

Learning from Inuit perspectives on marine governance

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Abstract

Introduction

Our ocean is undergoing drastic changes. In the circumpolar north, this reality is highly visible. Social-ecological systems thinking informs that social and ecological systems are intertwined, yet hegemonic governance systems appear unable or unwilling to reorient themselves to promote planetary health amidst the climate crisis. To rethink our relationship with the ocean, I explore the research question, “What can I learn from Inuit perspectives about the ocean and marine governance within Inuit Nunangat, and how does this relate to planetary health?”

Methodology

This study applies critical theory methodologies. In particular, feminist standpoint theory informs the approach of engaging with knowledge and lived experience of marginalized or oppressed populations. Inuit knowledge in the form of a purposefully sampled collection of publicly available Inuit documents that relate to the marine environment is the primary evidence that informs analysis. Inuit produced declarations, websites, and reports are analysed using thematic analysis. This study does not depend on ethics review or community engagement; research using publicly available information is exempt from these ethical requirements. Nevertheless, the positionality I strive to embody is allyship with Inuit.

Results

Two main themes are interpreted from analysis. First, *the meaning of the marine* contains the key ideas: Inuit culture relies upon marine ecosystems; rapidly social-ecological

systems have cultural implications; and environmental protection focuses on marine areas of significance. *A rights-based approach* reflects the assertions: Inuit are rightsholders not stakeholders; political equality is still hindered by systems of racism and oppression; and collaborative governance approaches are the path forward.

Discussion

Governance mechanisms that recognize Indigenous rights have the capacity to promote planetary health. Inuit self-determination is health promotion, supporting marine protection, equitable marine governance, and strengthening Inuit culture. Decision-making systems that are characterized by polycentricity, community collaboration, and a respect for Indigenous knowledge present a path forward.

Acknowledgements

I must begin with an acknowledgement of my position as a settler-Canadian living on Indigenous land. This study is the outcome of educating myself about global health issues (issues of inequity) in Canada. Global health is an important field of study, yet global health scholars often concern themselves with issues of inequity that occur away from their country of origin. I believe that global health scholars must interrogate health inequity within their own country, and in this study I intend to do so in allyship with Indigenous people, and Inuit in particular.

It is with deep respect for Inuit that I acknowledge this thesis is only possible with Inuit knowledge. I am thankful for the work of Inuit, Inuit leaders, and Inuit organizations, past and present, that serves as the basis for continued existence across the circumpolar north. I acknowledge the ongoing and historical disturbances of colonialism and paternalism across Inuit Nunaat. As we work towards deconstructing these unfair systems, it is with respect and humility that I provide some of my analysis of Inuit perspectives in this study.

I would like to preface this paper with an acknowledgement that this study has not yet been reviewed by an authoritative Inuit expert, and thus the positions that are represented here must not be taken as genuine Inuit perspectives. The ideas presented here are by no means exhaustive of Inuit perspectives surrounding the ocean and marine governance. My interpretations may be flawed, my knowledge and perceptions as a researcher from the south will undoubtedly skew some meanings. I apologize for any misrepresentations, stereotypes, or racist ideologies I may perpetuate in this study; it is not my intention to do so, for these are the

structures I desire to critique and deconstruct in this study. Decolonization is an ongoing process.

I believe this path has been navigated by my thesis supervisor, Dr. Nancy Doubleday, and I am especially thankful for her direction while I find a similar path. I feel lucky to have met Nancy for too many reasons to list, so I must limit myself here. Nancy's support in designing this thesis and her experience with research based in right relations has been pivotal. On a personal level, her respect towards students is sincere. Every phone call, video call, or email leaves me feeling more empowered, confident, and better than I did before. That is truly a gift, I am grateful for her mentorship. The world needs more people like Nancy.

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Mom (Carla), Dad (Bill), and Greg; being back in your presence is a gift. I can't forget Dayton, Sophie, Dylan, Cailin, Ellie and Robin, thank you as well.

