SDWG.[924]

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[921] "New UN Platform to Boost Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities' Climate Action," United Nations, 2017, https://unfccc.int/news/new-un-platform-to-boost-indigenous-peoples-and-local-communities-climate-action. "In the climate conference (COP 22) held in Marrakech in November 2016, Parties decided to adopt an incremental and participatory approach to developing the local communities and Indigenous peoples platform" (Ibid.).

[922] Ruth Kaviok, "Opening Plenary Statement, COP 24" (Kattowice, 2018), https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5627862ce4b07be93cfb9461/t/5c2a07004ae2379d322ecd95/1546258177430/INDIGENOUS+PEOPLES+INTERNATIONAL+FORUM+ON+CLIMATE+CHANGE+OPENING+PLENARY+STATEMENT+FINAL.pdf.

[923] "ICC Greenland Newsletter."

[924] "The project aims at providing Arctic-specific EIA recommendations that can be applied in the vulnerable and changing Arctic environment, taking into account the Indigenous peoples and other inhabitants living there. Since economic activities are likely to increase in the Arctic, the role of EIA in the project planning will be increasing. Mapping good practices, sharing experiences, learning from each other, and co-creating recommendations form the core of the project." Sustainable Development Working Group, "Arctic EIA Project, Newsletter," 2018, https://www.sdwg.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Arctic_EIA_newsletter01.pdf.

In the 2018 Utqiagvik Declaration, climate change continues to be interwoven into various other sections, indicating that climate change infiltrates various aspects of life. In the preamble, the declaration highlights the ICC envisioning a future that is respectful of Inuit health and wellbeing as well as the importance of food security for "Inuit identity and way of life" which requires a healthy environment. This encompasses, among other issues, food access and availability as well as mental and physical health. Because of the crucial nature of food security, the ICC is committed to endorsing and promoting it in all aspects of its work.[925]

As emphasized in previous declarations, the Utqiagvik Declaration continues to direct the ICC to "enhance Inuit participation and capacity" in various international organizations and fora, among them UNEP and the WHO. Furthermore, the ICC is directed to closely monitor the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals[926] in other countries and to ensure

[925] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want" (Utqiagvik, 2018), 1.

[926] UN Sustainable Development Goals, "Sustainable Development Goals," accessed December 5, 2018, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300; United Nations, "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (New York: United Nations, 2015), http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E. The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) have been adopted by all UN members in September 2015 and came into effect on January 1, 2016. The document's aim is to build on and complete the Millennium Development Goals. Its 17 goals and 169 associated targets provide a "shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future." The document acknowledges climate change as "one of the greatest challenges of our time," having negative impacts on nation-states' ability to achieve sustainable development and threatening the survival of societies and the global biological support system (section 14). It holds up the UNFCCC as the major international negotiation forum to develop a global response to climate change, urging for international co-operation to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions and to find ways of adaptation to the impacts of climate change, noting with deep concern the discrepancy between nation-states' mitigation pledges to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases by 2020 and pathways with a higher likelihood of holding the average global temperature increase below 2 or 1.5 degrees Celsius "above pre-industrial levels" (section 31). The document also mentions the at the time upcoming COP conference in Paris (Only a few months after the adoption of the SDG, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change was adopted in December 2015), indicating hope for an "ambitious and universal climate agreement" that shall address "in a balanced manner, inter alia, mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology development, and transfer and capacity-building; and transparency of action and support" (section 32). The signatories also commit to reducing the impact of cities on the global climate system (section 34). The first goal to reduce poverty supports the development of resilience among the poor and those in vulnerable situations who are exposed to "climate related extreme events" (chapter 1.5). The second goal to achieve food security highlights the need for climate change adaptation based on "sustainable food production systems" and "resilient agricultural practices" (chapter 2.4). The document also commits to increase the number of settlements and cities adapting to climate change by 2020 (chapter 11b). But, most importantly, goal 13 entirely deals with climate change, suggesting to "take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts," which includes the strengthening of adaptation and resilience to climate-change related disasters, the inclusion of climate change actions into national policies, improvements in "education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change

that Inuit are informed about the efforts and progress made to realize the goals but also to implement the goals in Inuit Nunaat.[927]

In the next section, the declaration details the ICC's marching orders for the upcoming four years related to food security. After recognizing the fundamental importance of the Arctic resources and the hunters' ability to "harvest and process these resources" for Inuit food security and Inuit identity, and that the health of the people is connected to the health of the animals, the document acknowledges for the first time that the effects of climate change pose challenges but also opportunities for Inuit. Along similar lines, Hjalmar Dahl spoke about the negative and positive implications of climate change:

> The climate change, everybody is asking about the climate changes. Everybody is focusing on climate change, which is ok, it's important and we are also advising (…) that it's very important to be aware of the things that are changing. The hunters' and fishermen's conditions are changing and the whole infrastructure is changing because of the climate change. And, these areas have to be very much aware of the changes in regards to decide on issues on housing, infrastructural developments etc., etc. So, politically it's important to be aware of the climate change effects, how the climate change already is effecting our societies and also be in the forefront and also be aware of what we could expect in the future. It is also important to mention that for instance for south Greenland farmers, climate change is not bad for them. They are trying to develop agriculture and already are doing it. So, there are several aspects to deal with it in regards to the impacts of climate change.

Dahl points out the importance of climate change for Inuit, especially the various implications for hunters and fishermen, infrastructure, and Inuit societies as a whole that require careful attention.

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mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning," as well as the implementation of a $100 billion Green Climate Fund as discussed by the developed countries at the UNFCCC by 2020. The fund is targeted to support developing countries in their efforts to develop mitigation actions. The chapter concludes with the demand to "promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change related planning and management in least developed countries and small island developing states, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities" (chapter 13). The document also urges to further enhance Indigenous Peoples' empowerment through inclusion and participation. The document highlights the need for empowerment of vulnerable people which includes indigenous peoples (section 23), calls for the development of equitable and inclusive education opportunities for indigenous peoples (section 25, goal 4.5), acknowledges the inclusive nature of the UN preamble's phrase "we the people" for Indigenous Peoples (section 52), that the agricultural productivity and overall incomes of Indigenous peoples need to increase by 2030 through access to land, resources, knowledge, financial means, markets, and opportunities "for value addition and non-farm employment" (goal 2.3). It further lays out the need to include indigenous peoples' contributions to national SDG implementation reviews (section 79) (Ibid.).

[927] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want," secs. 8, 9.

He also mentions the need to anticipate future implications of climate change and he acknowledges that for some Greenlandic farmers the changes in the climate are positive, allowing for agricultural development. But, not everyone agrees with this view. An ICC representative criticizes the Greenlandic government for its pragmatic outlook on climate change:

> That is also one thing where I have not been agreeing with the rhetoric used by the current Greenland government where it almost sounds as if climate change is good for our development. I don't think you can ever say climate change is good. Of course we have a different reality to navigate in, but seeing overall, as an overall perspective, it affects us very much. And, I think that we should all be struggling to show the surrounding world what we can do to mitigate climate change. [...] Of course we also cause it ourselves by polluting in our near area, so, if we are not aware of what we are polluting, it's also difficult for us to demand that (from) others.

For this ICC representative, climate change cannot be good, and mitigation strategies should be realized in Greenland—to be a role model for the world and to lead by example to gain credibility. In other words, the person suggests to advance Greenland with regards to climate change mitigation strategies instead of working on adaptation plans. This is similar to some recommendations collected in Maniitsoq where it was suggested that Greenlanders need to live more environmentally friendly to lead by example. Whereas the Greenlandic government's reasons for supporting climate change adaptation might be rooted in underlying hopes for economic gain that could help realize the island's independence, the ICC does not have such an agenda. Thus, the ICC has been very critical of climate change and its impacts, and the preferred response to the conflict is reducing global warming. The NGO only recently started recommending adaptation strategies, discussing Inuit resilience and pragmatism as well as opportunities stemming from the changes.

The ICC declaration then goes on to discuss negative repercussions of climate change: the loss of multi-year sea-ice and melting permafrost can enhance the cycling of contaminants to the

Arctic with adverse effects on the food chain. Arctic warming requires adjustments of food storing and hunting strategies. The coverage and movement of sea ice has changed, permafrost is thawing, more extreme storms have been reported, animal migration patterns have changed, and new species have arrived in Inuit Nunaat. In conclusion, this means that Inuit food security depends on "holistic approaches, Inuit innovation, and depends on the capacity to mobilize governments, regional stakeholders and community residents to address the challenges faced and to move toward food sovereignty." To realize food sovereignty, Inuit need to hold management authority over their living resources. In practical terms, this means that the ICC is urged to focus on research, advocacy and regional, national, and international education about "Inuit food security priorities" to secure a traditional food supply for Inuit. The document also directs the ICC to work on aspects of food security that are tied to Inuit self-governance and includes exchange of information and experiences. To protect the environment and prevent disruption of seasonal hunting and negative impacts on marine mammal and fish stocks, the ICC is directed to lobby for the enforcement of the IMO's Polar Code[928] and other international regulations, to "advance emergency response" and to "phase out heavy fuel oil" (HFO).[929]

But, the ICC goes even further than suggesting continued participation in international fora and the monitoring of implementation strategies of international frameworks: in the section on Indigenous Knowledge, it instructs its leadership to involve appropriate international fora like the

[928] International Maritime Organization, "International Code for Ships Operating in Polar Waters (Polar Code)," n.d., http://www.imo.org/en/MediaCentre/HotTopics/polar/Documents/POLAR%20CODE%20TEXT%20AS%20ADOPTED.pdf; International Maritime Organization, "Shipping in Polar Waters. Adoption of an International Code of Safety for Ships Operating in Polar Waters (Polar Code)," accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.imo.org/en/MediaCentre/HotTopics/polar/Pages/default.aspx. The International Marine Organization Polar Code was adopted by the International Maritime Organization in 2014. The proposed international framework provides mandatory regulations that aim at the protection of the polar regions, mainly by providing shipping, ship design, and navigation regulations. The code entered into force on January 1, 2017 (Ibid.).

[929] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want," 3,4; Inuit Circumpolar Council, secs. 16-18.

UNFCCC, the IPCC, and the CBD, "in all aspects of science and research," to help advance Inuit self-determination "by promoting and contributing to activities that achieve partnership and reflects the utilization of both Inuit Knowledge and science."[930]

As stated earlier in the declaration, climate change and food security are connected. Thus, the document's section on Sustainable Wildlife Management indirectly refers to climate change when it outlines the importance of sustainable wildlife management in enhancing Inuit food security, and it reminds the reader of Inuit "rights in national and international agreements that protect Indigenous hunting and fishing activities." The document continues to explain that these human rights instruments confirm Inuit rights to self-determination,[931] including the right "to govern wildlife management," and that existing international treaties and trade bans prevent Inuit from exercising their "rights to use Arctic living resources" which, in turn, has negative repercussions for Inuit culture, economies, and health. To protect Inuit rights to hunting, fishing, and gathering, the ICC focuses on human rights instruments like UNDRIP to enhance Inuit self-determination.[932] To protect Inuit food sovereignty, the ICC supports the Circumpolar Inuit Wildlife Committee (CIWC) to speak with a united voice for a wildlife strategy. It also supports the Circumpolar Inuit Wildlife Network in enhancing international information sharing and learning about food sovereignty, Inuit rights, and wildlife management in fora like the AC's CAFF, IUCN, and the CBD. The declaration also directs the ICC to continue its participation in the CBD and to ensure that future action plans support Inuit concepts of "sustainable use of Arctic biodiversity," and it suggests that the ICC engage in the UN CITES as well as in the creation

[930] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want," sec. 28.
[931] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic," The ICC defines sovereignty as: "It is our right to freely determine our political status, freely pursue our economic, social, cultural and linguistic development, and freely dispose of our natural wealth and resources. States are obligated to respect and promote the realization of our right to self-determination" (Ibid.).
[932] Inuit Circumpolar Council, 7–8.

process of an International Union Conservation Nature Indigenous Peoples Organization, another newly founded space created for Indigenous Peoples on the international level.[933]

The biggest focus on climate change in the 2018 declaration can be found in the section dealing with the environment. The document acknowledges that the Arctic environment is undergoing "profound, rapid and unpredictable change," and that Inuit engage in research, knowledge sharing, adapting communities to the new realities, and negotiating international and bilateral agreements to eliminate the causes of climate change. Due to Inuit dependency on the land and sea, environmental sustainability is crucial for Inuit communities. But, besides the importance of the Arctic environment for its local inhabitants, the declaration also elaborates on the unique nature of the Arctic and its importance for "global climate change regulation." It goes on to highlight the ICC's unique role as an environmental advocate. When it was created over forty years ago, the ICC was the first NGO to call for "the precautionary principle"[934] and to point out how the "human rights dimension" of climate change impacts the Arctic.[935] In concrete terms, the ICC calls for the following eight actions: to ensure inclusion of Inuit views and to enhance Inuit self-determination through participation in Arctic research efforts and in high-level ministerial interactions; to highlight the "interconnectedness of drivers of change" and interrelatedness of impacts on the environment but also on health and the economy on the international level (in the EU, UN, AC, and other relevant fora); to participate in the Local Communities and Indigenous

[933] IUCN, "Strengthening Indigenous Voice and Action in Conservation," IUCN, April 18, 2018, https://www.iucn.org/news/governance-and-rights/201804/strengthening-indigenous-voice-and-action-conservation. In 2016, IUCN's Members Assembly decided to create a new category of membership for IPOs to strengthen their voice and participation in IUCN. In March 2018, the first gathering of IUCN IPOs took place in Costa Rica, and a joint strategy was drafted to provide a road map for partnership and collaboration (Ibid.).

[934] The "precautionary principle" refers to being cautious in advance to prevent harm from happening in a situation where further scientific insight (that could impact the decision) is not yet available. In this case, the ICC refers to its own early warnings of the impacts of climate change (and the ICC's recommended actions) in the absence of concrete knowledge.

[935] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want," 8–9.

Peoples Platform to enhance local communities' and Indigenous input and capacity in the UNFCCC process;[936] to enhance information exchange and knowledge-sharing across Inuit Nunaat regarding climate resilience, as well as innovation and adaptation strategies to climate change.[937] Moreover, the declaration instructs the ICC to lobby for its position on contaminants by continuously supporting the implementation and by monitoring the effectiveness of the UN Stockholm Convention, the UN Persistent Organic Pollutants Review Committee, and the UN Minamata Convention on Mercury. It also directs the NGO to acknowledge the importance of "short lived climate forcers such as black carbon" and to support respective measures (e.g., the EU Action on Black Carbon). The declaration urges the ICC to support programs that help protect the "marine ecosystems and wildlife from marine litter and micro-plastics." The declaration's last point with regards to the environment directs the ICC to lobby for the management and monitoring of the land and sea (Inuit Nunaaat) by Inuit. Furthermore, it instructs the ICC to adopt the report "People of the Ice Bridge: The Future of the Pikialasorsuaq"[938] and to task a committee with the implementation of the report's recommendations (i.e. to establish an Inuit Management Authority, an Inuit monitoring regime, and improve mobility between Greenland and Canada) with the overall

[936] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, "The Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform Becomes Operational at COP 23," accessed December 9, 2018, https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/NWPStaging/News/Pages/Inidigenous-Peoples-and-Local-Communities-Platform-Update.aspx. The Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform was initiated at COP 23 in Bonn, Germany, in November 2017.The platform's goal is to strengthen local and Indigenous experiences with and responses to climate change, to enable more holistic knowledge-sharing on climate change adaptation and mitigation, and to promote the engagement of Indigenous peoples and local communities in the UNFCCC process. In doing so, the platform aims at the strengthening and protection of Indigenous traditional knowledge and knowledge systems, the promotion of local approaches to climate change effects (including holding up the importance of free, prior, and informed consent of knowledge holders), capacity building of local communities to get engaged with the UNFCCC process, and also at building capacities among the COP parties to engage with local communities and Indigenous peoples (i.e. to implement the Paris agreement and other processes related to climate change). Furthermore, the platform's purpose is to facilitate the integration of local and Indigenous knowledge systems, innovations and practices into international action plans and policies. In general, the platform proposes "full and effective participation of Indigenous peoples," equal status of Indigenous peoples and COP parties, "self-selection of Indigenous representatives," and adequate financial support for the platform from the secretariat and through voluntary contributions (Ibid.).

[937] The document specifically mentions "monitoring the movement of animals," erosion, and community relocation.

[938] The report will be dealt with in more detail later in the chapter.

goal to enhance Inuit self-sufficiency and to align the two aspects of cultural way of life and economic development.[939]

In the section on sustainable development, the document highlights the importance of a healthy environment for healthy Inuit communities, and it directs the ICC to provide Indigenous Knowledge input to all processes of the Central Arctic Ocean Moratorium on Commercial Fisheries, and to advance within the AC a process that deals with the public infrastructure crisis in Inuit Nunaat by promoting "investment in climate resilient infrastructure."[940]

The ICC's climate change work from 2014 to today is marked by four developments. First, the ICC continues to provide input in existing mechanisms like the Arctic Council, and encourages the ratification and implementation of existing frameworks like the Paris Agreement and the Stockholm Convention. Second, it is noteworthy that the ICC has begun to focus strongly on the impact of climate change on food security, health, and well-being, which are then tied to self-determination and human rights issues that indicate the ICC is an agent of decolonization. This also illustrates how increased climate change insight led to a better understanding of the complexity and interrelatedness of the issue. The ICC furthermore advocates for a stronger inclusion of Inuit Traditional Knowledge in all aspects related to climate change. It calls for more research efforts and highlights the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of climate change impacts. Third, the ICC has moved from climate change mitigation to include adaptation, which includes concrete demands for financial compensation from climate change funds that are financed by nation-states. Adaptation and openness for new approaches (i.e. perceiving climate change as an opportunity) are typical Inuit CR approaches. Fourth, the ICC proves to be an active observer of developments on the international level, actively advocating for the inclusion of Inuit in newly

[939] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Utqiagvik Declaration - The Arctic We Want," secs. 36-43.
[940] Inuit Circumpolar Council, 10–11.

developing processes that allow Indigenous Peoples to speak with a stronger and unified voice on existing platforms like the Indigenous Peoples Organization at IUCN or the Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform at UNFCCC. It is noteworthy that Indigenous participation is increasingly implemented on the international level. Dealing with existing mechanisms, demanding their rights for development as well as financial support from governments and further institutionalizing the Indigenous voice are examples of the ICC's adaptation to the existing system that consists of nation-states as power holders and NGOs as advocacy organizations. This allows for local, Indigenous realities to enter the macro level of politics. The ICC becomes bolder when it "demands" something from governments, using (instead of avoiding) confrontative language. This is another example of how the ICC has become a peacemaking agent within the Western context. However, much of the ICC's work continues to reflect pre-contact Inuit CR approaches: its work to unite with other Indigenous groups to speak with one unified voice is a testament to the value of inclusiveness, as well as consensus decision-making. The importance of relationships and dialogue in working collaboratively towards a common and long-term goal, and increased mention of knowledge-sharing on all levels (the importance of communities is increasingly highlighted) are also testaments to the Inuit values of skill-development, and the value placed on local and individual knowledge. In sum, the ICC's most recent activities continue to reflect the Hybrid Peace model.