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Positioning myself in relation to this research

To preface this study, I must first give some background as to who I am, and how I got here. Being forthcoming about myself is important to this academic work because it allows any reader to assess who I am as the author. I've always identified as Canadian and I'm aware of Scottish heritage in my paternal ancestry, and Ukrainian in my maternal ancestry. Although tracing lineage isn't quite this simple, I must underscore my settler heritage and also acknowledge the unearned privilege that comes as a white, cis-gender male attending a top academic institution.

Growing up, I lived on the lands encompassed by the "Dish with One Spoon" wampum agreement, in a city familiar to me as Burlington Ontario. I lived there until I was ten, when my family moved to Bangkok, Thailand. Living as a Canadian expatriate in Bangkok I became acutely aware of intersectionality: how race, nationality, class, gender identity, and so on structure society. I remember learning about income inequality in high school and seeing stark situations of inequality in Bangkok. I noticed how society is structured in ways that benefit some while disadvantaging others. That didn't seem right to me, so I became interested in studying how inequity and unfair advantages or disadvantages influence health.

Since moving back to Canada for post-secondary school, I have focused my studies to educate myself about issues of inequity in Canada. This study is designed to critique the systems that perpetuate oppression in Canada. As a result, I have approached this research with a feminist lens, coming with humility and wanting to learn, as an ally. I hope this brief prologue explains my position here.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

The United Nations signals the importance of studying the ocean as we are now in the United Nations Decade of Ocean Science for Sustainable Development (2021-2030). Globally, three billion people depend on the ocean for their livelihoods (United Nations, 2021). Climate change is pushing ecological systems beyond what may be considered a normal state of equilibrium which may lead to more unpredictable, dangerous, or harmful environmental risks as ecological tipping points are passed (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). The environmental crisis is a global health threat that transcends national borders and threatens social justice and health equity (Myers & Frumkin, 2020). The health of the ocean is critical to planetary systems health.

Climate change is an increasingly important environmental issue that threatens to worsen inequities in human health and wellbeing (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2019; Underwood & Bertazzon, 2020). As the Arctic experiences warming rates greater than twice the global average (AMAP, 2019b), significant changes in the regional environment are occurring; disappearance of ice cover is a highly visible example (AMAP, 2017; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). Other examples of marine changes include the accumulation of pollutants in polar regions (Wania & Mackay, 1995), ocean acidification (AMAP, 2019a), and fisheries in decline (Fluharty, 2011; Sumaila, Cheung, Lam, Pauly, & Herrick, 2011). In the ocean, conditions that have not been previously experienced by marine life are creating changes in coastal fisheries (Galappaththi, Ford, Bennett, & Berkes, 2019). Changes to

our ocean threaten complex global health issues; from this perspective, decision-making about the marine environment is an important area of study.

The global health framing of this study brings me to consider how different people are differently impacted by the consequences of a changing ocean. For Koplan et al. (2009, p.1995), global health is defined as “an area for study, research, and practice that places a priority on improving health and achieving health equity for all people world-wide.” Health equity is important because climate change is likely to have disproportionate, inequitable impacts on historically disenfranchised and marginalized groups (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). However, in global health, issues of health equity are often considered to be beyond domestic boundaries, in the ‘third world’, ‘global south’ or ‘developing countries’.¹ This is problematic, because it neglects vulnerable populations within the borders of high-income countries. Accordingly, this study addresses this gap in global health scholarship by considering the changing ocean a global health issue facing Inuit homeland in Canada.