7.9. The ICC's Local Work

One of the pillars of the ICC's function as an advocacy organization is to present Inuit voices to a larger audience. After the ICC's international work has been described, a glimpse on

the ICC's current and ongoing work in Canada illustrates the NGO's national and local involvement. In 2016, the ITK published the "Inuit Priorities for Canada's Climate Strategy—A Canadian Inuit Vision For Our Common Future in Our Homelands" to provide the government with recommendations for its national climate strategy. Among the recommendations are: inclusion of the Inuit voice in climate policies, assistance for Inuit food security, long-term funding for Inuit-led climate change research, lowering of carbon emissions and dealing with infrastructure deficits that are worsened by climate change (for example housing, landfill, waste, and water treatment), ensuring Inuit free, prior, and informed consent for all economic development projects. The policy paper also outlined how climate change serves to exacerbate existing social risks (to food security, the built environment, physical and mental health, travel safety, family economics/self-sufficiency, culture/traditional knowledge and education).

In February 2017, the ITK and the Canadian government started the Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee, a bilateral mechanism, to reflect the shared commitment to a renewed relationship, to strengthen the relationship between both agents, and to collectively address key environmental, social, cultural, and economic issues. Besides new commitments related to education, housing, and health-related matters, the committee decided to add climate change as a priority to the existing list in 2018. "The focus of this new priority will be on Indigenous protected and conserved areas, the Indigenous Guardians Program, and taking action on climate change." After UNDRIP had been adopted by Canada in 2016, the ICC suggested using the established bilateral Inuit-Crown Partnership to allow Inuit to participate in the development of a concrete national action plan (together with other Indigenous Peoples in Canada) to implement the

declaration into the Canadian political framework. This suggestion was made by ICC Chair Okalik Eegeesiak, on behalf of the Arctic Caucus, in April 2017.[941]

To gain local insight, the NGO makes use of various avenues. Its work is informed by government studies or studies by other NGOs and also by projects (partially) funded and or carried out by the ICC itself. Most ICC representatives in Nuuk and Ottawa pointed out that, given the large-scale geographic expansion of Inuit Nunaat, the extremely high costs of travelling to and within the Arctic and the ICC's limited financial capacities, the ICC's ability to realize community projects (to collect local information) is very limited. However, the ICC remains active in searching for funding opportunities to help cover the costs of community projects that discuss local impacts of climate change and adaptation strategies—keeping in mind that such projects usually only allow for visits to a smaller number of communities. This could explain why so many research collaborators in this study could not recall ICC community visits, although Maniitsoq had recently been visited by Hjalmar Dahl in his capacity as ICC Greenland President. Panniqtuuq participated in the MSV Project 2014 (with indirect ICC involvement) for knowledge sharing, and it even hosted the first ITK gathering in the 1970s.[942] It can be argued that ICC representatives constitute community members since they have homes, relatives, and other connections to local northern

[941] "Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee Makes Progress on Shared Priorities," Justin Trudeau. Prime Minister of Canada, March 29, 2018, https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2018/03/29/inuit-crown-partnership-committee-makes-progress-shared-priorities; "Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership," Prime Minister of Canada, February 9, 2017, https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/02/09/inuit-nunangat-declaration-inuit-crown-partnership; Jim Bell, "The Inuit-Crown Agreement: Big Gesture, Uncertain Outcomes," February 14, 2017, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674the_inuit-crown_agreement_big_gesture_uncertain_outcomes/.

[942] Zacharias Kunuk and Ian Mauro, *Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change*, 2010, http://www.isuma.tv/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change/movie; Many Strong Voices, "Portraits of Resilience. Pangnirtung," 2014, http://www.manystrongvoices.org/portraits/stories.aspx?t=140; Hamlet of Pangnirtung and Engage North, "Pangnirtung, Nunavut. Catalogue of Research" (Pangnirtung, 2015), https://www.pangnirtung.ca/sites/default/files/Pangnirtung,%20Nunavut-%20Catalogue%20of%20Research-%20English%20Version.pdf.

communities they naturally represent in the ICC. In general, community visits can fulfill the dual role of collecting local knowledge and informing local Inuit about the ICC.

The ICC Greenland launched the Sila-Inuk project in 2005 to add first-hand observations and experiences from Greenlandic communities "to the collective knowledge of climate change"[943] and diversify climate change perspectives. This can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of regional similarities and variations of climate change perceptions and adaptation strategies. Ultimately, the Sila-Inuk project aims at providing decision-makers with climate change insight from Greenland's "most experienced people."[944] To realize the project, the Hunters and Fishermen's Organization in Greenland was asked to suggest interested individuals from various communities. Lene Kielsen Holm, ICC Greenland's Special Assistant on Environmental and Sustainable Development Issues, visited and spoke with a total of fifty-five individuals in twenty-three communities between 2006 and 2008. Study findings were presented at the ICC GA in Nuuk in 2010, published as a book chapter and shared on the radio—"a powerful means of communication in Greenland."[945] The ICC's 2005 human rights petition also strongly relied on local Inuit hunters' voices.

ICC Greenland also supported the Siku-Inuit-Hila project, an international and interdisciplinary project that used a hybrid approach to combine Inuit expertise with scientific knowledge. The project investigated Inuit perceptions and uses of the sea ice in Barrow (Alaska), Clyde River (Canada), and Qaanaq (Greenland). Community members served as both hosts and visitors, blurring the line between researcher and participant while allowing for the development

[943] Lene Kielsen Holm, "Sila-Inuk: Study of the Impacts of Climate Change in Greenland," in *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice: Documenting Inuit Sea Ice Knowledge and Use*, ed. Igor Krupnik et al. (New York: Springer, 2010), 146.
[944] Kielsen Holm, 156, 158.
[945] Kielsen Holm, 147, 149; Inuit Circumpolar Council, "11th General Assembly Proceedings" (Nuuk: ICC General Assembly, 2010), 24–25, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/proceedings5.html.

of relationships. The collected data was returned to the communities and the resulting analysis was published in the 2013 book *The Meaning of Ice: People and Sea Ice in Three Arctic Communities*.[946]

All the above mentioned projects combined the expertise of local Inuit with scientific knowledge, a hybrid approach favoured by Alfred Jakobsen, former ICC Greenland Executive Director:

> Inuit are residents permanently in those communities in the Arctic. They live in those communities year round. So, they know how […] the climate changes are affecting their communities. And, their knowledge and their observations are, I think, probably very appreciated by the scientific community. These two should have a close co-operation, Inuit should have a better access to help, or funding available for their offers for the opportunities to collect data or register data or, monitor temperatures, thickness of ice, something like that. And, you cannot just do these freely. Of course you can come a long way in doing volunteering work, but scientific work is paid and so should this type of collections of data, observations also be paid for. So, these two communities, the scientific community and local peoples, […] they are dependent on one another. And, as long as you can give the best opportunities for these two communities to work close then you will have better foundations for the policy makers to deal with and when these foundations are brought forward, then the decision (makers) would then also be […] better equipped in making better decisions.

Jakobsen highlights the interdependency of Inuit communities (which offers knowledge but requires payment for their input) and the scientific community (which needs to offer payment for receiving knowledge and research support). Such co-operative relationships can result in comprehensive results that serve as valuable information for decision-makers.

"Pikialasorsuaq" is the Greenlandic term (meaning "great upwelling") for the Northwater polynya shared by Greenland and Canada. A polynya is an area of open water that remains free of

[946] Henry P. Huntington, Shari Gearheard, and Lene Kielsen Holm, "The Power of Multiple Perspectives: Behind the Scenes of the Siku-Inuit-Hila Project," in *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice: Documenting Inuit Sea Ice Knowledge and Use*, ed. Igor Krupnik et al. (New York: Springer, 2010), 257–74; Shari Fox Gearheard et al., eds., *The Meaning of Ice: People and Sea Ice in Three Arctic Communities* (Hanover, NH: International Polar Institute, 2013).

ice in winter due to currents in the ocean and air.[947] The health of the polynya has a direct impact on the health of Inuit communities in the region as it is central for Inuit hunting and harvesting activities on both the Greenlandic and Canadian side. After a workshop for hunters and fishermen from both countries ("Bridging the Bay" in Nuuk in 2013), it became apparent to the ICC that the ecosystem of the Northwater polynya was seriously threatened by the effects of climate change and globalization (causing the erosion of the ice bridge that protects the polynya and leading to increased shipping, tourism, and resource development in the region). Thus, the ICC established and mandated the Pikialasorsuaq Commission in Iqaluit in 2016 to carry out consultations with communities in Greenland and Nunavut/Canada that are closely connected to the Pikialasorsuaq. Alfred Jakobsen, Commission Coordinator on the Greenlandic side, pointed out the importance of community visits to develop an Inuit-informed understanding of climate change impacts:

> We have just been on a long trip with the Pikialasorsuaq Commission to the six northernmost communities in northwest Greenland. And I got the very, very clear understanding that the local people were very, very happy to be visited by this commission and also be heard by this commission. And that makes my view stronger, my view on the need for direct dialogue, direct discussions with local people. That is, go to these communities and have these types of informational meetings but also at the same time exchange of views. That's very, very important, I think, because you can meet a lot of people directly in organizing these types of meetings. But, of course, again, it's a question of money. All of it has solely been possible because of external funding. […]
>
> So. I think it's very […] important that you have these types of meetings. Direct meetings. Of course you can produce a film, produce a video. Give information to everybody and let them have access to watch the video and be informed about this, but you need to have a reaction about that. You need to give them opportunity to ask. And then discuss directly. So, this type of exchange of knowledge but also exchange of views is very important to make a better understanding of how everything is connected, how everything is dependent on one another.

[947] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "People of the Ice Bridge: The Future of the Pikialasorsuaq. Report of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission," 2017, VIII, http://pikialasorsuaq.org/en/Resources/Reports. Polynyas "are incredibly rich, diverse areas teeming with marine life, in part as a result of the upwelling of nutrient-rich waters." The Pikialasorsuaq is the "largest polynya in the Arctic and the most biologically productive region north of the Arctic Circle" (Ibid.).

Jakobsen's understanding of the importance of direct dialogue was further strengthened during the commission's community visits. To him, direct dialogue and peoples' feedback are extremely valuable, and these aspects would get lost if replaced by video presentations of research outlines and results. Thus, the Inuit-led commission reported back in person to the participating communities with a draft of their findings and recommendations *before* it shared its findings and future recommendations in a report and in other various printed, audio and video formats in 2017. The material is "disseminated locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally to various audiences including communities, governments, decision-makers, scientists, industry" and NGOs. Currently, the commission is focussing on developing an implementation plan.[948]

The ICC's studies and reports provide decision-makers, researchers, and everyone who is interested in local Inuit insight. The strength of this material often lies in its transnational and international focus, as Hunter Tootoo outlined:

> (The ICC should) continue doing what they are doing. It's important that they focus on the work that they do, because they do research, they do studies and different things and something that specific regions can't or don't undertake on their own […] the importance of the whole circumpolar region and the Inuit in the circumpolar region. We are on the frontline to climate change. So they look at it from a global perspective.

To him, the ICC's most important task lies in the sharing of local realities on a global platform, to make the Inuit voice heard by a global audience. He acknowledges that the ICC is better equipped than local communities to share local realities, insight, and recommendations with a global audience. As such, the ICC is understood as a unique tool of communication.

[948] Inuit Circumpolar Council, X, A2-A3. The commission visited the following communities in Nunavut: Aujuittuq (Grise Fjord), Qausuittuq (Resolute Bay), Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay), Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet), Kangiqtugaaapik (Clyde River). In Greenland, the commission visited Inuit in Siorapaluk, Qaanaaq, Savissivik, Kullorsuaq, Nuussuaq, and Upernavik (p. X). The commission recommended the establishment of an Inuit-led management regime under an Inuit Management Authority, the creation of a management zone to protect the area of and around the polynya as well as the creation of "a free travel zone for Inuit" across the polynya (p. XII).

In addition to making local voices heard, the ICC also started lobbying for more decolonizing research approaches for data collection in general, as outlined in the following quote from an ICC representative:

> We really want to be more the researchers. And, research in the Arctic has a really long history of being carried out for the purposes of—I'm trying to remember what the term is—to satisfy curiosities. Yes, to learn to an extent. Even today I find there is not enough emphasis on community-based research which is, really, looking at the issues our communities are facing. And what we need to look at in order to address them. Right now, what we are looking at because of climate change is this oh well we have to do this research and collect this data and information for global good. Which I find is, and this is my personal opinion, somewhat immoral. You can't spend hundreds of millions of dollars investigating all around these communities in crisis.

It is important that research related to Inuit and climate change is beneficial for the communities involved (particularly because so many Inuit communities are challenged by climate change), not just for the global good. This understanding guides the ICC's research strategy and is reflected in the examples discussed above that can be termed decolonizing research, because the research was initiated by community members, and local Inuit served as researchers during the projects. Also, the ICC's work in high-level research projects keeps local Inuit in mind. In 2011, the AC directed the Senior Arctic Officials "to review the need for an integrated assessment of multiple drivers of Arctic change as a tool for Indigenous Peoples, Arctic residents, governments and industry to prepare for the future." This mandate eventually resulted in the creation of the flagship project "Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic" (AACA). AACA is led by AMAP in co-operation with the AC's permanent participants, other working groups, international organizations, and other stakeholders.[949] Acknowledging that previous assessments of climate change tended to focus on single drivers of change (like POPs, health, or development) that did not respond to a growing need to understand interactions and cumulative effects of such drivers of change on local

[949] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), "Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic," 2019, https://www.amap.no/adaptation-actions-for-a-changing-arctic-part-c.

populations, AACA set out to fill that gap in knowledge. This interdisciplinary, transnational, culturally diverse, and inclusive project aimed at breaking new ground by creating a "comprehensive knowledge base on how the drivers of the rapidly changing Arctic interact."[950]

Parnuna Egede (PhD Fellow at ICC Greenland) and Stephanie Meakin (Senior Science Advisor at ICC Canada) were two of a total of four official advisers to AACA's Executive Leadership, for whom they participated in the development of the three regional reports.[951] Egede reflected:

> I have been quite involved with the Arctic Council project called AACA, Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic. And, I have been part of both the integration team which is at the coordinating committee you could say. And then also the regional implementation team for the David Strait/Baffin Bay pilot project. And, there one of the ICC's focus in this project has been that whatever actions this project is developing as a suggestion to how to adapt and manage climate change, is that those actions should be possible on a more local level. It should be useful for communities [...], it should be possible for them to learn about the changes happening in their region and know how they can prepare, and make adaptation actions on a more local scale. So, I hope we've contributed with something that will be more directly beneficial for local communities.

Representing the ICC as an AC Permanent Participant, Egede ensured that local communities would benefit from the reports by learning about the regional changes and local adaptation strategies. This effort demonstrates that the ICC not only reports the voices of Inuit to the national and international levels, but also that the ICC advocates for the development of locally relevant solutions to the climate change problem. Given that AACA's final results (from three Arctic regions as well as a pan-Arctic assessment) were presented at the 2017 Ministerial Meeting to allow decision-makers and stakeholders to make more informed and timely decisions regarding the Arctic, the ICC's effort to produce a paper with local relevance directly translated into the reports that ended up in the hands of decision-makers. As these more recent examples illustrate:

[950] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP).
[951] Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP). The three regional reports covered the following geographic areas: the Baffin Bay/Davis Strait Region, Barents Region, and Bering/Chukchi/Beaufort Region (Ibid.).

the ICC emphasizes and values local knowledge in its work. Although financial and geographic challenges restrict its work, the NGO manages to realize projects that are informed by local Inuit.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter described the ICC's climate change work in the 21st century. The first half decade of the NGO's activism helped further shape the climate change debate, particularly the ICC's defining of climate change as a human rights issue that was initially rejected by the IACHR but was later accepted and included in other agents' climate change activism. The ICC has been very engaged in the new millennium by enhancing co-operation among Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples to strengthen the Indigenous voice in the conflict around climate change through the Many Strong Voices project, Arctic Wisdom event, and the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change. It engaged in the co-creation of a new international body, the UNPFII, that further allows for Indigenous co-operation and serves as a good example of the ICC's attempt to remodel and decolonize existing (nation-state-centric) structures. Another important aspect of the ICC's work involves the collection of information among local Inuit and the sharing of information with a larger audience—in the Arctic Policy, the Anchorage Declaration and in the Regional Report (2009), for example. The ICC has also been active in publishing and making its insight available, (e.g. in the Inuit priorities, the book *The Meaning of Ice*, and the Pikialasorsuaq Commission's final report. It is also noteworthy that the ICC's discussion of climate change not only added a human rights dimension to the debate, but that the NGO also shaped the perception of climate change as a food security issue. Acknowledging the fast pace of climate change and realizing some potentially beneficial side effects, the ICC also argues more strongly for climate change adaptation than it did previously (when it focused more strongly on

mitigation). It also continues to engage with national governments and to collect local insight where possible (e.g. the Sila Inuk project [2005], the Many Strong Voices project [2014], and the Pikialasorsuaq Commission [2016]).

This chapter has shown that the ICC's international work reflects Hybrid Peace as it continuously combines pre-contact Inuit CR approaches while also establishing itself within the existing political structure and allowing the NGO to shape the structure. To a certain degree, the ICC's/ITK's work is informed by local realities (although there is room for expanding this work more), which reflects the Inuit values of knowledge-sharing (with decision-makers, which reflects the ICC's acceptance of and adaptation to the political system), relationship-building and dialogue, and working co-operatively. The end of this chapter marks the transition of focus from the ICC to the local communities. So far, the ICC's analysis has been able to illustrate the NGO as an agent of Hybrid Peace. The next chapter will discuss local Inuit's perceptions of the ICC, and this will be contrasted with the ICC's self-perception and climate change work. Adding local perspectives to this analysis is necessary for the development of a holistic and inclusive analysis of the ICC on both the macro and micro level.