It is imperative to consider how governance systems, especially those that relate to environmental decision-making, have implications for the biosphere. From such a social-ecological perspective, it is clear that the planet, as a whole, provides the building blocks upon which society and the economy thrive (Folke, Biggs, Norström, Reyers, & Rockström, 2016). Marine governance is important to study because global environmental change is a serious threat to health and wellbeing; the ocean has a critical role in sustaining life for future

¹ The Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR) suggests that global health is about health in "low- and middle-income countries" (CIHR, 2018). This thesis moves beyond this definition of global health because it places high income countries beyond the scope of global health issues and is thus overly narrow. Canada is not immune to issues of health inequity.

generations. Within this frame of mind, I turn to Inuit Nunangat² as a context for significant learning in global environmental governance.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to critique conventional marine governance by listening to and analysing Inuit discourse about the ocean. Inuit perspectives on the ocean and *Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit*³ directly traceable to authoritative Inuit sources are useful counterpoints to dominant or hegemonic perspectives on marine governance. After all, conventional perspectives have led us to a situation of extreme degradation of ecological systems, especially marine systems. Inuit perspectives on marine governance are distinct from governmental, Canadian, or other perspectives, and Inuit knowledge has been historically undervalued and undermined. In achieving the purpose of this thesis, I emphasize listening to and understanding Inuit perspectives to further the study of global environmental change and to lead towards more just ways that people can interact with one another, the ocean, and the biosphere more broadly.

Research Question

The overall question that guides this study is: what can I learn from Inuit perspectives about the ocean and marine governance within Inuit Nunangat, and how does this relate to planetary health? Using the social determinants of health as a guiding framework, the intention is to advance the study of the environment, culture, and governance as social determinants of

² Inuit Nunangat - Inuit homelands within Canada, including the land and water. The four Inuit regions within Inuit Nunangat include Nunavut, Nunavik (northern Quebec), Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador) and Inuvialuit (Northwest Territories).

³ *Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit* refers to Inuit traditional knowledge, ways of knowing and ways of being (McGrath, 2019. p9).

health. Answers to this question are sought through an analysis of authentic and validated public voices that represent Inuit perspectives about the marine environment.

Objectives

An overarching objective of this study is to “re-examine our relationships with nature and with our fellow human beings” (Doubleday, 1992, p. 213). To re-examine these relationships involves moving beyond empirical evidence and into a perspective characterized by the integration of nature and humans in unified, social-ecological systems. This objective is embodied by the methodological approach which learns from Inuit perspectives to bring into question our defaults and assumptions. I strive to learn from a range of existing Inuit knowledge and perspectives to the study of the environment, culture, and governance as social determinants of health; then, my interpretation and analysis adds new considerations.

Another objective is to explore and understand marginalized, oppressed or otherwise underrepresented perspectives to critique social and political phenomena. Using feminist standpoint theory as a guiding methodology, Inuit perspectives on marine governance are treated as evidence that enables critical social inquiry. An effort is made to privilege Inuit perspectives throughout, serving as a contrast with hegemonic or Western ways of conceptualizing our relationship with the environment and the ocean in particular.

Literature Review

This section provides a brief review and background of the concepts that inform this study. Before delving into the academic concepts that inform this work, the context of Inuit Nunangat, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and the marine environment are considered more

thoroughly. Then, the paradigm of health that is carried throughout this work is introduced; key definitions of health, health promotion, and the social determinants of health are presented as well. Particular attention is given to the environment, culture, and governance as social determinants of health. What follows is a brief review of marine governance concepts, co-management in particular.

Inuit Nunangat and the Marine Context of this Study

Initially, the geographic scope of this study was narrowed to the Canadian region of the circumpolar north. The reasoning being that with eight Arctic states (five with Arctic coastline) the entire circumpolar north is a scope too broad. Canada has extensive jurisdiction over the Arctic ocean and the importance of the Arctic to the Canadian federal government is clear. The first line of Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy (Government of Canada, 2017, p.2) reads, "The Arctic is fundamental to Canada's national identity." This geographical context was highly tangible and relevant to me too, as a Canadian. This served as the initial framing of the context for this thesis, and considering this context was helpful initially in the research process, but this context still isn't fully accurate.