Chapter 8
"I wish I knew more about the ICC"[952]
Community Perceptions of the ICC and its Climate Change Work

After the previous three chapters have provided an analysis of the ICC's self-perception and its diverse climate change work since its creation in the 1970s, the focus now moves from the ICC key informants and documents to the research findings collected in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuut where community members shared their thoughts about and perceptions of the NGO. This chapter shares community members' voices who discussed the ICC as a generally helpful organization for Inuit but who also mentioned lacking connections between the NGO and their communities, which resulted in the perception of the ICC as a "one way street." This chapter also discusses community members' more specific perception of the ICC's climate change work and recommendations for the ICC. Conversations about climate change and conflicts in the community also moved into directions that did not involve or require support from the ICC, revealing a rich array of local coping mechanisms that can be categorized as Everyday Peacemaking. These are discussed in the parts on "local peace processes" and "community-based climate change solutions." Such local, informal coping mechanisms and strengths serve as pointers to Inuit peacemaking and they have the potential for future conflict transformation on a larger scale. The overarching question of whether the ICC is an agent of peace for Inuit will now be approached from the comunity level to address the first research objective regarding existing knowledge about the ICC on the local level. These insights will help draw a more complete and holistic perspective of the ICC as an agent of peacemaking for Inuit.

[952] This statement was provided by a research participant who wishes to remain anonymous.

A short, quantitative survey carried out one afternoon in Maniitsoq and in Panniqtuuq[953] demonstrated that about one-third of the people who knew about the ICC thought that the NGO was helpful to Inuit. It illustrated that the ICC is generally not well-known in either community (more people in Panniqtuuq seemed to know about the ICC than in Maniitsoq).[954] The survey also indicated that roughly every second person of those who knew about the ICC in both communities was interested in learning more about it. These results confirm the overall impression that community members who knew about the ICC valued the NGO as a helpful organization for Inuit and showed interest in learning more about it, whereas a large segment in the community had no knowledge of the ICC and its work at all.

8.1. A Helpful Organization for Inuit

As indicated in the survey, roughly 30 percent of those people who had heard of the ICC in both communities indicated that the NGO was a helpful organization for Inuit. One community member described the ICC as a watchdog, working "to protect old ways," such as hunting culture. Johannes Rosing from Maniitsoq highlighted that the ICC is helping to protect Greenlanders from

[953] The survey in Maniitsoq involved 44 individuals. It revealed that 27 individuals/almost two-thirds (61 percent) did not know the ICC. Of the remaining 17 individuals (39 percent) who knew or had heard of the ICC, six individuals (35 percent) indicated that it is a helpful and good organization for Inuit, one individual thought that the ICC could do more for Inuit, two admitted that they did not know much about the ICC's work, and eight people (47 percent) shared that they would like to know more about what the ICC does.[953] Of the 36 individuals who filled out the same survey questionnaire in Panniqtuuq, only 15 individuals (42 percent) had not heard about the ICC, whereas 21 people (58 percent) indicated that they knew about or had heard of the ICC. Seven (33 percent) of those who had heard of the ICC thought that the NGO is a helpful and good organization for Inuit, eight shared that it could do more for Inuit, four individuals admitted that they did not know much about the ICC's work, and twelve people (57 percent) would like to know more about the ICC's work.

[954] Part of the comparatively lower numbers of people who knew about the ICC could be due to the fact that the Greenlandic translator still used the English term for the ICC in her communications with Greenlanders during the survey. Greenlanders might not be familiar with this term but might have known the ICC's Greenlandic name. Also, some community members in Panniqtuuq could have remembered or heard about the first ICC meetings that actually took place in their community.

the Danish impact: “The ICC is trying to prevent the foreigners in covering our culture, like the Danes.” Peter Soren Olsen pointed out: “It’s helpful to have the ICC, I think. We are connected.” Another community member from Maniitsoq spoke about the ICC’s work to protect Inuit culture and language. Harald Bajare shared:

> Tassa illersuisuugami nunamut. Nuna inoqqaavinik illersuisuugami, tassa tanna uagutsinnut tassa qujanartua. (…) Soorlu Kultuurimut. Tammalersut ilungersuutigivaat. Nunap inoqqaavisa kulturiat attoqqilissagaat ilungersuutigivaat, tassa uagutsinnut taanna qujanartua. Soorlu tammaleraluartoq allaat massakkut kingumut uteqqilerput.
>
> They [the ICC] are the protectors of our nature. They protect the Indigenous People that is so valuable to us. (…) They “protect” our culture. They work hard to keep our culture alive. They work hard to keep the Indigenous peoples’ culture ongoing, that’s so valuable to us. The “dying” culture is coming to life now.

For him, the ICC is an important organization because it helps protect nature and Inuit culture. Gideon Lyberth, former mayor of Maniitsoq, spoke highly of the ICC as an advocate (a true voice) of Inuit in the international arena:

> Aappi! Tassa una, anittarpaat, inuit inuiai inunik taagortut ilaa, issittut nunaaniittut, taakku sinnerlugit isertugaqaatit anisissagamik, tassa taanna iluarisara.
>
> Yes! It is this, they speak out for people like us who are real natives, they speak the truth, that’s what I like.
>
> Nunarsuaq tamaat isigalugu iluaqutaavoq, eh, inuit ataattimut sinnerlungu oqariartortarami. Så længe de siger hvad de inuit vil sige.
>
> Looking at it as a whole, around the globe, it is working well, because they [the ICC] are the voice of all Inuit. As long as they say what the Inuit want to say.

This statement also contains a cautious comment about the ICC’s representation of Inuit perspectives: the ICC is successful internationally if it manages to represent Inuit voices. Johannes Rosing, an Elder in the same community, added:

> FN-ikkunnut ilaa, oqaaseqarsinnaanngorlutik, Inunnik taangorsinnarlugit, ilaa, taanna iluarisorujussuuara. Isumaqaavippunga sulilluarsimammat ajunngitsumik silarsuarmioqatitta igammi nunasiaataanikkut usorisaraat, malikkusullugu, soorlu, allani. […] Tassa qitiusumi nipagiunniarneq ajorami… nipagiunneqanngisaannarpoq

> angallanermut tunngasoq, inuutissarsiornermi tunngasoq, uani imaappoq imaappoq imaapput. Taamaalilluni qitiusuminngaanniit uppernartunik pisarsimassaaq ICC inuttaai. Uani imaapput imaapput imaapput, tikinneq ajoraluarlugit. […] Massa najugaqarfiginngikkaluarlugit, tassa imaappoq tusagassiutitigut eqqortoq.
>
> They [the ICC] give us a voice in the UN. I believe they give information to the rest of the world about Greenland, and the other Arctic countries are envious of our situation as a colony, wanting to follow our footsteps sometimes. […] They make sure not to be quiet. They never keep quiet about hunting and fishing, because it's a way of living and making a living; they know what is happening here, there and here. And that's how they must be doing something good for us, the ICC. They know who does what, where, even though they never visit. […] Even though they don't live here, they speak the right facts.

The ICC is described as an Inuit knowledge-holder, advocate, and educator that represents Inuit interests in the world, (in the UN, for example). Rosing also pointed out that the ICC commands the right knowledge about Inuit even though it never visited the community. Peter Evvik from Panniqtuuq said the following about the ICC:

> When I hear ICC, people from different countries getting together to discuss Arctic issues, […] what I do know is, usually, the people in ICC have been involved with Inuit politics for quite a long time. That they're familiar with problems and issues that are in the north. So. Even though we don't hear much about them.

Along similar lines, Karl Lund Svensson from Maniitsoq illustrated:

> I know how they work. I think it's very good for the Greenlandic [people]. It's our way to speak to the world, I think. So, and I think Aqqaluk [Lynge] was doing a very good job in ICC. [...] You don't hear that much about ICC as you do before. […] I think they are very, very important to Inuit. Because, that's the spokesman for Inuit […] in the world […] United Nations. […] They are talking about the seals and how they are hunting in Greenland and its doing the Greenlandic way and we all kill what we eat. We don't just kill it for fun and so, and they are playing that to the world. I think that's very good. Very important.

All the community members discussed above praise the ICC for its work and highlight the importance of the organization as a voice of Inuit (the metaphor of the ICC as a drum). Admittedly, it was also hinted that the ICC did not visit the communities and the participants generally did not hear much from the ICC. These participants acknowledged that the ICC focuses on the right issues, is familiar with the conflicts Inuit are confronted with, and that the NGO uses correct facts in its

work. The ICC's international work, particularly at the UN, has also been mentioned by all three participants as well as in most other conversations with community members.[955] In addition, Johannes Rosing discussed the ICC's function as role model for other Indigenous Peoples who might want to learn from the NGO's work in the north, whereas a community member in Panniqtuuq highlighted the ICC's long-standing experience in voicing Inuit interests on the international arena. Karl Lund Svensson spoke about Aqqaluk Lynge's particular role as an ICC leader in voicing Inuit interests to the world and the ICC's advocacy in the controversy around the EU's seal import ban.[956] Several other community members who knew about the ICC also mentioned its efforts to lift the EU's seal import ban. This reflects the metaphor of the ICC as a harpoon head and a kayaker, venturing out to uncharted territory to bring something of substance back to the communities.

A community member in Panniqtuuq discussed the ICC's function as an educator and advocate for Inuit in the international arena: "There are also good sides to it [the ICC], that we are more or less becoming known in the world. That our lifestyle, our way of living, our culture, our language, we wanna keep those. I think they [the ICC] are really lobbying in those areas." Thanks to the ICC's lobby work, the world knows about Inuit, Inuit lifestyle, and Inuit interests in maintaining their culture. For Sara Heilmann Rosing, community member in Maniitsoq, the ICC is also very important for Inuit because it informs the world about the existence of Inuit and clarifies misperceptions about Inuit:

> They talk about, Greenland, Canada and Alaska, Nunavut all those Inuit. Sometimes they have meetings and talk about whale hunting or seal hunting. […] To tell whole the world that it is not us who are hunting baby seals. [The ICC is a very important organization for Inuit] because, it tells people we are also here in the world. Not through Denmark, but through us, from us. Not through Denmark. Instead of Denmark, we're also here in the world. We also live here.

[955] Andrew Qappik in Panniqtuuq and Sara Heilmann Rosing in Maniitsoq.
[956] Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, *Angry Inuk* (Unikkaat Studios, 2016), https://www.nfb.ca/film/angry_inuk/.

She spoke about the importance of having an organization that provides the Inuit voice in an environment that can sometimes be ignorant or even hostile toward Inuit hunting culture. Heilmann Rosing also mentioned that the ICC helps rectify incorrect stereotypes of the Greenlandic Inuit as baby seal killers—another reference relating to the EU's seal product import ban based on a misperception of Inuit hunting culture—or as Danish people. Although Greenlandic Inuit carry Danish passports, they have their own culture and identity, and the ICC's function is to educate others about Inuit. She also illustrated that the "ICC helps many Greenlanders, Inuit, by telling them: you are okay. You are also in the world, you are human. Just called Inuit. I'm human like any human in the world." For Heilmann Rosing, the ICC helps individual Inuit develop pride in their culture and identity. This concept of the ICC is also reflected in the metaphor of the ICC as a guard/watch dog that helps Inuit navigate through harsh terrain, but also in the metaphor of the ICC as a drum—a communication tool that helps educate Inuit and others about Inuit culture.

Sara Heilmann Rosing also discussed Aqqaluk Lynge and the role of summer camps in Greenland:

> Many years ago when I was young, they have Aasivik, I think it was Aqqaluk, I mentioned Aqqaluk Lynge, the head of the ICC, he was one of the many men […] [who helped] get started Aasivik, [where] people come to tents and talk about culture. Talk about colonization, talk about decolonization. So, it means a lot to him, ICC. […] It started in the '70s and ended in the '90s. […] He used to be in the ICC, talked with people there and come to Greenland and start Aasivik and talk about colonization and decolonization.

In pre-colonial times, Aasiviit were large, recurring political summer camps or conventions where Inuit from the north and south of Greenland met to exchange news, resolve conflicts, and trade. At times, people also found their spouses there. "Aasiviit were important forms of community, forging social, economic and cultural ties. They fostered alliances and the exchange of knowledge in areas like new resources and their use, weather conditions, animals to hunt, and their patterns

of movement."[957] The summer camps experienced a revival in the 1970s with a more modern character. The two-week long Aasiviit were political summer rallies where people discussed politics, and a resolution addressing decision-makers was issued at the end of each rally. The events featured speakers during the day and entertainment in the evenings. Thus, Aasiviit were also instrumental for a renaissance of Inuit art and music. Aasiviit served as predecessors to the political party Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA), founded in 1978 as a Marxist movement. Aqqaluk Lynge co-organized Aasivik in 1976 and he is one of IA's founders.[958] The most recent Aasivik took place in summer 2016. For Sara Heilmann Rosing, Aasivik helped initiate reflective processes about decolonization, and it also helped her develop cultural pride. Even though it was not an ICC event, later ICC leaders were among the founders and organizers of Aasivik. As a result, Heilmann Rosing developed an interest in the ICC, followed ICC media coverage and even attended GA events in Nuuk (1980):

> I was very interested in ICC and what they do and what they talk about and I listened to the radio when they talk about ICC, what they say and there was a conference in Nuuk, and culture, cultural people who make art and I [bought this] (showing me a small round ball) It was from a Russian Inuk. In Greenlandic it is called *aqksaq*, it's a ball. […] It's a game very similar to American [football]. To get this and run and run.

She kept the small round ball she had purchased from a Russian Inuk in 1980 in her living room. Our conversation revealed that the ball reminds her of the joy and pride she felt at the time. This story shows that GAs fulfill several important functions, gathering Inuit leaders from around Inuit Nunaat to develop and agree on the ICC's marching orders for the next four years and, but also collectively performing and celebrating Inuit culture, shaping and showing Inuit unity and strength to each other and the world.

[957] Mads Faegteborg, "Aasiviit," Nationalmuseum and Archive of Greenland, accessed February 19, 2019, http://en.nka.gl/intangible-topics/aasiviit/.
[958] Mads Faegteborg, "Arctic Leaders' Summit," February 20, 2019.

Another community member in Maniitsoq had first heard about the ICC when she was ten or twelve years old and when her cousin worked for the ICC as a translator. Later, she mainly heard about the NGO during their GAs in Greenland in the 1980s (Nuuk 1980, Sisimiut 1989). Erno Petersen spoke about his own involvement with the ICC about twenty years ago when he was an ICC Youth member for two years:

> I started radio broadcasting in 1992 with a top ten music list and top ten movie list. […] The producer of the broadcasting [company said] […] that I'm good […] and he asked me if I would like to do a youth program with debate and, actually examples as ICC or politicians, and Home Rule […]. They asked me if I liked to do that, […] and I said yes. […] In the beginning of '93 I started broadcasting youth debates in Greenlandic on a lot of different issues and [made] a lot of different programs on actually things [that concerned the youth] […]. And, back in [...] 1996, we started broadcasting the summit of Inuit youth, ICC in Iqaluit.
>
> And, we begun to speak about the youth, and how can we create a youth involvement in the ICC? So, I started the debate on the radio, and Aqqaluk Lynge, the former president of ICC Greenland, contact me […] [because I knew about the ICC] and I started a debate of youth, and how we can create a youth organization. Then, he invited me to Iqaluit and the work begun in 1997 and officially the youth movement started in 2000. […] We who started debate all wanted […] [to discuss] how the ICC Greenland could involve the youth in its work. So, we started in 1997. […] This is just only ICC Greenland inviting youth to be part of the delegation. And, ICC Alaska, ICC Canada started, invited youth to be part of that. Then, back in 2000, they started their own youth council. […] I was only one of the young people who started debating on the radio. But, I invited youth politicians, and youth council representatives at that time. So, I started the debate. I was one of the delegations because I knew about the ICC. […] We started in Greenland […] [and it became clear to the ICC that the] youth should be part of the working at the ICC. And, ICC Greenland started creating a job as a youth co-worker in the ICC. […] But, one of the debates was [also] that ICC could create a job for a [social science] student […] [to] be part of the ICC. […]
>
> It's good, because the youth who have been part of these movements are now in age of 40s […] [and] 30s. They are now active politically. Just, like Maliina Abelsen who has been the general manager of the Arctic winter games in 2016. She was part of the ICC delegation. And, she has been the Financial Minister of Greenland. […] As you can see, the youth who was there, in the time, they are now politicians, and they got leadership jobs and so it has been good to create something like that.

Erno Petersen's account provides examples of the rare bottom-up processes that inform and shape the ICC. The radio broadcasts on youth and the ICC by the talented and curious radio journalist

Petersen were noticed by the ICC, who invited him to be part of the newly created ICC Greenland youth council. Realizing the importance of Inuit youth, this eventually led the ICC Greenland to create a student helper position (that exists to the present day). The ICC's support for Inuit youth also helped inspire and prepare some young individuals to pursue political careers. The ICC is an educative tool that enhances Inuit empowerment.

Peter Evvik from Panniqtuuq highlighted that the ICC functions as an educator about other Indigenous cultures and their struggles and approaches to decolonization:

> [The ICC is] very important. […] [They] are involved internationally and they're the ones that will report to us that this is what can be done, this is what they have done, like the other cultures in other areas, like Siberia or Alaska and Greenland, they all have Aboriginals within their countries.

For Evvik, the ICC is particularly important as an observation tool that generates reflective processes among Inuit when it informs Inuit about its work and the ways other Indigenous Peoples deal with conflicts. Two other community members in Panniqtuuq shared their memories of the early Inuit organizations. Andrew Qappik spoke about his long-standing knowledge of the ICC:

> I met a few who work with ICC. Here in Canada, and in Greenland. […] I went there to [...] they formed a festival, Aasivik. […] They used to do it once a year for all the people who work in any way to have a festival in an outpost camp. They would pick an outpost camp and bring their tents and travel, everyone travels, have a big tent to have [...] talks. How they are, what they are doing, what's happening? […] I think ICC back then organized it. In '88 or '89. It was some time ago, I was younger. In Greenland. […] It was an Inuit festival. […] People come together.

Andrew Qappik remembers his involvement in the summer festival Aasivik in the late 1980s. Although the ICC did not organize the event, it seemed to him that the NGO was one of the organizers. He considers the event as educational about the ICCs work.[959] Moreover, Qappik knew about the ICC's UN work, and he found it interesting to hear from the ICC about past and current

[959] The question of the ICCs involvement in Aasivik currently remains open. Mads Faegteborg (former ICC representative) explained that Aasiviit were rather close to the Greenlandic political party AI that was formed in 1978, two years after the first Aasivik.

developments and Inuit realities in the north. Mosesie Qappik, Elder and Panniqtuuq's mayor in 2016, had been involved in the ITK's early days. He recounted attending the first Nunavut land claims agreement conference in Pond Inlet that was organized by ITK in November 1975.[960] The plane that had been chartered to take back the negotiators was unable to land for refuelling on its way to Iqaluit due to bad weather. The plane ran out of fuel and crashed, but all twenty-six people on board survived. Qappik wished that the ITK recognized the people who were travelling on behalf of Inuit, and that ITK organized a return to the plane wreck for the survivors to find closure.[961]

8.2 Lack of Community Connections

The community surveys indicated that two out of five individuals in Maniitsoq and three out of five individuals in Panniqtuuq knew or had heard of the ICC. Of those who had heard about the NGO, every second person in Maniitsoq and three in five people in Panniqtuuq were curious to learn more about the ICC. This indicates that some community members knew about the ICC's existence but lacked more detailed knowledge about the organization. Inuit in Maniitsoq and in Panniqtuuq were concerned about the ICC's missing connections and presence in the community.[962]

Johannes Rosing, from Maniitsoq, shared the following about the ICC: "Maannga pikumasuugunannginnami ICC-mut tunngasunik angallassisut oqallittut. They don't really come

[960] In this case, the Inuit NGO organized an Inuit convention to discuss the political and legal shaping of Inuit territory within a nation-state.
[961] Sara Frizzell, "Remembering the Baffin Island Plane Crash That Could Have Killed 26, 42 Years Ago Today | CBC News," CBC, November 3, 2017, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/plane-crash-1975-nunavut-1.4385869; Faegteborg, "Aasiviit."
[962] Only a few Inuit in Maniitsoq had heard about a more recent ICC visit in their community, and some older Inuit in Panniqtuuq remembered an ICC community visit in the 1970s.

here, and we don't really talk about it," and also: "Suliai takusinnaanngilakka, atuarsinnaanngilakka. Takusinnaanginnakkit. Kisianni tutsiuttarneri soorlu. I can't see the work that they are doing. I can't read them. We only get updates." Because the ICC does not visit Maniitsoq, he explains, he and the community members do not understand, know, or talk about the organization. Another community member in Maniitsoq illustrated:

> I think they [the ICC] are too away from the real life. I don't know. That's what I think. So. It could be, I know that they travel around maybe Qaanaaq, you know. […] Some places, but it's not very often. I can't remember if they have been here in Maniitsoq. I don't think they have been here in Maniitsoq, from ICC, to explain about their work to the hunters or what they could do, no, I don't know about it.

In general, the person believed that the ICC was too removed from community realities to represent Inuit. By mentioning the ICC's community visit in Qaanaaq, the Inuk acknowledged the ICC's occasional visit in a distant community, but that also does not do justice to other communities who were not visited, because realities are different in each community. The person also could not recall any ICC visit to Maniitsoq, but they knew that the Elders' Association was represented in the ICC's board.[963] Karl Lund Svensson made a similar comment about the ICC: "I think, it's [the ICC is] not an issue here in Maniitsoq. In Nuuk, it's so, but, not in Maniitsoq. Never have I heard about anything. Maybe they talk about, but I have never heard about it." Although he assumes that the ICC is better known and discussed in Nuuk, the reality in Maniitsoq is different, and as a community member he has never heard about the ICC's work. The same thought was also shared by another community member: "I have never seen the ICC visiting Maniitsoq." Gideon Lyberth reported that he had never witnessed an ICC visit in Maniitsoq during his whole lifetime:

> ICC kisianni inuit ataatsimut isigalugit illersuiniartorujussuuvoq. Kisianni ulluinnarni uagutsinnut kalaaliinnarnut.

[963] At the time of my visit in Maniitsoq, the ICC Greenland president Hjalmar Dahl had recently visited Maniitsoq to participate in an anniversary celebration with a local organization. However, almost no research collaborators knew about his visit.

> The ICC as a whole, do have a lot of support to give to us. But we don't have much contact with them.
>
> Yes, we know how they work and, we know about them. How they work with [the] UN. But, as […] people, one people we don't have contact with ICC. […] Zero. […] It [the ICC] can be important if they have more contact with Inuit. And, if they listen more to Inuit. We don't know where their ideas came from, maybe from people who work in ICC. But, their contact with Inuit is zero. […] (Shared in English)
>
> Soorlu assersuutigalugu, 54-inik ukioqarpoq/Ukioqarpunga, ICC Maniitsumi taku-nikuunngivippara, inuutillungaluunniit, innuttaasumik ataattimik.
>
> I am 54 years old, the ICC has never been in Maniitsoq. I have never in my life seen one person from the ICC.

Although Inuit community members in general seemed to know what the ICC does, the relationships between ICC and community members were largely missing. As a result of the missing connections, Lyberth speculated that the ICC's ideas possibly stem from the ICC representatives. However, he assumed that the ICC's importance for Inuit could increase if it managed to connect more with Inuit. He also considers it insufficient that Greenlanders only hear about the ICC in the news. And he admitted to having more faith in the government to help him than in the ICC. Peter Soren Olsen shared that, despite media coverage of the ICC's work in Greenland, the ICC was still not well-known among Greenlanders, and the ICC remains remote to the people.

The same reality was discussed in Panniqtuuq. A community member stated that "We don't get to see them (the ICC)[964] any more like we used to in 1970s and '80s and '90s. (…) They used to come around a bit more, but not anymore." Andrew Qappik regretted that no other meetings in the community followed after the ITC (the national Inuit organization) held its first meeting in Panniqtuuq in the 1970s. Another community member said: "I would love to know more about them (the ICC). And, maybe that they actually visited or talk to some people." Sam Kilabuk shared

[964] Qappik speaks about the ICC in this quote. However, he actually refers to the ITC's community visit in the 1970s.

during our conversation:

> I never really got any information although I've been living here for a while. I've never really seen them connecting to us about their priorities. (…) They've really never been up here. And, people don't really get to see what they are doing. And, I guess they're not really informing about some principles that really go back to them, I'm not sure.

All three individuals spoke about a lack of connection and relationship with the ICC. This lack of connection directly translated into a lack of knowledge about the ICC among community members. Linda Uvilluq, Sheila Veevee, Lena Akpalialuk, and others in Panniqtuuq indicated that they did now know about the ICC's work, goals and objectives, or structure, thus they were unable to make an informed statement about the ICC or its work—let alone make recommendations. Mosesie Qappik believed that the ICC has meetings, but, due to their lack of communication, it was unclear who even represented each community. He also pointed out that he did not know much about the current ICC, because:

> They are not communicating to each community. (…) They need to help each community (…) They're called Inuit Tapiriit, meaning that they're supposed to help Inuit. (…) Because they are not communicating, we don't know who they are, really are or what they're doing. (…) We have no one to ask, I mean, we don't know who to ask of what they do. (…) If they communicate, we would know of what they do. (…) They don't communicate with us of what they do. It's like they're useless to us.

Contrary to what the name ITK indicates, the organization does not communicate with local Inuit and has thus become useless for Qappik. As the quotes by Andrew and Mosesie Qappik illustrate, community members would sometimes mix up the ITC/ ITK with the ICC, which indicates a lack of knowledge about the two different organizations. Furthermore, Mosesie Qappik admitted that community members are unaware of the processes to communicate or get in touch with the ICC.[965] Another community member noted that the ICC's "office is pretty far from Panniqtuuq. You know what that means? Slow process." The NGO's remoteness directly results in slower interaction

[965] This indicates that the local representatives of the regional organizations are not perceived as intermediaries between the communities and the ICC.

processes between levels.

Despite the fact that the ICC did not appear to be connected to or present in the community, Inuit in Maniitsoq remained curious about the organization and suggested that the conflict between the communities and the ICC could be resolved if the ICC was more present in the community. For most participants this means that the ICC should visit the community more often. However, two participants in Maniitsoq acknowledged the extreme costs related to travelling in Greenland, which might prevent the ICC from community visits. Peter Soren Olsen shared the following with me:

> I think they could be more working to visit cities. In Greenland, instead of travelling to New York all the time. That they could do to better inform […] the Greenlandic people. […] They should visit more often. They do it seldom. I think two years ago, there was [ICC] here in Maniitsoq. But it's not so much participation in their meetings, because it's a little bit strange for them, strange (because) they are not coming too often and their work is more likely United Nations or some other places. […] Greenlandic people are not asked from ICC. […] They have to be seen more often and they have to inform more, I think. Before we can get involved, more involved. Greenlandic people are not so much involved in ICC. Only a few people. [The ICC] can talk about their work and ask people: what should we do? I think in that way you have to inform more and […] the chairman or the members of ICC board should travel a bit more along the coast, and east Greenland. […] We don't see inquiries from ICC.

Whereas the ICC is known for its work at the UN in New York, community visits seem to be lacking. Olsen also mentioned that the ICC only involves a small number of Inuit, but Greenlandic people as a whole are not very involved in its work. He suggested that, instead of travelling to New York, the ICC should use its available resources to visit communities in Greenland to enable a mutual exchange of information. Another community member wished to know more about the ICC and wanted the ICC to explain the exact nature of their work and their achievements. Gideon Lyberth suggested: "They can visit Maniitsoq for example and talk with Inuit. Instead of being in their office and write something about Inuit." The ICC is understood by Lyberth as a remote agent that only writes about them, while remaining disconnected from the Inuit. Karl Lund Svensson

spoke about the prerequisite to visit all Inuit communities if the ICC attempts to represent their voice: "They (the ICC) have to travel out to all Greenland and get their points of view and take it back to Nuuk (…) Make some hearings here in Maniitsoq. ICC is here, I never heard about that, [an] ICC hearing here in Maniitsoq. Never ever." He pointed out the necessity to hold community visits and to pass on the results to the ICC and went on to suggest a more permanent ICC community-presence:

> They [the ICC] have to have a small office in every town, they have to be more aggressive, more visionary. So, that Greenlandic people can connect to ICC. I think, for us, people living in Maniitsoq or other towns, they think ok, ICC, we know they are there, but we know at the same time they're only placed in Nuuk and they never come to my town and hear what I think about this.

In his opinion, the ICC in Nuuk was too far away from the community, and the establishment of small ICC offices in every town could help educate community members more about the organization's work. Another community member suggested more media coverage for the ICC which would allow for more direct communication with local Inuit. This, in turn, could increase peoples' interest in the ICC. Sara Heilmann Rosing suggested that the ICC should hire more people who could visit the communities and represent the community realities in New York. Harald Bajare also suggested that the ICC could hold meetings outside of Nuuk more often:

> Tassaana aamma eqqaalaarniarlugu, soorlu ICC amerlanertigut Nuummi, Katuami ataatsimeersuaartarput aamma taava ataatsi ataatsimiisitsisarput. Illoqarfiit allat taamaattorpallaanngilaat, qaqutigut, ukiut arlaanni taamaallaat taamaattoqalaartarpoq, taava neriuinnassagaluarpugut ukiut qaninnerit, massami, tamakkua nuummiinnanngitsoq tulleriaarilluni taamannak soorlu angalanerusinnaagaluartut, uanga taamatut isumaqarpunga.
>
> I like to say that the ICC meetings are mostly held in Nuuk, they don't really travel around the coastal communities, to the local people, I think it would be better if they were involving other towns outside of Nuuk as well.

Travelling more to other communities in Greenland would increase the ICC's presence there and ensure community involvement. For Sara Heilmann Rosing, the radio was a sufficient medium to

obtain information about the ICC as long as there are reports on its work. She pointed out that the ICC should be more present in radio reports to enhance peoples' knowledge about their work.

Similar suggestions were also made in Panniqtuuq. Andrew Qappik recommended that the ICC should "listen to the north," and another community member shared: "I would love to know more about them. And, maybe that they actually visited or talk to some people. Direct communication." Andrew Qappik recommended sending out biannual newsletters to inform communities about the ICC's work. Sam Kilabuk shared: "I think it'd be a really good idea if they actually worked with us and to try and get our voices out there." Both men suggested that the ICC should listen to and co-operate with local Inuit to develop a more adequate understanding of Inuit realities. This insight should then inform the NGO's advocacy work. Linda Uvilluq asked:

> Why spend all that money going to meetings? Why not spend it on us Inuit? Like, build a university or college to, or even treatment centres for the Inuit. Because, treatment centres are usually down south, away from the family. (…) They spend all that money on meetings, and yet trying to help Inuit. Where's the outcome? (…) Can they send some summaries or something?

To her, the financial resources the ICC uses for travelling to meetings should be spent on other projects like a college or university or treatment centres[966] that possibly would have a more feasible outcome and seemed more reasonable than meetings. She also suggested that the ICC should report back to the communities about the outcome of their meetings. When Sheila Veevee and Lena Akpalialuk brainstormed what they wished the ICC could help them with, they suggested that it should provide food, illustrating food security as a serious challenge for community members.

[966] This statement also illustrates the need for better education and health care in Inuit communities—an ongoing conflict in Inuit communities in Inuit Nunaat.

8.3 "The focus is out there"[967] – the ICC as a "one-way street"

The reason for its lack of community connections was mainly seen in the ICC's focus in the international arena. A community member in Panniqtuuq described the ICC's work as a "one-way street:"

> In 2016, I think a lot of them [the Canadian government and international actors] (…) learnt a lot about us, but still we have to lobby harder to ITK and Inuit leaders that sit in that big board. They should come and ask us and see us and talk to us. It's [supposed to be] a two-way project. If it's just a one-way street, you know the one way street? They're out the door.

The metaphor of a "one-way street" means that the ICC is only oriented toward one direction—the international—while local Inuit on the other side feel neglected. Being "out the door" could also have been a reference to the ICC becoming irrelevant in the community due to its lack of connections. Many participants in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq knew the ICC was working internationally, in particular with the UN, while many participants were also disappointed about missing community connections—which was also the reason for their own lacking knowledge about the ICC.

As Peter Soren Olsen, from Maniitsoq, illustrated in our conversation, "The ICC is more United Nations than Greenland. More or less, but of course they have an office in Nuuk, but we are not seeing ICC locally too often. It's seldom in this country. Travelling costs." Erno Petersen also described the disconnection between the ICC's international and local presence:

> [The ICC needs to be] more visible in Greenland, actually. Because, ICC in, Maniitsoq, ICC Greenland is not the people who live here never talk about ICC because they, all you [hear is that] once the month they come with article or something, it's not enough. […] It's not good enough to be (a) […], big player in the UN and, just don't speak about [it] in Greenland at all.

[967] Gideon Lyberth

It is not enough if the ICC acts at the UN but does not communicate back to the Greenlanders about its involvement there. Soren Olsen also considered a monthly newsletter insufficient in informing Greenlandic Inuit about the ICC's UN work. Another community member suggested that the ICC should make use of the knowledge gathered internationally to support the Greenlandic government's self-determination efforts.

A community member from Panniqtuuq spoke about the ICCs international orientation:

> They travel around the world and they lobby in the international stage, of course. And, that is a good thing. But, they also have to come out to Nunavumiut or circumpolar region's people. No hunter out on the street or out in the boat is gonna meet them. They don't go to them. They usually go to leaders. The mayors, premiers, you know, ministers. They don't come out and meet with the small little people. That's a problem. […] We as a circumpolar region people, we have to lobby harder. We have to lobby a lot harder. To educate them [the ICC]. They need to talk to us. […] A lot of good leaders have passed on or passed away at ITK level as well over the years. And, people change. And, they only meet with elected officials in their big board. They don't include the little, little guys like us anymore. Like it used to be.

Acknowledging the necessity of the ICC's international work, the community member criticized the growing disconnect between the ICC and individual community members. For the Inuk, the reason for this disconnect can be found in the ICC's leadership style: compared to the past when ICC representatives visited Panniqtuuq more often,[968] current ICC leaders exchanged only with political leaders but missed out meeting with the hunters in their everyday realities. It seemed to him that the ICC had forgotten about the Inuit in the communities. Thus, he suggested that local Inuit need to advocate more for themselves to educate the ICC about the importance of connecting with the communities.

[968] It seems that the ICC is again mixed up with the ITK here, because the ITK visited Panniqtuuq in the 1970s.

8.4 Local Peace Processes

Relationships and communication are a crucial and highly valued part of Inuit culture, and the lack of relationships between the ICC representatives with community members was the most commonly discussed problem in our conversations. Because the ICC was perceived as a distant, high-level Inuit advocate, community members would not primarily consider the NGO as a source of support in their everyday challenges like food insecurity, suicide,[969] trauma related to the effects of residential schools, substance abuse, substandard housing, education and health care provision, lack of self-esteem and cultural pride, youth anomie, unemployment, and lack of jobs.[970] In our conversations about conflicts, community members spoke about the need to find concrete and feasible solutions to these everyday challenges. The sophisticated rights- and climate change-debates on the international level—where the ICC mainly operates—often seemed too remote and unfeasible for the community members.

Based on this reality, it is not hard to imagine that conversations with community members about the ICC's role as a peacemaking tool for Inuit would eventually move away from the ICC (about which most individuals did not know much) to topics that seemed of higher relevance for community members talking about peace and conflict. Instead, community members spoke with excitement about local peacemaking processes, and the researcher observed many local CR mechanisms. Given that this study looks at Inuit peacemaking, a discussion of these local

[969] During my stay in Maniitsoq, one individual committed suicide, causing the community to come to a grieving momentary standstill. While I was in Pangnirtung, a community member had a lethal car accident, and some community members suspected it was suicide. The community continues to struggle with youth suicides and other forms of violence. Bob Weber, "Nunavut Community Rocked By 12 Youth Suicide Attempts In 2 Weeks," HuffPost Canada, May 13, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/05/13/nunavut-community-rocked-by-12-youth-suicide-attempts_a_23433606/; Weber; Ashley Burke, Ashley, "Youth Suicides, Violence: Nunavut Community Calling out for Help amid 'Sense of Desperation' | CBC News," CBC, May 18, 2018, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/pangnirtung-crisis-crime-suicide-prevention-1.4666470.

[970] These were some of the everyday challenges that the research collaborators mentioned during our conversations.

approaches to conflict needs to be part of this work. Being present in the community and participating in various community events allowed for the observation of peacemaking approaches that addressed some of the challenges described above. Essentially, these mechanisms aimed at maintaining or developing relationships among community members. This chapter is an attempt at reading gestures (a form of writing with the body) that "can give a sense of a culture" and point to values embodied within that culture.[971] Community members also shared their thoughts about local peacemaking processes in conversations which will be woven into this analysis.

In Maniitsoq, community members provided a warm welcome and invited the researcher to their friends' or family's gatherings or their own homes. This allowed for the meeting of new people and participation in different collective activities like preparing food and eating, knitting, hiking, celebrating birthdays, watching films, and sharing stories. The community visit in August coincided with the annual caribou-hunting and berry-picking season. The sharing, serving, and eating of fresh caribou stew along with *tingulaaq* (freshly picked wild berries mixed with fish liver) that was offered at gatherings brought joy to the community members. Often, people spoke about family members or friends who were currently out hunting and, at times, scheduled meetings with individuals who had agreed to meet for a conversation did not take place because the weather was good that day and they had decided to go out hunting instead. An invitation to a hike by Sara Heilmann Rosing resulted in a conversation—while climbing over large boulders—about childhood and life in a small community. She shared how happy and content being out in nature and hiking makes her. For Peter Soren Olsen, going "out to sea, to go to hunt. That's peace. It helps people to have peace in their minds and in their bodies. There's been a lot of skills to do that among the Greenlandic people." Several hikes with another community member from Maniitsoq

[971] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," 158, 166–67.

led to similar conversations about the importance of being out in nature. In both cases, the hikes brought us further out on the land, leaving the community a bit behind. One community member spoke about the annual National Suicide Prevention Day when community members who lost someone to suicide gathered to pray and participate in a talking circle to discuss coping strategies.