The context most representative of this study is Inuit Nunangat. The term Inuit Nunangat refers to Inuit homelands within Canada, and is inclusive of marine spaces (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018). Although *Inuit Nunaat*⁴ extends across four countries, Russia, United States of America, Canada, and Denmark, the focus of this thesis research is limited to Inuit regions within Canada. The four Inuit land claim agreements demarcate regions of Inuit

⁴ Inuit Nunaat is distinct from Inuit Nunangat. Inuit Nunaat refers to circumpolar Inuit homelands, while Inuit Nunangat refers to Inuit homelands in Canada, including the land, water, and ice.

Nunangat within Canada: Inuvialuit (signed in 1984), Nunavut (1993), Nunavik (1975) and Nunatsiavut (2005). This particular framing is important because it recognizes Inuit as inhabitants of the Arctic since time immemorial, recognizing the north as not a hinterland but as homeland (Berger, 1978).

Understanding some history of Inuit Nunangat is important in foregrounding this work. By emphasizing Inuit Nunangat (and not the Canadian region of the circumpolar north) as the geographical context of this work, the imperial and colonial history of the region is recognized. Inuit have lived in Inuit Nunangat from time immemorial, North America was not discovered by Europeans, it was appropriated by them (Crowe, 1997). Although on modern maps, Canada's sovereign territory can be seen extending across North America, Canada's claim to the land would not exist without colonial disruptions, displacement assimilation, as well as racist beliefs that supposed Indigenous people are inferior (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a). The history of colonial disruptions is predicated upon inhumane and unethical treatment of Inuit in the name of building Canada. Within Inuit Nunangat, coerced relocation to Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay and from the land into permanent settlements, residential school systems that separated children from their families, dog sled team slaughters, and systematic acculturation have oppressed Inuit (Pauktuutit, 2006; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). Although the impacts and implications of these processes are long-lasting and persist to this day, Inuit are not passive people and are actively using their culture and lifeways as agents for change in governance.

Inuit are actively involved in issues regarding the environment. For example, Inuit have voiced the impacts that environmental change is having on a regional, national, and

international scale (Watt-Cloutier, 2015). For decades now, Inuit and scientists alike have had knowledge of human induced climate change and its effects have been clear in the polar regions of the world (AMAP, 1997, 2019b, Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004, 2005; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). The Arctic is experiencing rising temperatures, increasing precipitation, increasing incidence and severity of storms, coastal erosion, flooding, thawing permafrost, less snow cover, decreasing ice cover, and rising sea levels (ACIA, 2004; Fluharty, 2011). Models predict that the Arctic will experience a 3 to 7-degree Celsius increase in temperature by 2100 (Parkinson & Evengård, 2014). This issue can be summarized quite clearly, "the increasingly rapid rate of recent climate change poses new challenges to the resilience of Arctic life" (ACIA, 2004, p.5)

Climate change is heavily impacting the Arctic ocean and cryosphere. In addition, the ocean influences the atmosphere and climate in complex ways (Lee, De Mora, & Levasseur, 1999). These changes are significant to Inuit because of the marine environment has played a crucial role in sustaining Inuit since time immemorial. Inuit ways of life have developed around living off the land, water, ice, and coastal zones in particular; for example, seal hunting on the ice provides the food security throughout the winter (Pauktuutit, 2006). Arctic sea ice continues to retreat, and as temperatures continue to increase, more frequent ice-free summers are predicted (White, Copland, Mueller, & Van Wychen, 2015). This issue is problematic because the sea ice has numerous uses for Inuit including hunting and travelling. Also, reduced sea ice leads to increased marine transport and accessibility for resource development (Dawson, Pizzolato, Howell, Copland, & Johnston, 2018). The Ilulissat declaration summarizes the issue well; "the Arctic Ocean stands at the threshold of significant changes. Climate change and the

melting of ice have a potential impact on vulnerable ecosystems, the livelihoods of local inhabitants and Indigenous communities, and the potential exploitation of natural resources" (Ilulissat declaration, 2008, p.1).