The Inuit Ilagiit program in Panniqtuuq was created in July 2014 and became a non-profit registered society on January 9, 2015. Its eight members are committed to addressing abuse, poverty, hunger, and suffering through community-oriented programs and services. Translated into English, Inuit Ilagiit means "Inuit Family," as Sheila Veevee explained:

> Inuit is people, Inuit, like Inuit, we're Inuit, like human beings, Inuit. Ilagiit is family. The ilagiit is a family in another word for ilagiit, cousins, family. Grandparents, they are all ilagiit, they are family. […] Because here, in a small community, everybody knows everybody, cousins, families, so, they […] picked that name in a meeting.

The program's mandate reflects a deep care and concern for the well-being and happiness of all community members. In 2016, Inuit Ilagiit carried out several programs to increase community-well-being. It offered five different free-of-charge youth workshops on healthy relationships. Furthermore, the Youth Centre that houses the community kitchen was renovated with the help of volunteers and donors from February until July 2016. In July and August 2016, Inuit Ilagiit offered youth activities at the Youth Centre.

Inuit communities in Nunavut experience the highest food insecurity in Canada.[972] Due to "low income in Inuit families […], high cost of food in the north, increasing costs of harvesting and hunting […] [and] lack of awareness of healthy eating habits,"[973] community members do not have access to a sufficient amount of nutritious food to maintain a healthy lifestyle. To address

[972] Shirin Roshanafshar and Emma Hawkins, "Food Insecurity in Canada," Statistics Canada, 2018, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/82-624-x/2015001/article/14138-eng.htm#a2.
[973] David A. Boult, "Hunger in the Arctic: Food (In)Security in Inuit Communities. A Discussion Paper" (Ajunnginiq Centre, 2004), https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/30217/1/2004_Inuit_Food_Security.pdf.

this extremely serious challenge, Inuit Ilagiit serves free lunches for to up to fifty community members three times a week. High costs to purchase food and lack of kitchen equipment often pose serious challenges for the two hired cooks to prepare healthy meals. But, Sheila Veevee and Lena Akpalialuk shared—in a very emotional conversation—that they continued showing up for their shifts even if they did not know what they could prepare, because at times the food was not sufficient or only one food item was available that could not be turned into a lunch dish. Both thought of the many hungry community members counting on them to offer something to eat.[974] Sheila Veevee explained the program's challenges and benefits:

> They come here really, [it] looks like (they are) not happy. Sad, angry. But then again, a few hours later, if they have their stomach full, look at them, different people. That touches us, and they're more proud. […] [It] touches us sometimes, like, they tell us. […] [This is a place] where it's safe and safe for children. […] [And] especially ladies that we hear or they tell us that they need to go somewhere and cry for a bit, but they don't even get to get that. Where it's safe and what they need to talk about, they don't get to go anywhere safe, but when we're here and they tell us, we try to help them by—you can cry or you can talk to us, go take a rest over there—but [there is] hardly any soft place here, like couches or for Elders that they can sit on or, have tea, conversation. […] For sure, there's a space. And, […] there's alarm, like safe bars through windows, close to the RCMP. […]
>
> Sometimes, when we''e in that position [when there is no food to prepare], we just wanna go home, but then, we never go home. We always make up something and feed people. […] It's difficult in the morning, or [I] think about it during [the] evening. Just can't get [it] out of my mind: what food am I gonna be cooking and how many people are coming, am I gonna make people sick of those outdated items I've been cooking? So, I guess it's just gonna be me that they turn to, cause I cooked it and, but, it's difficult for me, sometimes not getting it out. Like, it stays with me.

Sheila Veevee spoke about the emotions she experiences in running the soup kitchen, knowing that people count on her and that an open soup kitchen also provides a safe place for people in need, or just a space to cry or talk. The soup kitchen is much more than a place that provides food. It also addresses the need for a safe gathering place, particularly for Elders and vulnerable

[974] Sheila Veevee and Lena Akpalialuk also told me that they eventually would come up with an idea, often with the help of community businesses who would be approached and ready to spontaneously donate something to complete the meal.

community members who need a place to be and someone to listen to them. Linda Uvilluq, a probation officer in Panniqtuuq, also confirmed:

> That's where I work. Like, they report in, I ask them if they're following their conditions. And, [sighs] sometimes, they open up to me. Yeah. At first, but then in the few months that they start reporting. I guess, they feel more comfortable with me, so they start opening up. […] [They talk about what they go through, why they did it, how they felt. And, they just want someone to listen to them without any judgement. […] Most times they just want to be heard. Not, just here. Just, and not to be labelled, or judged. Because, if counsellors are changing every few months, it's hard. It must be hard to open up to a new worker, each time ther''s a new worker. Because, once you felt comfortable with the last worker, you start opening up and then, there's a new counsellor. And that's when they close up, build a wall.

Linda Uvilluq shared how community members sometimes just need someone to listen to them without judgement, and that constantly changing community counsellors presents challenges to community members, because it means that community members need to start over telling their story. Another community member spoke about a young individual who had committed a crime and was fearful of the fly-in court that would deal with the case. The person also shared a story of an RCMP officer sexually abusing someone in the community (who had passed away by then) during their youth. A lack of trust in the Qallunaat justice system and a lack of Inuit counsellors was observable. This gap was often filled by informal counsellors like Sheila Veevee, Lena Akpalialuk, and Linda Uvilluq.

The band Tim and The Band held regular practices in the community hall, attracting a substantial number of listeners.[975] Simeonie Keenainak, one of the band members, taught himself to play the accordion by listening to other Inuit play. Later, he learnt that he apparently carried on his grandfather's tradition, who also used to play the instrument. He generously shares his music

[975] Over the course of my stay in the community, I became friends with the band members. I shared with the band members that I also played the accordion and was even offered an accordion to play with the band. I became a regular attendant at their band practices and took two music CDs by Tim Evic and Simeonie Keenainak with me. Tim Evic, "Inngi;iqpunga Tusurlirama. I'll Sing a Song" (Iqaluit: Nuvu Music, n.d.); Seemionie Keenainak, "Cumberland Sound" (Iqaluit: Nuvu Music, n.d.).

with anyone who listens, teaches the instrument to students at school, and he has even performed on TV. In the booklet that comes along with his CD, Keenainak writes about a conversation he had with an old man, concluding that "not every house is happy, but when people saw me playing on TV, it lifted the spirits of the people. I came to realize that this was one of the gifts I have—to entertain people, lift their spirits."[976] The accordion, a musical instrument of the Qallunaat imported by whalers in the 1800s, is regarded as a traditional instrument by Inuit, and the songs played on the accordion are often traditional Inuit music and dances.[977] He uses the instrument to play Inuit songs that were performed during a seal hunt or when celebrating the hunt of a Bowhead whale. Some of the songs were passed on to him by Elders.[978] Simeonie Keenainak sings mostly in Inuktitut. In general, members in both communities often spoke Greenlandic or Inuktitut. This was evident in many of the conversations conducted for this research project where research collaborators preferred communicating in their Indigenous language.

Sam Kilabuk shared his idea of opening up a coffee and bake shop to provide a much-needed gathering place for community members:[979] "When I'm envisioning it, too, I get excited, yeah. So, I'm trying to talk to people who might actually be interested in starting up something like that. And there are a lot of actually good bakers, too, who have their own little bake shelves

[976] Keenainak, "Cumberland Sound."
[977] Maija Lutz, *The Effects of Acculturation on Eskimo Music of Cumberland Peninsula - The Library Search* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1978), https://search.lib.umanitoba.ca/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991296745800016 51&context=L&vid=01UMB_INST:UMB&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,The%20Effects%20of%20Acculturation%20on%20Eskimo%20Music%20of%20Cumberland%20Sound.
[978] Keenainak, "Cumberland Sound."
[979] At the time of my visit, there was only a small KFC—attached to the local grocery store—in the community where people could gather.

at home, and some are pretty good, actually." Aside from providing a gathering place, opening a coffee shop would also allow community members to sell their products.[980]

Inspired by an ICC/ITK meeting, Andrew Qappik proactively started a youth group in his own community in the 1980s:

> I started a youth group here in our community, to have the youth have their own voice. […] Now they have their youth centre, and it was like, here, I give this to you now do something with it. […] Through the youth organization that I attended. It was either ITK or ICC. One did it. All the youth come together from all over the north that was their [idea]. I attended one of them back in the day. To have a voice. Within the community, like here, you can have the youth talk about what's happening within the community or what you can do to work with the community. […] They can point their concerns to the hamlet or whatnot. Or, if there was a meeting outside of the community they can appoint someone within the youth to go say something.

Andrew Qappik started a youth initiative in the community that intended to give the youth something to do and a voice to be heard. Moreover, stories of families sharing country food with others were heard.

However, not all Inuit ways are necessarily compatible with modern community life. Jaco Ishulutaq suggested that a young community member–who had died in a car accident a few days before our conversation—could have possibly been saved if Inuit first aid had been applied. However, Jaco Ishulutaq explained, because emergency situations have to follow a set of procedures of the Qallunaat world, Inuit first aid was not used on the person. Ultimately, it cannot be known whether the person could have been saved if Inuit first aid had been applied.

Panniqtuuq is known for being a thriving artists' community with many fine artists making prints, carvings, hats and scarves, and other artwork to generate income and as a way of sharing traditional Inuit culture with others. Other community members had taken up different activities

[980] There have been previous attempts at opening a coffee shop in the community. However, vandalism and theft have caused the previous place to close down permanently. Destructive violence against a community gathering place points to social and other problems in the community that deserve attention but cannot be discussed further here.

like photography, bingo evenings, community competitions, hunting, and sharing country food, or generally staying connected with other community members through visits. When asked about the challenges faced in Panniqtuuq, one participant spoke about the joy of hiking:

> Personally, when I go hiking, and I am on my own, I truly love it. Nobody else in the world but me, and I get up to the mountains. There's a certain part where you get to, on top of the mountain, where you can't hear anything. You can't hear the town or anything. Just birds and whatever else is out there. And, it's just you and nature. I love it. […] When you're hiking up the mountains, you hear the town. So, you can hear people screaming, yelling and cars and stuff. But, there's a certain point when you get to the top, the town disappears and the noise disappears, and it's just, just you. […] Mount Duval or this other one here where the cross is. And, I've tried to describe that to people from out of town, and I don't know if they totally understand it, but it's, it's really, really nice.

Spending time alone in nature without hearing the busy buzz of the community is something very special for the community member. It almost sounds like a way of detaching oneself from all the problems in the community. As it happened, my birthday coincided with my time in Panniqtuuq. Once community members had heard about my birthday, and it was decided that a birthday party should be organized, with cake and Inuit games. Everyone in the community was invited to join the gathering at a friend's house. Geela Sowdlooapik, an Elder in the community, kindly opened her home for me to stay, which provided an opportunity to learn about the practice of visiting. Geela Sowdlooapik would regularly welcome visitors at her home which meant, by extension, that her visitor would have visitors as well. It is also noteworthy that many individuals in both communities acknowledged the importance of accepting help and talking about one's problems with experts. Many research collaborators shared their own stories of dealing with losing family members to suicide, finding self-worth and pride in Inuit culture, and overcoming addiction issues. In most cases, participants consulted a trained counsellor in the community for help, or they connected with local Elders to start their healing journeys. Generally, it was acknowledged that talking with others about problems and actively working towards resolving personal issues related

to mental health conditions (like depression and trauma) and negative feelings (like grief, anger, and hopelessness) helped them become healthier, happier, and more productive.

In retrospect, it became clear that the researcher had, to a certain degree, become part of these community realities and relationships, and that all these shared moments talking, eating, laughing, or just sitting in silence, were teaching moments that were not only turned into written field notes, but they also became part of a personal life story—a humbling realization.

These observations are examples of Everyday Peacemaking[981] in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq. As a response to the everyday violence rooted in the political and global colonial structures that expose Inuit to such challenges as described above, these processes observed in the communities provide insight into local strengths and coping strategies. Despite the fact that both communities struggle on many fronts, people are resilient. These moments allowed insight into the importance of relationships and the various creative avenues available to establish and maintain such relationships with people and the environment. These mechanisms reflect the IQ concepts of serving that values individual contribution to the community and includes helping those who are in need and are caring for others. It also reflects the IQ values of skills and knowledge acquisition— at play in the Inuit Ilagiit program, where complicated bureaucratic and financial challenges were collectively overcome to realize the program. Learning to play an instrument to entertain others for free and to teach others is an example of skills and knowledge acquisition. Collaborative relationships are formed when Tim and The Band perform, or when people gather to prepare and consume country food. Many efforts are targeted at reducing tensions to enhance harmony.

[981] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace."

People in both communities started local, informal mechanisms that helped address immediate needs in the community. People in the community are there for each other and help each other wherever and whenever they can. These are moments of sharing (time, food, ideas, and experiences). People also trust each other with their thoughts and stories, or with opening their spaces to others. Gestures like the unannounced entrance (to attend a band practice, or to make visits) or the gift of food (shared at the soup kitchen) and finding ways to carry one's burdens by being on the land to find peace are among the gestures described as "embodied inscriptions that circulate in a culture where trust, as a value, continues to have some operational meaning."[982] These local practices also reflect values of communication and dialogue (with others and with the land) which are aspects of Indigenous peacemaking. Acknowledging conflict and resourcefully dealing with it reflects the approaches typical for peaceful societies.

The findings in this chapter confirm that local individuals are aware of a meta-conflict on the international level, but that they are more concerned with their everyday challenges, are usually apolitical, and do not perceive the benefits from an NGO's international work.[983] A different kind of local narrative develops.[984] Due to the fact that these peace processes are highly intuitive and context-specific and that different communities define peace differently,[985] they cannot be replicated elsewhere, but they can help advance the "liquid reality" of PACS.[986] Such simple, intuitive, innovative, and constantly evolving practices can potentially contribute to the formation of peace, as such processes tend to have a higher legitimacy and authenticity.[987]

[982] Kulchyski, "Six Gestures," 166.
[983] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 553; Mac Ginty and Firchow, "Top-down and Bottom-up Narratives of Peace and Conflict," 317.
[984] Mac Ginty and Firchow, "Top-down and Bottom-up Narratives of Peace and Conflict," 320.
[985] Mac Ginty, "Indicators +," 59; Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 554.
[986] Matyók, "Peace and Conflict Studies. Reclaiming Our Roots and Designing Our Way Forward," 294.
[987] Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace," 560–61.

These concepts (rooted in pre-colonial Inuit CR approaches guided by IQ) were found in the two communities, but also in the ICC's work as previously described. Thus, Inuit in communities and in the ICC practice typical Inuit CR approaches. The importance of relationships, dialogue, and community, however, seems to follow two different paths. It can be argued that these values allow for close networks and profound connections on the local level. The ICC has also created important connections and networks, to a degree. The difference is that the ICC seems to focus more strongly on relationship-building with Western power-holders while neglecting community connections. One the one hand, this international focus is a conscious decision made by the ICC (rooted in its hybrid character that directs the NGO to apply such Western CR approaches as being highly formal and professional, and dealing with nation-states as power-holders but also rooted in the Inuit CR approach of political realism and adaptability). On the other hand, the ICC's limited resources may prevent the NGO from moving beyond its current portfolio. ICC members often indicated awareness of the problem and willingness to connect more with communities if there were more resources like time and money. Another observation revolves around the broad knowledge of the ICC's UN work in New York among community members while at the same time there seemed to be a lack of knowledge about its relevance.

The apparent disconnect between the ICC's work and the community needs has become apparent in this and the previous two chapters. Whereas the ICC addresses structural violence by becoming part of and co-creating the international level, hoping that binding legislation and government advocacy would have a trickle-down effect on local Inuit, this approach can seem rather abstract and remote to community members where the peoples' needs (e.g. for housing, better health care, and education) are an everyday reality and require rather concrete solutions. This disconnect leads to the conclusion that the ICC's international lobby work might not be as

effective at advocating for what is needed. After this analysis of the general perception of the ICC in the communities, the following chapter will focus on community perceptions of climate change and the ICC's climate change work.

8.5 Perception of the ICC's Climate Change Work

As has been described in the previous section, community members tended to have very basic knowledge of the ICC, which also meant that those research collaborators who spoke about the NGO did not know many details about the ICC's work related to climate change. However, with climate change being one of the biggest challenges for Inuit, most participants generally knew that the ICC was dealing with the issue.

In Maniitsoq, Sara Heilmann Rosing pointed out that climate change was one of the things the ICC was working on. She had the general impression that the ICC was "trying to do something about that [climate change]. Trying to tell people that it [climate change] hurts us." Johannes Rosing was also generally aware of the ICCs climate change efforts:

> Annerusumk eh taannartaa soorunami peqataarusuppaluttartoq tusaasarpakka soorlu CO_2-p kissappallaakkiartunginnissaa.
>
> Mostly, I've heard about that part, that they care a lot about climate change, like CO_2 emissions.

In a similar manner, another collaborator formulated: "Climate change, we know what the ICC does, we know that they gather […] all Inuit people. But, […] generally, I don't think we know much about the work that they do." Peter Soren Olsen had a very similar reaction: "I think they (the ICC) are working regarding climate change, but I'm not so aware of that kind of job. So I'm not informed so much." This demonstrated that the ICC's climate change is on peoples' radar, but

they lack detailed knowledge of the ICC's efforts to reduce climate change.

A few individuals had marginal knowledge about the organization's work to address the effects of climate change. A research collaborator in Maniitsoq spoke about radio and TV reports on ICC leaders (e.g. Aqqaluk Lynge) travelling to other countries where they shared firsthand insight about the challenges caused by climate change. Another research collaborator in the community spoke about the ICC's international sharing of Inuit climate change experiences and impacts. This person generally and appreciatively noted the ICC's UN climate change work.

But, whereas some individuals praised the ICC for its efforts to share Inuit perceptions of climate change internationally, Gideon Lyberth did not consider the ICC useful in addressing the challenges caused by climate change. To him, the Greenlandic government seemed to be a more adequate and promising agent to initiate adequate responses to climate change-related challenges. Harald Bajare, an Elder and artist in Maniitsoq, shared:

> Soorlu kingullermik tusarnaarakku uanga, assut silaannaap allanngornera assut oqallisigivaat. Taava soorlu tamakku fabrikkersuit assut mingutsitsisartut eqqartorpaat. […] Tamarmik taamani eqqartorneqarput tamakkua. Kingullermik ataatsimiissutaasimasut angusarisimasat eqqartorneqarput taava aperiinnarput qanoq najuuttut isumaqarfigineraat, qanoq isummersornersut, taava nammineq tusarnaartut oqariartuuteqarput aamma, nalunngilakka taakku. […] Kingullermik tusakkakka malillugit tassa sorsuutigigaluarpaat taanna mingutsitsisuit illoqarfissuit, fabrikkersuit mingutsitsisut tungaannut iliuuseqarnissartik.
>
> The last time I listened, they discussed a lot about the climate change. They talked about the big factories that causes a lot of pollution, amongst other things. […] They discussed it all back then. They talked about their past meeting and asked the participants for their opinions, and the listeners/participants shared their opinions and the listeners/participants gave their message—that's what I know. […] The last time I've heard of them, they were fighting to want the big cities to do something about the factories that causes a lot of pollution.

He also said that he noticed that the ICC held a meeting at the community hall in Maniitsoq in 2015 where there was a lot of talk about climate change and factories causing pollution. About fifty (mostly older) people attended the two-hour meeting, according to Bajare. He noticed that the

ICC focused on limiting the pollution exhausted by big companies.

In Panniqtuuq, Andrew Qappik recalled hearing about the ICCs work at the UN to reduce the effects of climate change. Peter Evvik knew that the ICC's work focuses on the reduction of pollution which threatens the health of animals that Inuit consume as country food:

> If we have to stop eating, stop harvesting our country food, because they're becoming scarce and they're not healthy any more to eat. Those kind of things that I hope that it will never happen. […] We keep hearing, too. Cause, that's when ICC steps in, is [in regards to] pollution. […] That can also kill our mammals and animals. You know, if the Earth is being polluted each and every day. And, the north is the gateway, all that pollution from the south has a one way-trip to the north. […] So, that's one thing that I think ICC is really visualizing and so, if a big company wants to do some big action in the north, ICC or ITK will step in. And they will report to us [QIA, the community] and we will start doing the action.

To Evvik, the ICC advocated on behalf of Inuit to reduce pollution globally. He knew that the ICC addressed the global pollution problem, because pollution eventually finds its way to the north where it endangers the health of animals and the people who consume those animals. Through its advocacy, the ICC helps safeguard Inuit culture and lifestyle. Another individual knew about and admired the climate change work Sheila Watt-Cloutier[988] has done during her ICC chairmanship:

> I know Sheila Watt-Cloutier does some nice work. […] I've read some of her speeches, […] or quotes and I recently saw her speech in a video and she's very inspiring. […] She– s very, very knowledgeable of the issues. […] And, she has a great way of saying what's on her mind.

The community member was particularly impressed by Watt-Cloutier's knowledge about climate change matters and her eloquence in communicating her insight. Other research collaborators did not find themselves in an informed enough position to speak about the ICC's climate change work.[989] Despite the very little knowledge about it, some individuals had recommendations about

[988] Sheila Watt-Cloutier served as the president of ITK from 1995 to 2002 and as the chair of ICC International from 2002 to 2006. The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Sheila Watt-Cloutier."

[989] The fact that they thought of themselves as not informed enough was explained as lack of information from the ICC but also lack of interest in the ICCs work. At least two research collaborators (Linda Uvilluq and another community member) said that they did not know what the ICC was doing related to climate change.

how the NGO should deal with the conflict.

8.6 Community Recommendations

One participant in Maniitsoq suggested that the ICC should focus on a few issues (climate change being one of them) and that the ICC should share more about their work in the news. This, in turn, would leave Inuit more informed about and interested in the ICC's work. Harald Bajare and his friend spoke much about climate change and the ICC at a meeting in 2015:

> Tassa soorlu ikinnguteqarpunga ICC-mut peqataasartumik, taava eqqartuisarpugut aamma tamakkuninnga, nunap inoqqaavinut illersuinissamik, silaannaallu allanngulernera, taanna assut eqqartortarparput, silaannaap allanngulernerani ICC-ikkut tuaviusaarnerusariaqartut, taanna assut eqqartortarparput.
>
> I have a friend that participates in the ICC meetings and we talk about it, the supporters of the Indigenous Peoples, the climate change, those are the subjects that we talk a lot about. We wish for the ICC to work harder on climate change—we talk a lot about that.

Harald Bajare would like to see the ICC have a bigger impact on the climate change debate. Erno Petersen pointed out the necessity for the ICC to speak to national leaders with a united voice:

> It could be great when ICC begun to talk with top leaders in the world, for example […] with the US President, Canadian Prime Minister. There has to be more talk about the climate changes. Because, as you know, US and Canada and, China and Russia are one of the greatest actually industrial countries. So, the ICC should be the leader to talk with the leaders of the world. […] They have to talk about the real climate changes, how they impact common Inuit. And, how our living is right now. Reality should be the only way to get these top leaders to listen. […] The ICC should be counsel for Inuit. Among the polar circle and it does not only talk about Inuit in Greenland, Inuit in Canada, Inuit in Alaska, Inuit in Chukotka. But, they speak about Inuit from all countries.

In particular, it is important that the ICC directly interacts and shares its insight into the real impacts of climate change with world leaders, especially those representing highly industrialized countries like Canada, the US, China, and Russia. It is noteworthy that Erno Petersen described the ICC as a leader among other leaders who represent their people. This demonstrates how the

ICC is perceived as an agent incorporated in the mainstream Western political system where elected leaders represent the interests of the people and negotiate with each other. That same individual also wished that the ICC was more "visible" at the climate panel in Paris and in Greenland, and that it had more long-term plans (five to ten years) for raising money to continue its work and increase its efforts in fighting climate change. For Peter Soren Olsen it was important that "the ICC could be coordinating Inuit across the circumpolar Arctic, they are useful in that way. So, we have to help each other, government, ICC, and the northern part of Canada, Alaska, Greenland, it's helpful to have the ICC, I think. We are connected." Similar to Petersen's statement, Olsen also thought that the ICC's strength lies in its unifying capacity and its ability to speak with one voice for all Inuit from different nation-states. Sara Heilmann Rosing, when asked for feedback for the ICC's climate change work, said: "Do it more. Tell more. […] And be more loud. […] It hurts us [that the] climate [is] changing." She wished that the ICC was more outspoken on the topic of climate change, particularly with reference to the impact on local Inuit. In our conversation, Harald Bajare suggested:

> Amerlasuunik tikittoqanngilaq, eqqaamasakka malillugit immaqa ataasiaq immaqa marloriaq, nalunngilara tikittoqartoq taamak. […] Uanga isumaqarpunga angalanerusinnaasut nunatsinni, illoqarfinni tamakkunin-nga. Taava nalunngilarput uagut imaaliarsaalersugut, taava assut uagutsinnut sunniutilerujussuuvoq silaannaap allanngoriartornera, taavalu oqartussat, mas-sami, nukittunerunissaat uagutsinnut assut kissaatiginaraluarpoq. […] Soorlu uagut malinnaasimasugut, silaannaap allanngorneranut, taavalu taassuma ICC suliarisaanik paasilaarsimasugut, malinnaalaarsimasugut tassani nukittunerunissaa.. Soorlu sineriami uagut uunga piarsaalersimasuni silami malinnaanerpaat, aammalu malussarinnerpaat, inuusuttuninngaanniit soqutaaneq ajorput, kisianni soqutiginnittut soqutigisarpaat. Tassa uagut pisariaqartikkaluarparput, amerlanerusunik angalaartarnissaat taavalu immersortuarnissaat. Soorlu uagut immersuisinnaagaluarpugut, arlaatigut soorunami annikikkaluanik tunisineq taanna iluaqutaasarpoq.]
>
> As I remember, they only visited once or twice. […] I think they should travel more around the country, visit the cities. We Elders are very influenced by the climate change and we strongly wish for the authorities to have a stronger voice. We who have been there to see the climate changing, and have some understanding of the work of ICC, should be stronger.

> We from the coastal communities and the elderly people are more focusing on the climate change, as compared to the younger generation, but of course there are some young people who are interested in following climate changes. We lack more information of the consequences of the climate changes to the coastal communities/local peoples. Of course we can contribute to this campaign even though it's not much—it might be helpful.

He wishes the ICC would visit the communities more often to listen to the Elders' concerns related to climate change. Speaking for the collective of Elders of which he is a member, Bajare pointed out that he and other Elders would like to see authorities speaking up against climate change with a stronger voice. The Elders' life experiences could be helpful to make a stronger case against climate change, especially with regards to community impacts of climate change.

In Panniqtuuq, Peter Evvik also suggested: "I think [what] all of us want to see is a plan for, I suppose not just tomorrow, not just the next month, not just the year after. They [the ICC] have to plan. If we can see a good plan, […] long term. And, how they're estimating the climate change." For him, it is important that the ICC has a long-term plan on how to deal with climate change made available to local Inuit. He would also like to be informed by the ICC on its perspective on climate change.

8.7 Community-based Climate Change Solutions

While most research collaborators highlighted a global need for political co-operation, change, and more environmental regulations—top-down solutions that are basically addressed by the ICC—it stood out that many research collaborators in Maniitsoq also spoke about very concrete local solutions to slow down climate change. Johannes Rosing noted: "Tassa pisuusut uagut imaaliinnarlugit tikkuarsinnaanngilagut, kisianni silarsuarmioqatigiit ikioqatigiittariaqarput. You can't just point fingers, but the whole world needs to be a part of the change." Based on the

assumption that assigning individual blame would not be fruitful, he suggested countries and individuals should work collectively towards a solution. Along similar lines, another participant in Maniitsoq suggested that community members and people in general should drive cars less often, make more use of existing public transportation alternatives, and that more electric cars should be available.[990] Sara Heilmann Rosing recommended that a monthly global day without cars (when people chose not to drive their cars) could have positive effects in Maniitsoq as much as in any other place on Earth. She and her husband, a bus driver in the community, did not own a car and used public transportation to get around. For Sara Heilmann Rosing, such behaviour that helps reduce CO_2 emissions was essentially an act of respecting nature and the environment more. She also considered it highly important to educate children to become more conscious of the environment and of connections between their individual actions and changes in the climate: "I do tell small children that […] they must take care of their life and […] if they get many cars […] it could be connecting to our climate." It is also important to make an effort to talk to children about a more mindful use of paper, and keeping in mind that paper is produced from trees that are essential for life on Earth. Thus, she functions as an educator who creates individual awareness.

Still thinking about nature but with a focus on resources, many participants in Maniitsoq spoke about a smarter local use of natural resources to keep the environment clean. One participant suggested that Greenland in general should make use of its resources to generate energy for the country, as long as the process and results were not dangerous for people. Gideon Lyberth spoke about the use of water and solar energy:

> Soorlu Kalaallit Nunaat eqqarsaatigalugu ajunngitsorujussuarmik Kalaallit Nunaat iliorpoq, eh, vandkræftværkit, eh, arlallit pilersinnaqarput. Kalaallit nunaata innaallagissamik pilersinnera 70 procentimi massakkut vandkræftiværk-ini pilersinneqarput. Siunissami suli alleqqittussaalluni, taavalu […] Taavalu mannamut, Maniitsumi misissorukku, eh, solcellit amerlasorujussuupput illuinnarniittut.

[990] Heilmann did not discuss specific ideas about how these cars would then be charged.

Atugaaleriartornera annertorujussuuput.

> Thinking about Greenland, we are doing some great stuff, hydroelectricity, there are a lot of hydroelectric plants. 70 percent[991] of the power we produce right now is from hydroelectricity. And it will be used even more in the future. […] And here, if you look around Maniitsoq, we have a lot of solar cells on houses. And the solar cells are gaining more popularity.

He highlighted how Greenland had already started using its natural resource (water) and a renewable resource (sun) to produce and provide electricity to the inhabitants of the island, and that this clean technology was not only future-oriented but also increasingly accepted and used. In fact, about half of the electricity produced in Greenland as a whole comes from hydroelectric plants.[992]

Some individuals recommended that change needs to begin in their own countries with municipalities and governments enforcing laws. As Peter Soren Olsen said:

> Of course the municipalities and governments have to do a law, work. We do that also in Greenland. To use more solar energy and windmills. We have it at roofs, solar energy. [For example, the] school has. […] Maniitsoq is quite famous for the use of [solar energy], because we have a company here who works for the solar energy. [They make solar] cells. […] They have a company, they travel from here somewhere in Greenland, and the company here is called Jensen. They are doing a good job. They received an award two years ago, for doing that. […] We are looking at the other sources to green energy. And Greenland, we produce about 70 percent of our energy to housing, heat, […] from water energy. […] It's, it's self-sufficient. […] And, the [Greenlandic] government and municipalities are doing a lot of effort to minimize the use of gasoline, other sources, who pollute the air.

For Peter Soren Olsen it isthe municipality's and government's responsibility to create policies that help reduce CO_2 output. In order to reduce CO_2 pollution, the municipality in Maniitsoq has started to subsidize solar panels on the roofs of buildings. In Maniitsoq, he argues, solar and wind energy are useful resources, and solar panels had already been set up on the roof of the school and

[991] Peter Soren Olsen also pointed out that 70 percent of Greenland's energy (used for heating) is self-produced.
[992] "Greenland."

another building. Part of the reason solar panels are so accepted in the community might come from the fact that the government provides subsidies:

> They [people in Greenland] get some money if they want. Sometimes up to 50% of the [costs]. And companies can apply to get some [financial support]. Yes, being that way we are doing a lot of effort to minimize the CO2 pollution. […] That's progress, yes. For the long term.

By subsidizing green energy and thus encouraging citizens to invest in solar panels, Soren Olsen explains, the Greenlandic government is putting in a great financial effort to minimize CO2 pollution and is progressing in the right direction in the long term.

Another approach to reducing pollution is by buying food more locally. In a rather ironic twist, the changing climate caused Greenland to warm up, allowing for more vegetation, including vegetables. This was considered a positive result of climate change: "I think we have to have a very close look on how we produce everything. […] Potatoes, we have them, so sell them locally, more locally. You have to go in that way with all vegetables in the world and everything you have." Karl Lund Svensson suggested that more locally grown vegetables should also be sold locally. Practiced globally, long transportation routes by environment-polluting vessels could be avoided. Johannes Rosing spoke about local adaptation to weather changes:

> 2014-animiunnguttiarpoq sinerissami assut sikuuniarpoq ukiorissinerani. Taava manna. Silaannaa nillernerinnaani siku. Imaq kissaraluaq. Taava lille holmi una tunittivik maani tusaamassavarsi neqimik soorlu ilaa, umimmannik, tuttunik puisinik arfernik. Kalaallit nerisassaataanik. Taava ittua oqarpoq "kalaallit nunaat tamaat pilersorparsi" allanik sikummat puisissinnaajunnaarmata, maani illoqarfittinninngaanniit.[…] Timmisartukkut arsartorlugit soorlu ilaa illoqarfimmiit illoqarfimmut, tassa iluaqutaasarlunilu siku, iluaqutaasarluni ajoqutaasarlunilu, taava. Taamaaligaagat naleqqussartuaannartarpugut.
>
> I believe it was in 2014, that there would have been a lot of ice. Because the air was cold, ice. Even though the sea was warm. And this company Lilleholm, you must know this if you're from here, you know they sell musk ox, caribou, seal, whale. Greenlandic food. And the boss told us: "You are feeding Greenland", when the sea froze and it got difficult to hunt for seals, around here. […] They ship it with planes to other cities, and that makes it easier for families to get Greenlandic food without hunting, because they can't because of the ice. When that happens, we can always adapt.

If Inuit ways of hunting and providing food to the community are unsuccessful, new approaches need to be realized to ensure that Inuit continue to receive country food. In this context, Johannes Rosing highlights the work of Lilleholm, a fish factory in Maniitsoq that buys salmon, halibut, and cod, as well as whales and caribou, and flies out the country food to other Greenlandic communities and families who are unable to hunt.[993] For Johannes Rosing, reacting to climate change means adapting and finding new, creative solutions, similar to the fish factory's export of country food to other Inuit in Greenland.

This analysis of the perception of the ICC's climate change in the communities revealed the existence of very rudimentary knowledge of its climate change work. This stands in contrast to the NGO's consistent and comprehensive advocacy for environmental protection described earlier, pointing at a lack of information-sharing of the ICC's work with the communities.[994]

Interestingly, the ICC was perceived as a Western leader dealing with other national leaders by one participant, hinting at the organization's embeddedness in the Western peacemaking system. Similar to the general feedback on the ICC, community members also recommended that the ICC should share more information on its climate change advocacy work with the communities and that the NGO should follow a long-term plan. These recommendations can be understood as rooted in the Inuit CR approaches of sharing information and continuously planning for the future. It is noteworthy that some community members were very critical of the ICC, and one person even trusted the government more than the NGO, while others discussed its interactions with decision-

[993] Government of Greenland, Ministry of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture, "The Economic and Social Impact of the Internal Use Fishery of Salmon in Greenland," 2015, 13, http://www.nasco.int/pdf/2015%20papers/WGC_15_4.pdf. The company sells "their products to wholesalers and supermarkets like Pilersuisoq A/S, and Kalaallit Nunaani Brugseni, in turn the wholesalers and supermarkets distribute the products to other parties" (p. 20).

[994] Perhaps the ICC could envision establishing community councils or carrying out community visits on a rotating basis to enhance its local presence and connection to the communities.

makers. This is a testament to changes in local CR approaches to engage more with the Western system (for which pre-contact CR approaches have paved the way by instructing Inuit to practice political realism and adaptability). Community members' recommendations to increase interactions and information-exchange with communities and to be more inclusive of Elders' climate change knowledge point to Inuit values of inclusivity, communication, relationship building and maintenance, and knowledge-sharing. The concept of the ICC as the unified voice of Inuit that needs to communicate more loudly (as an international advocate, and as a representative body with the communities) resonated with the metaphor of the NGO as a drum.

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the perceptions of Inuit in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq of the ICC and its climate change work in fall 2016. Whereas the ICC was generally perceived as a helpful organization, detailed knowledge about the NGO's work was lacking. Community members explained this lack of knowledge as lacking connection between the ICC and their community, which was understood as a result of the ICC's prioritizing its attention on the international political stage. This prompted the metaphor of the ICC as a "one-way street." This finding was supported by the results from short, quantitative community surveys that indicated that community members generally perceived the ICC as a helpful organization but lacked detailed knowledge. It should also be briefly mentioned that the community responses about the ICC could be indicative of a certain amount of confusion among local Inuit regarding the role of government, political parties, land claim organizations (in Canada) and the ICC as an NGO for conflict resolution in general. Much of the criticism that was shared with the researcher (for example regarding lacking health care provisions, lack of jobs) could also be directed at the local or national governments, decision-

making bodies which could potentially more properly address such issues than the ICC as an advocacy organization. It is acknowledged that such complaints were made about the ICC because the researcher asked about conflicts and the ICC (and not abou the government, for example). This insight serves to further emphasize the lack of knowledge about the ICC and its work among local Inuit.