Today and into the future, everyone in the world feels the impacts of climate change in one way or another. As ecological systems experience conditions not previously encountered, social systems will be placed under stress too. Inuit Nunangat is experiencing the impacts of climate change and is a context that can provide key insights and lessons into the human responses and adaptations to climate change.

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit. Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ) is foundational to this study. The term refers to Inuit knowledge about the environment, skills, culture, and ways of being (Kalluak, 2017). IQ includes Inuit language and Inuit ways of knowing (Pauktuutit, 2006), encompassing the traditional, contemporary and everchanging Inuit knowledge, values, and beliefs. It is important to note that IQ goes further than just traditional knowledge to include Inuit epistemology (ways of knowing) and ontology (ways of being) (McGrath, 2019). Tamalik McGrath (2019) writes that IQ is a term often used by academics, and that academic works that use IQ without review by Inuit experts are in fact marginalizing. Furthermore, McGrath mentions that we must be wary of the presumption that IQ is merely useful to improve and add to Western knowledge. In relation to marine governance, Tamalik (McGrath, 2019, p.9) states that "there are gaps between IQ and government approach to resource management and development in Inuit Nunangat." Throughout this study, IQ is valued for its contributions towards critiquing Western conceptions of marine governance.

Defining Health and Health Promotion

This section outlines the understanding of health carried throughout this study. A grounding conceptualization of health can be observed from the World Health Organization, health is not just the absence of disease, but physical, social, and psychological wellbeing (World Health Organization, 2002). The definition provides a good starting point, but as a concept, health can be understood in multiple ways.

Contemporary western models of health have focused around a biomedical or biopsychosocial conception of health focused mostly on disease etiology and treatment. Dominant tropes of health situate the body almost as a machine, with individual parts that can be fixed using biomedicine. This leads some medical anthropologists to problematize the ways we consider health and the human body (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). Perhaps this definition of health is problematic because it is so anthropocentric, after all, there is no mention of environmental wellbeing. In this study, the biomedical and human centric models of health are substituted for a more holistic framework instead.

Ecological problems have human health consequences, too. When considering the emergent health threats of climate change, the recognition that humans are integrated within natural systems can be made sufficiently clear. For example, ecological destruction and poor environmental policy have been linked to emerging infectious diseases (Ellwanger et al., 2020). An example more relevant to Inuit Nunangat might be that changes in the ocean and cryosphere challenge food security and traditional livelihoods (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2019). Although Inuit and other Indigenous knowledge systems have long stressed the importance of healthily functioning natural systems (S Nickels, Furgal, Buell, &

Moquin, 2005; Watt-Cloutier, 2015), in Western academic circles this idea is only now gaining traction.

Recent scholarship in Western schools of thought around human health has elevated the importance of the environment. Some health curricula teach about holistic health models such as One Health (Zinsstag, Schelling, Waltner-Toews, & Tanner, 2011), or eco-health (Lerner & Berg, 2017). The Lancet Commission on Planetary Health has been an increasingly recognized for its planetary health framework as well (Whitmee et al., 2015). The uniting idea from these holistic models of health is that they include the environment and animals as integrated with human health. For the purposes of this thesis, planetary health provides a strong framework that acknowledges human health is dependent on ecological systems.

Planetary health holds value because its central premise is that humans are not separate from the environment, they are working as one system (Myers & Frumkin, 2020). Core values of planetary health are: health equity, sustainable human life for current and future generations, and sustainability in the sense that stewardship for natural resources and biodiversity is central (Horton et al., 2014). Planetary health provides a more holistic approach also by involving a range of sciences including human, animal and ecosystem related fields, as well as Indigenous knowledge (Lerner & Berg, 2017). The point here can be summarized as follows, “health is inextricable from the environment in which we live” (WHO, 1986, p.2). This framework of health aligns nicely with Inuit conceptions of health because they acknowledge that health is holistic and goes beyond the absence of disease in humans.

Health promotion is a central consideration to this study, defined as, “the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health” (WHO, 1986, p.1). In order to address health inequity, the Ottawa Charter suggests health promotion as a guiding concept. Health promotion goes beyond treating illnesses in the doctor's office, towards building healthy public policy, civic engagement and increased agency over one's health (WHO, 1986). The Ottawa Charter outlines that health is a resource for life that all people and sectors across society should be involved with (WHO, 1986). Central premises to health promotion are enabling people to achieve good health, advocacy for health, and coordinated actions for improving health (WHO, 1986). The actions of mobilizing health promotion align with some Inuit priorities: local contexts, realities, and communities should play a central role in health decision-making, health should be addressed holistically, and a social-ecological approach must be applied. Health promotion is also inherently political, as an individual's agency is necessary in promoting their health. While it has been established that planetary health and health promotion are the preferred concepts of health used in this study, it is important to also establish how health is socially constructed.

Social Determinants of Health

Health is not only influenced by biological or environmental factors; health is also significantly influenced by social phenomena. These factors are known as the social determinants of health, defined as “the full set of social conditions in which people live and work” that influence health outcomes (Solar & Irwin, 2010 p.9). A social determinants of health perspective informs that these factors range from the individual, community, to the society wide scale. To say that health and wellbeing are influenced by social, cultural, political, or other

factors is at the core of the social determinants of health. Although the social sciences may be under-represented in health research (Duboz et al., 2018), viewing health as a phenomenon influenced by social factors reveals valuable insights.

A social determinants of health perspective suggests social factors play a central role in explaining inequalities in health. The health inequalities that serve as the impetus for this research are the direct result of factors that are deeply rooted in our social systems. Health is not evenly distributed among a population, some people suffer worse health outcomes than others; in other words, health disparities are prevalent (Nixon, 2019). Within Canada, Inuit experience drastic health inequalities in comparison to other people in Canada. For example, food insecurity is a major concern. Inuit experience extreme levels of food insecurity, 70% of Inuit households are food insecure (ITK, 2018e). There are also less than half as many physicians per capita in Nunavut compared to urban areas (ITK, 2018e). Perhaps most striking is a decade shorter life expectancy in comparison to Canadians (Knotsch & Lamouche, 2010; S Nickels et al., 2005). These differences in health are an unfair result of social factors that advantage some people while disadvantaging others. Social justice and the elimination of unfair differences in health are at the core of research on the social determinants of health. This framework for understanding health provides useful insights to the unequal distribution of health, across all scales because it reveals ideas around social forces and their impact on health (Solar & Irwin, 2010).

There is not one agreed upon list or set of social determinants of health. The reality is, the social determinants of health are context dependent, varying across time and space. Commonly mentioned social determinants of health include socioeconomic status, education,

employment, or housing. Some of these determinants are more well understood; for example, key studies have captured the ways factors like income and employment are key determinants of health (Davidson, 2014; Marmot et al., 1991). In an Inuit Nunangat context, social determinants of health include quality of early childhood development, culture and language, livelihoods, income distribution, housing, personal safety and security, education, food security, availability of health services, mental wellness, and the environment (ITK, 2014). From this list of determinants, the environment and culture resonate with the purpose of this study. Despite the fact that governance is not included as a social determinant of Inuit health, self-determination is a concept that resonates with governance.

The social determinants of health have been gaining recognition on an international scale for about half a century. For example, the 1978 Declaration of Alma-Ata recognizes an all of society approach in addressing health from the scale of the local community to the global community (Maciocco & Stefanini, 2007). At the time, this declaration was unique in its support for primary health care, public health, and community involvement. Shortly thereafter, the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion was created. These