There was interest among community members to learn and know more about the ICC. Community members perceived the ICC's climate change work as important, but, again, lacked more detailed knowledge about the concrete aspects of the NGO's climate change advocacy work on behalf of Inuit. While limited financial means and the geographic size of Inuit Nunaat were understood as limiting factors for the ICC's community connections, local Inuit suggested that more comprehensive connections with the ICC could educate community members more about its work and thus increase its relevance for Inuit. Despite a general acknowledgement of the ICC as helpful for Inuit, local realities indicated the existence of creative, immediate, and informal processes of Everyday Peacemaking that were in place to deal with conflicts in the communities.

The ICC is perceived as a Hybrid Peacemaking agent in the communities where individual recommendations point at the ICC as an Inuit peacemaking tool (engaging in relationship-building, communication, and knowledge-sharing)[1006] but also as a Western peacemaking tool (being an NGO and dealing with national leaders). This is reflected in the community members' recommendations regarding dealing with climate change that included local and individual agency (pointing to Everyday Peacemaking in the communities that involves concrete and innovative actions like saving resources by taking the bus and shipping locally, using alternative resources to protect the environment, educating children, and being resourceful in exploring new avenues, such as installing solar panels on houses). This is also reflected in international advocacy that involves

dealing with nation-states. Both approaches are understood as complementing each other, and they illustrate local conceptualizations of climate change activism as a Hybrid Peacemaking[1007] effort.

Chapter 9
Discussion
The ICC as an agent of peacemaking

The previous chapter marks the last of four findings chapters that discussed from different angles whether the ICC can be understood as an agent of peace for Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut in conflicts around climate change. This chapter brings together the study's main findings to answer the initially outlined research question. It became clear that the question of whether the ICC is an agent of peacemaking has much to do with issues of connectivity between local Inuit and the ICC as well as of the ICC with other agents. Thus, the various existing and non-existing connections of the ICC will be discussed in this chapter, outlining the ICC's self-perception, the ICC's climate change work and community perceptions of the ICC and its climate change work. This chapter also discusses community observations of Inuit as everyday peacemakers and "future-makers" – local coping mechanisms that involve individual agency instead of ICC support. The chapter ends with a final conclusion and an outline of this study's limitations and directions for future research.

The question of whether the ICC is an agent of peacemaking for Inuit in conflicts around climate change has been addressed by weaving together the voices from ICC representatives and community members in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq through an analysis of the ICC's climate change work and its policy guidelines. This was done to determine whether the ICC could be called an agent of peacemaking for Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut in climate change conflicts. It was assumed that the ICC could be called an agent of peacemaking if its work reflects the Hybrid Peace model, which would then indicate the ICC as an agent of decolonization for Inuit. Climate change (as a product of colonialism) exposes Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut to various forms of structural

and cultural violence. Processes of decolonization that aim at CT are required to address this structural violence.

The Everyday Peace model was also used in this study to analyze the ICC as an agent of peacemaking, because local/Indigenous (here: Inuit) strengths and coping mechanisms that have the potential to transform larger-scale conflicts. Finding such local strengths allowed for the discovery of contemporary, local, and informal Inuit peacemaking in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq. The concepts that guide everyday peacemaking in the communities are Inuit CR concepts that are also reflected in the NGO's work.

Representing 160,000 Inuit in four nation-states covering the territory of Inuit Nunaat, the ICC's decolonization work includes advocacy for climate change mitigation and adaptation. The ICC has come a long way since its founders concluded that an NGO was necessary to defend and protect Inuit rights and culture against colonial policies of assimilation and eradication. Since 1977, the ICC has established national offices in all four countries and held its GAs at regular intervals, concluding each of the week-long meetings with a detailed declaration that provides the NGO's future marching orders.

Understanding decolonization as a twofold approach: on the one hand, Indigenous culture and worldviews need to be revived and re-established, but on the other hand decolonization can mean using the colonizer's methods and techniques to strengthen Indigenous culture from within[995]—acknowledging the current reality of the dominant Western paradigm in all aspects of life. This is reflected in the Hybrid Peace model, which acknowledges that sustainable peacemaking usually occurs as a combination of imported Western, and local Indigenous, approaches to conflict. This is also reflected in the Everyday Peace model, and provides the

[995] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 56; Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991, 128–29.

theoretical framework for this study that allowed approaching the ICC as an agent of peacemaking for Inuit.

The mere creation of the NGO in the context of a worldwide, bottom-up emergence of oppressed societies' protest and calls for empowerment in the 1970s[996] is an act that enhances Inuit decolonization.[997] It is continued through the ICC's ongoing work as specified in its charter: Promoting Inuit unity across nation borders; advancing Inuit interests and rights internationally; ensuring Inuit participation in fora relevant for the Inuit; advocating for greater self-sufficiency in the Arctic; fostering strong and growing Inuit societies; protecting the environment, wildlife, and biological productivity; and advocating for wise resource management that allows Inuit to benefit economically.[998] The ICC supports peaceful decolonization[999] and promotes world peace.[1000] Thus, it can be understood as an agent of decolonization and CT.[1001] Through its regular meetings and collective actions, the ICC[1002] aspires to enable Inuit to return to the "human vocation of making history,"[1003] and to achieve greater political control over their lives.[1004]

[996] John Friedmann, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 1; Brody, *Living Arctic*, 217.
[997] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 108. The founding of the ICC proves that Inuit acted out their "ability to transcend the given," to overcome their colonial conditioning and to act as subjects in the world in order to change the experience of reality (colonial threat) with their idea of reality (decolonization) and to define their interests authentically (Ibid.).
[998] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter."
[999] Abele and Rodon, "Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era," 55.
[1000] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Charter," pt. Preamble.
[1001]. Mac Ginty and Williams, *Conflict and Development*, 42–57, 97; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*, 17. Conflict transformation/ peace-building, or in Burton's words, conflict prevention, is concerned with long-term relationships between conflict parties and aspires to eliminate structural violence and other causes of conflict to realize peaceful and sustainable relationships (Ibid.). Decolonization is one aspect of peace-building as it aspires to eradicate structural violence.
[1002] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 56, 58. As the colonized cultures have been influenced heavily during colonization, the forms of decolonization can also reflect an "energetic engagement with dominant practice." Thus, "the process of resistance was conducted in terms or institutions appropriated from the colonizing culture itself" (ibid.) (e.g. the ICC as an NGO).
[1003] Puxley, "The Colonial Experience," 112.
[1004] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, 1:232.

From the very beginning, the ICC's focus has been international in scope,[1005] connecting circumpolar Inuit across nation-states, and interacting with decision-makers on the international level. Through the ICC, Inuit have become the institutional partners of the colonial powers.[1006] It advocates for the "endurance and growth of Inuit culture" [1007] (also an element of decolonization):[1008] Its main purpose is to "strengthen the ties among Inuit" and to "help the circumpolar Inuit culture and livelihood flourish again."[1009] These concepts were also reflected by ICC representatives in our conversations.

9.1 The ICC as a "Harpoon Head"—ICC's Self-perception

To describe their organization, ICC representatives provided a rich array of metaphors (guard dog, drum, harpoon head, and kayaker) rooted in Inuit material and hunting culture. The metaphor of the ICC as a guard/watchdog describes the NGO as a guide or navigator helping Inuit to find their own identity (celebrating Inuit culture at GAs, knowledge-sharing through ICC's community visits, radio broadcasts, newsletters). The metaphor also evokes the image of a protector against harmful outside impacts[1010] and as a monitoring agent carefully observing the environment (e.g., the NGO's creation was a result of Inuit leaders observing the structure, but the ICC also monitors international developments to allow for active participation and co-creation, and to enhance the system's inclusiveness).[1011] Similar to dogs helping locate other people, the

[1005] Lynge, *Inuit. The Story of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference*, 57.
[1006] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, 56.
[1007] Inuit Circumpolar Council, "Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter," pt. 3.
[1008] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 217f.
[1009] Elizabeth Qulaut and John Bennett, eds., "Editorial," *Inuktitut* 71 (1990): 2.
[1010] Examples of the ICC as a protector are: its charter, its interactions with national governments, its advocacy to be consulted prior to the start of projects, its opposition against the EU seal product import ban, and its emphasis on being an IPO
[1011] The ICC is currently active in various international bodies like IUCN and UNPFII. In its role as a guard and

ICC continuously establishes a multitude of new connections.[1012]

As an advocate for Inuit, the NGO communicates the Inuit voice internationally and educates Inuit and non-Inuit about Inuit culture and values. This is reflected in the metaphor of the ICC s a drum. As the drum songs often resemble a heartbeat, the ICC can be understood as the Inuit heartbeat, indicating Inuit cultural survival and resilience as well as the IPO's centrality and importance to Inuit as an enabler of a thriving and peaceful life. The unifying aspects of drum performances help reinforce a collective cultural identity and are reflected in the ICC's GAs, where Inuit from across the Arctic gather and celebrate and co-create a declaration (the drum song).[1013] As a traditional form of CR, the drum performances resonate deeply within the ICC's current CR approaches, allowing for the development and renewal of relationships and alliances. An example of the metaphorical engagement in a song duel (directly addressing a conflict in a public and controlled confrontation that allowed for transparency) can, for example, be found in the ICC's petition at the IACHR.

The metaphor of the ICC as a harpoon (head) allows for associations of the NGO as a precision tool used strategically to provide something of substance for the community. Its interactions with decision-makers are based on a solid understanding of the options and possibilities provided in a certain context. The ICC focuses its attention on a specific area and with a clear goal in mind, much as a harpoon is forcefully thrown by an experienced individual to hit a certain target. Internationally, the ICC has a reputation as a highly professional and reliable IPO and it serves as a role model for other Indigenous Peoples who are learning from the organization's

protector, it lobbies national decision-makers to sign international policy papers that help protect Inuit culture and identity (e.g. UNDRIP, the Stockholm Convention, the Minamata Convention, and the Paris Agreement).

[1012] For example: the first transnational co-operation in the Arctic, connections with Russian Inuit that even overcame Cold War boundaries, connections with other Indigenous Peoples (e.g. in the MSV project, in the AC, or UNPFII) to allow for information exchange and to amplify the Indigenous voice.

[1013] Media reports on the GAs further enhance the feeling of cultural cohesion and pride among Inuit.

strategies.

The ICC was also described as a kayaker, allowing for associations of a resilient, enduring, skilled, confident, experienced, strong, energetic, brave, perseverant, goal-oriented, and determined agent able to chart new territory (i.e., the ICC was created in a hostile context by knowledgeable and brave Inuit leaders, and the ICC's confident and determined leaders who enable the NGO's survival despite very limited financial capacities). One very important territory Inuit needed to chart was climate change.

9.2 The ICC's Climate Change Work

The ICC's climate change advocacy evolved from environmental concerns to a more holistic understanding of its many aspects. It has acted highly strategically and focused on the international arena, and it has successfully participated in the delivery of new guidelines, mechanisms, structures, ground-breaking conventions, and fora[1014]avenues that impact national decision-making processes and help Inuit address issues related to climate change.

The ICC has also proven to be a reliable and trustworthy agent that is valued by other Indigenous groups for its professionalism and diplomacy. It is an active advocate for change, engaged in agenda-setting that aims at leadership and collaboration, calling on them to share Inuit experiences of climate change and Inuit suggestions for CT. It has added a human face to the climate change debate.[1015]

[1014] For example the Stockholm Convention, the Minamata Convention, the creation of UNPFII and UNDRIP, and Permanent Participant status in the AC

[1015] Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "It's Time to Humanize Climate Change Issues, Says Sheila Watt-Cloutier," National Observer, October 19, 2018, https://www.nationalobserver.com/2018/10/19/opinion/its-time-humanize-climate-change-issues-says-sheila-watt-cloutier.

The ICC's strong advocacy, perseverance, reliability, patience, and diplomacy are respected and relied upon internationally. In fact, the ICC is one of the most visible IPOs in the international arena.[1016] This is due to the strong leadership of gifted diplomats like Aqqaluk Lynge and Sheila Watt-Cloutier, who guided the organization and shaped the climate change debate by educating and informing (instead of criticizing) others[1017] and by highlighting positive memories—a strategy that allows for co-operation and for saving face.

Over the years, the ICC has positioned itself as a resource conservationist, "challenging the policies of governments, multi-national corporations, and environmental movements." It has made clear that the protection of the Arctic environment and its resources needs to acknowledge Indigenous rights and be in accordance with Inuit cultural values and traditions.[1018] Inuit environmental knowledge informed the ICC's Arctic Policies, reflecting Inuit "concerns about future development, together with ethical and practical guidelines for human activity in the Arctic."[1019] Through the ICC and its work at the UN (especially UNDRIP and UNCED in Rio in 1992 and in Johannesburg in 2002), Inuit have placed themselves at the vanguard of worldwide environmental protection.[1020]

The ICC explains that its international and national lobby work would not be possible without its close connection to the local level where the IPO conducts research and collects individual perspectives that inform its work. Insight into local realities are then made available to a larger audience through presentations (e.g., ICC representatives presenting at MSV events),

[1016] Heinämäki, "Rethinking the Status of Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Decision-Making: The Role of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Climate Change," 231.
[1017] A good example of face-saving and indirect criticism was provided when Canadian Inuk Sheila Watt-Cloutier filed a petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in 2005 to criticize the US for their contribution to climate change. A Canadian Inuk criticized the American government, helping the American Inuit to save face by preventing them from criticizing their own government. Heinämäki, 220.
[1018] Nuttall, "Inuit," 996.
[1019] Nuttall, 997.
[1020] Nuttall, 997.

reports (e.g., the Pikialasorsuaq report), publications (e.g., the 2005 publication SIKU: Knowing Our Ice) and by means of press releases and newspaper statements. Generally, the ICC aims at ensuring a two-way street by collecting local information that informs its work, communicating back to the communities about its work and successes, and outlining how local Inuit benefit from high-level mechanisms.

9.3 Community Perceptions of the ICC and its Climate Change Work

Conversations with community members and two short opinion surveys revealed that the ICC and its climate change work was generally not well-known in both communities. About every third person of those individuals who knew about the ICC considered it a helpful organization[1021] for the Inuit, and there was interest in learning more about the NGO. It was also noted that the ICC used correct facts and information in its work, although most participants could not recall any ICC community visits. Generally, community members noticed a lack of connection and communication between the ICC and their community, which was directly responsible for the lack of knowledge about the ICC and the unseen relevance of the ICC in the community. Individuals in both communities spoke about the ICC's remoteness from the community, which led to further questions as to how the ICC was able to represent Inuit adequately if it did not touch base with the communities.

It was suggested that the ICC's importance and relevance could be enhanced in the community if the NGO connected more with local Inuit. The ICC should visit Inuit communities

[1021] Those ccommunity members shared that the ICC has an important role for Inuit as a protector, educator, role model, and inspiration for Inuit youth, as well as an advocate for Inuit issues on the international level (UN, EU but also ICC GAs) with long-standing experience.

to allow for a mutual exchange and dialogue (a two-way street) that could lead to a better understanding of one another. Community visits would allow the ICC to educate Inuit about its work and to learn from Inuit about their everyday realities. In turn, community members would be able to develop a better understanding of the NGO and decide to get involved with the ICC.

Instead of spending money on travelling to meetings, it was recommended (in Panniqtuuq) that the ICC should focus on community health care, education, and food security—some of the every-day challenges faced by community members. Community members spoke of the ICC's one-directional work—a "one-way street"—that, in their opinion, seemed to concentrate its efforts more on the international arena and the UN than on connecting with the local level. This resulted in the ICC missing out on developing and maintaining relationships, connections and communication with Inuit communities, and possibly getting too removed from local realities to adequately represent Inuit perspectives and concerns.

These community findings reflect a lack of relationships between community members and the ICC. In Inuit and many other Indigenous cultures, relationships are extremely important as they serve as social glue connecting community members with each other, providing the support network required for survival. Lacking connections to communities and individuals means limited opportunities to develop relationships. Despite an obvious disconnect between community members and the ICC, community members showed respect and appreciation for the ICC's work in general and maintained at times a positive attitude towards the ICC, despite some obvious shortcomings. Participants also showed patience with the ICC, recognizing that limited resources were among the reasons for its missing connections as well. These mechanisms (showing respect and patience and remaining positive) are also aspects of Inuit peacemaking. Naturally, Inuit peacemaking practices are also applied in Inuit dealings with their biggest peacemaking agent, the

ICC. Moreover, the fact that local Inuit did not discuss the ICC's structure could indicate of community members' lack of awareness of existing avenues (with intermediaries representing the land claims regions, youth, and women, in Canada, and civil society organizations and the parliament in Greenland) to communicate with the NGO.[1022]

Climate change is a well-known reality in the two communities. Collaborators in both communities suggested top-down solutions to deal with climate change: international co-operation and agreements and national legal frameworks like the Kyoto protocol are important to help reduce CO_2 pollution. Community members who knew about the ICC mostly also knew that climate change was one of the NGO's main focal points and that its work on behalf of Inuit to reduce pollution involved sharing information about Inuit realities and advocacy work.

It was suggested that the ICC develop a long-term climate change action plan over several years, and that the ICC's advocacy should be stronger and more visible. It was also considered important that the ICC speak with one united voice representing all Inuit internationally, but that more voices from Elders needed to be included in the ICC's work to strengthen the ICC's case against climate change.

Some Inuit in both communities discussed the global repercussions of climate change, connecting the melting of ice in the Arctic to globally rising water levels that threaten the livelihoods of coastal populations. This indicates that Inuit environmental stewardship, one of the IQ concepts, goes beyond the local level to encompass the global well-being of human beings whose survival depends on a healthy environment. This illustrates how Inuit care for the

[1022] This could help explain the community members' wish for more direct interactions with the ICC, suggesting more community visits or even permanent ICC offices in the communities to allow for information exchange and relationship-building that could help educate local Inuit about the ICC's goals and structure, which, in turn, would lead to enhanced acceptance of and increased support for the ICC among community members.

environment is inclusive and holistic and reaches far beyond Inuit Nunaat. Their advocacy for a healthy planet ultimately connects to world peace.

9.4 Inuit as "Future-makers"—Everyday Peacemaking in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq

Conversations about climate change revealed various severe impacts on the community level. Besides recommending climate change mitigation strategies through international policy making with the ICC as an advocate for Inuit interests, community members in Maniitsoq also pointed out the importance of local awareness, agency, and action with regards to climate change. This involved concrete recommendations for everyday peacemaking that can help reduce CO_2 emissions, focus more on using renewable energies, and create an environmental consciousness among young people (reflecting the Inuit value of thinking proactively about the future and being resourceful).

However, other conflicts posing challenges in peoples' everyday lives (e.g., example food insecurity, unemployment, lack of housing, health care- and education-services, residential school trauma, substance abuse, and suicide) were also described. The local context is where the structural and cultural violence caused by colonialism and climate change is experienced on a daily basis. It is also the area where community members have developed local coping mechanisms that did not require the ICC as a helper.

Community members engaged in activities that helped maintain or develop relationships. Spending time together, preparing and eating country food, celebrating birthdays, and holding sharing circles discussing suicide in Maniitsoq were some of the informal ways of being together that were observed. In Panniqtuuq, more formalized groups have developed, such as a youth group,

the Inuit Ilagiit program, and a local band. The care for one's own well-being and the well-being of other community members was important in both communities where individuals spoke about the healing aspects of being on the land, of hunting and berry picking. In some cases, these activities provided country food that was shared among the community members. In Panniqtuuq in particular, people have found ways of keeping themselves busy through activities like learning an instrument and entertaining others, planning to open a coffee and bake shop selling local bakers' products, and gathering the community youth in a group to ensure they have a voice. Individual ways of keeping busy involved playing Bingo, going on hikes, volunteering at the soup kitchen, and making artwork for sale. Elders were regularly visited. The values of sharing and working towards a common good are naturally incorporated in community members' everyday lives.

When community members learn to play an instrument, overcome bureaucratic processes to establish a formal soup kitchen, or recommend using electric cars and renewable energy, individuals illustrate their readiness to develop new skills (an IQ concept). In order to have a successful life, Inuit are open to develop these new skills (often through patience, observation, and practice), even if this means using modern techniques. This rich list of examples of everyday peacemaking illustrates Inuit ways of coping and dealing with the local impacts of structural violence caused by colonialism and climate change. The traditional Inuit CR concepts that have evolved and proven their value over centuries provide individual Inuit with guidance and support to maneuver through these everyday challenges one step at a time. Many everyday peacemaking aspects (e.g., entertaining or feeding others, teaching children Inuit values) reflect the concept of planning for a better future, with Inuit as the "future-makers." These coping mechanisms reflect the IQ values, which means that the same values that are reflected in the ICC are also present in community members' peacemaking activities on an everyday basis. As active agents, Inuit refuse

to be seen as victims. Their creative and pragmatic acts of resilience demonstrate, every day, that Inuit do not deal with the Arctic as the "ground zero of climate change" as is often presented in the media.[1023]

9.5 Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates that the ICC is an effective agent and role model for its leadership in global discussions of decolonization and ecological justice. Three research objectives guided this study of the ICC as an agent of peacemaking for Inuit. Following the first objective, local Inuit in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq were approached to identify community perspectives on the ICC's climate change work and to learn about local ways of dealing with the conflict (chapter eight). Inuit in both communities perceived anthropogenic climate change as a serious problem that impacted their lifestyle and culture. Suggestions for CR included individual agency to reduce pollution and CO_2 output and better protection through legally binding policy tabled by national governments and the international community. Although the ICC was not known in every household, contrary to RCAP's claim, those community members who knew about the NGO highlighted its important input and recommended its involvement in CT related to climate change on the international level. As instructed by the second objective, the ICC's development, self-perception, and climate change work were examined to learn about the NGO's efforts as an Inuit advocate and its input to reduce the impacts caused by climate change for Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut/Canada (chapters four to seven). Following the third objective, this study compared and contrasted community members' suggested ways of dealing with climate change with the ICC's

[1023] Sejersen, *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the Era of Climate Change: New Northern Horizons*, 3–5.

work to mitigate climate change effects. The ICC's understanding of climate change overlaps with local perceptions of the conflict: it is a challenge that severely impacts Inuit culture and well-being. Community members' recommendations for the ICC to address climate change internationally, to make the Inuit voice heard, and to advocate for binding frameworks that help mitigate climate change effects are reflected in the ICC's international work. Although knowledge about the ICC in the communities was often marginal, local Inuit who knew about the NGO spoke about its climate change advocacy on the international level in high regards and recommended that the ICC continue its existing international work to make the Inuit voice heard and to protect Inuit culture and well-being. Additionally, community members highlighted the importance of individual agency in dealing with climate change (one has to be a role model in order to demand change from others) and pointed out other challenges that impacted their lives, such as food security and lack of adequate health care in the community, as well as the local coping mechanisms that help to address these challenges. The following key findings result from the analysis.

First: Inuit cultural values (planning for the future, adaptation, pragmatism, importance of relationships and co-operation, sharing and helping others, environmental stewardship, being resourceful, being positive and open-minded, and the development of new skills) that are found among local Inuit also guide the ICC's international work, its unifying character, its advocacy to create the AC as a forum with a strong Indigenous input, its work in UNPFII and MSV, and bringing global Indigenous people together to discuss climate change. The metaphors used by ICC representatives to describe the ICC and its work illustrated their deep connection to Inuit culture. The ICC's creation was the result of knowledge acquisition and skill development that involved thinking through the conflict in a calm manner (using their *isuma*) before acting. The ICC, as the first pan-Arctic and transnational co-operation, is also a testament to resourceful approach to

problem-solving—another key Inuit value.[1024] The participatory, consensual, and inclusive nature of the GAs, paired with the vivid practice of the various Inuktitut languages and a special Elders' gathering, are further testaments to the appreciation of Inuit values. The value for consensus decision-making is practiced in the ICC's position and policy papers (GA declarations, PECAP, the Inuit Arctic Policy, and the Anchorage Declaration). These approaches reflect the Inuit values of exploring new opportunities and technologies as well as being resourceful in resolving problems and working together for the common good. Particularly, the ICC's work of expanding the existing political arena with the new Permanent Participant concept allows for direct contact to national decision-makers in the AC, and the NGO's co-creation (together with other Indigenous Peoples) of new international mechanisms to exert influence in existing fora (like UNPFII and Many Strong Voices) are areas where the ICC has shown insight, innovation, and resourcefulness in dealing with climate change. This work is also a testament to the ICC's helpfulness, respect, and concern for others—all key IQ concepts.

References to the ICC as watchdog, drum, harpoon head, and kayaker point to typical Inuit CR approaches like communication, resourcefulness to deal with challenging situations (including charting new territory), acquiring skills and knowledge and careful observation of a situation, acting patiently and strategically, and planning for the future. Generally, the ICC's climate change work thoroughly reflects the IQ concept of environmental stewardship that instructs Inuit to protect the environment. The creation of the ICC illustrates the Inuit ability to think through conflict in a calm manner (a lot of time and effort went into preparations before the ICC's official creation), and it also reflects the early Inuit leaders' concern for others' welfare, care for others, and willingness to explore new opportunities.

[1024] Other examples of the ICC's resourcefulness and planning for a better future are: The sending of food to Russian Inuit during the Cold War, and the ICC's impact in the shaping of the AEPS, the AC, the MSV, and UNPFII.

The ICC's tendency to adapt and employ political realism in its strategies is first and foremost rooted in pre-contact Inuit peacemaking traditions. These concepts also pave the way for the ICC to adapt and assimilate into the dominant system to create change from within. Thus, the ICC reflects the following Western/liberal peacemaking aspects in its work. The very fact that the Inuit created an NGO that fits into the bureaucratic and professional system that tends to follow Westphalian logic indicates its adaptation to the dominant system. Furthermore, the ICC uses English as a formal language to communicate with each other and the world, and it is also known for its highly professional work in accordance with Western standards, as was reflected at the UN and in its own GA declarations, the Arctic Policy, the Anchorage Declaration, and the IACHR petition. These observations were complemented by voices from the two communities that understood and described the ICC's tasks as mainly dealing with governments on the national and international level (again, accepting assimilation into the existing liberal world order). Thus, the ICC can be understood as a Hybrid Peace agent, mixing Inuit peacemaking with Western forms of CT in its international work. On the local level, Inuit peacemaking is rooted in Inuit pre-contact traditions and can be termed Everyday Peacemaking. This form of dealing with the everyday realities stemming from structural/cultural (everyday) violence caused by colonialism and climate change is more informal, intuitive, innovative, and implicit.

Second: Observations and conversations in the communities revealed that climate change created situations of structural and cultural violence for Inuit. However, Inuit were also challenged with other conflicts related to housing, education, health care, and other issues that challenged their quality of life. Despite praising the ICC for its advocacy work, local Inuit often perceived the organization as too remote and distant to deal with their everyday challenges. Instead, local Inuit practiced everyday peacemaking through informal, local, creative, intuitive, and empathetic

practices firmly rooted in Inuit traditional values (IQ) like caring for others, environmental stewardship, serving, being resourceful and flexible in problem-solving, contributing to the community, and maintaining a positive attitude and a positive conduct. These practices aimed at the development and maintenance of relationships and collective harmony—goals that are typical for peaceful societies. Thus, the existence of local everyday peace practices confirmed that local Inuit practice culturally relevant mechanisms in dealing with their everyday conflicts. However, for the community members, the goal of maintaining harmony and protecting the environment clearly goes far beyond the local level, which serves to justify the ICC's international engagement. Ultimately, this reflects the Inuit value of acting proactively, constantly preparing for a better future, predicting consequences, concern for the welfare of others, and maintaining harmony.

Insight into everyday peacemaking among Inuit in both communities fills in the gaps of previous studies that indicated a need for further research of community and local peacemaking.[1025] Bringing these aspects to a larger audience will hopefully enrich the peacemaking vocabulary in PACS, enrich the understanding and highlight the importance of Everyday Peacemaking, and assist in the discovery and development of general principles of CR—an important task for PACS.[1026] Uniform approaches can destroy diversity, and one universal world culture is not the goal.[1027] Consequently, the role of culture and cross-cultural CR is also nascent in PACS.[1028] In fact, PACS has developed a multitude of approaches to peacebuilding that

[1025] Kyoon-Achan, "Original Ways," 224.
[1026] Fry and Björkqvist, "Preface."
[1027] Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, 7.
[1028] Augsburger, 21, 24.

embrace the bottom-up-,[1029] multi-track,[1030] multi-faceted-,[1031] inclusive,[1032] emancipatory-,[1033] cultural component[1034] and every-day-nature[1035] of peacebuilding approaches. Indigenous peacemaking is a critical, emancipatory form of peacebuilding that needs to be considered in PACS. This study is an effort to "more openly embracing epistemological and methodological pluralism" in PACS,[1036] in the hope that it will be one of the "foundation stones for a more genuinely inclusive and multicultural peace project."[1037]

Third: The ICC has been described as a watchdog/guard-dog, a drum, a harpoon (head), and a kayak(er). All four metaphors describe circular relationships: dogs return to and stay with their owners who feed and care for them, a harpoon is retrieved after a successful hunt, a kayaker eventually returns home, and the drum sound is created through the drum stick's circular movement against the drum and away from the drum. All four agents remain connected and return to their origin, from which they start venturing out again. These circular, mutually reinforcing patterns are important elements in Inuit worldviews where a high value is placed on holistic and harmonious relationships with humans, animals, and nature.[1038]

[1029] Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*.
[1030] Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*.
[1031] Byrne and Nadan, "The Social Cube Analytical Model and Protracted Ethnoterritorial Conflicts."
[1032] Kriesberg, "Waging Conflicts Constructively"; Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*; Nils Aarsaether, Larissa Riabova, and Jorgen Ole Baernholdt, "Community Viability," ed. Stefansson Arctic Institute (Akureyri: Stefansson Arctic Institute, 2004), 152; Wallace, *Merging Fires*; Davis, *Alliances*.
[1033] Thiessen, "Emancipatory Peacebuilding: Critical Responses to (Neo-) Liberal Trends."
[1034] Funk, "Building on What's Already There Valuing the Local in International Peacebuilding"; Tuso, "Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution"; Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*; Boulding, *Cultures of Peace*; Lederach, *Preparing for Peace*; Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution*.
[1035] Roger Mac Ginty, "Indicators +: A Proposal for Everyday Peace Indicators," *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Special Section: Rethinking Evaluation of Health Equity Initiatives, 36, no. 1 (February 2013): 56–63, doi:10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2012.07.001; Roger Mac Ginty and Pamina Firchow, "Everyday Peace Indicators: Capturing Local Voices through Surveys," *Shared Space: A Research Journal on Peace, Conflict and Community Relations in Northern Ireland* 8 (2014): 33–39.
[1036] Said, Lerche, and Funk, "For the Need for New Thinking," 116.
[1037] Funk, "Building on What's Already There Valuing the Local in International Peacebuilding," 407.
[1038] Valerie Alia, *Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy: Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity* (Halifax, N.S: Fernwood, 1994); Ann Fienup-Riordan, "The Real People: The Concept of Personhood Among the Yup'ik Eskimos of Western Alaska," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 10, no. 1/2 (1986): 261–270; Nuttall, "Choosing Kin: Sharing and Subsistence in a Greenlandic Hunting Community."

Such circular patterns are also reflected in the ICC's structure, emphasizing bottom-up and top-down connections that provide feedback loops that inform the ICC about community realities and needs (bottom up) and also help inform communities about the ICC's work and resulting positive impacts of the ICC's work (top down). However, the ICC's work was perceived as a "one-way street" that remains largely disconnected from the communities visited. Given that relational accountability is highly valued in Inuit culture, collaboration, and communication, this gap could be problematic regarding the NGO's claim to represent all Inuit.[1039]

Conversations with ICC representatives revealed that the ICC considers the international level to be the most promising avenue for its work. In the AC or in a UN body, its advocacy work can directly impact decision-makers. It is believed that changes initiated on the international level would eventually impact the lives of the Inuit in a top-down manner. Processes to realize such changes, however, can be complex and resource- and time-consuming.[1040] Another important reason for the apparent disconnect between the ICC and local Inuit lies in its financial limitations that translate into shortages in staff and travel budgets that simply prevent the organization from visiting more communities. Another reason lies in the ICC's structure: Various civil society organizations and land claim organizations are interposed in the bottom-up and top-down line of communication between the ICC and local communities. This means that communication between the ICC and local communities is complicated as it depends on these intermediaries' will and capacity to pass on information in both directions (in addition to their own mandate). Because the ICC respects the intermediaries' position it is reluctant to bypass regional organizations in its work.

[1039] Although, a point could be made that Inuit working for and representing the ICC are themselves community members who can serve to a certain degree as local informants.

[1040] If this insight is not communicated back to the communities, long time spans necessary to initiate changes internationally can easily be perceived as inefficiency, lack of outcomes, or lack of will to initiate change internationally.

In a nutshell: the ICC is an agent of peacemaking for Inuit in Greenland and Canada in climate change conflicts. The peace generated by the NGO can be termed "hybrid" peace as it combines Inuit and non-Inuit/Western approaches in its CT work. In agreement with local Inuit understandings, the ICC's climate change work on the international stage is generally considered important, and the ICC's input correctly reflects local realities. However, the theoretically existing "two-way-street" between the ICC and local Inuit needs to be strengthened and further developed for the ICC to become a stronger agent of peace for Inuit. Aside from the ICC, local Inuit in Maniitsoq and Panniqtuuq have developed individual coping mechanisms to deal with everyday challenges that serve as signposts for community resilience and Everyday Peace.

9.6 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The format of a doctoral dissertation demands adherence to certain ways of doing things. The quotes and material presented in this work needed to be compartmentalized and thus taken out of the overall context of a conversation. Using only these excerpts while having to edit out the larger context of a conversation admittedly diminishes the richness and holistic nature of the stories. The full transcripts of our conversations have been returned to each research collaborator for them to keep.[1041]

Conflict analysis is an art that involves "human—and therefore potentially frail—judgment."[1042] In acknowledging this fact, the author's understanding of the conflict has been supported by distillates of multiple sources, in the hopes of making this analysis as all-

[1041] In awareness of this concession of de-contextualization of the material, the sharing of transcripts with research participants ensured that the whole conversations were also shared and made available.
[1042] Mac Ginty and Williams, *Conflict and Development*, 26–33.

encompassing and comprehensive as possible. The researcher acknowledges her own subjectivity and potential cultural bias in this endeavour to collect and analyze insight provided by local Inuit and ICC representatives.

This research can only provide a glimpse on the ICC's peacemaking capacities. The role of the regional and civil society organizations whose leaders are represented in the ICC needs to be further illuminated, in particular their capacity to function as intermediaries in bottom-up and top-down exchange processes between the ICC and Inuit community members. The possibilities of using new media and modern music (recommended by ICC representatives) to enhance the ICC's incisiveness needs to be researched. Additional case studies are needed to highlight local realities in other Inuit communities or to focus on other important aspects of the ICC's work (related to self-determination and resource development). Such research projects could assist in the creation of a more diverse narrative of the ICC as a Hybrid Peace agent, but also to expand the developing Hybrid and Everyday Peace field.

Community members and ICC representatives often mentioned the importance of the ICC's GAs. Besides presenting an opportunity for the ICC International to gather with all delegates, to compose and agree on a declaration, these assemblies—and in particular the cultural program in the evenings—provide opportunities to learn about and celebrate Inuit culture, and to develop and maintain relationships. These cultural acts have the potential to provide further insights into Inuit cultural renewal and collective relationship-building.

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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

July 22, 2016

TO: **Lydia Schoeppner** (**Advisor: Christopher Trott**)
Principal Investigator

FROM: **Lorna Guse, Chair**
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: **Protocol #J2016:068 (HS19931)**
"The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) as a vehicle for Inuit decolonization and a model for Inuit peace making?"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only and will expire on July 22, 2017.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Coordinator in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- **If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (261-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/mrt-faq.html#pr0)**

- **if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.**

The University of Manitoba may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
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ISSUED TO: Lydia Shoeppner
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AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba

TITLE: The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC): vehicle for Inuit decolonization and a model for Inuit peacemaking?

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
This research project analyzes the Inuit Circumpolar Council's (ICC's) work to promote decolonization for Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland and to make their lives more peaceful. Research will focus on two current conflicts: the effects of climate change and Inuit demands for sovereignty. Through conversations with Inuit from two communities (Pangnirtung, Nunavut and Maniitsoq, Greenland) and with Inuit who are currently or who have previously been affiliated with the ICC, the researcher will analyze how climate change and Inuit sovereigntyare understood and dealt with in the community and within the ICC. This project seeks to identify existing and potential interconnections between local Inuit and the ICC in Canada and Greenland to address issues of climate change and Inuit sovereignty.

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: September 01, 2016-November 30, 2016
LOCATION: Pangnirtung

Scientific Research License 0103216N-A expires on December 31, 2016
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on July 26, 2016

[redacted]
Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor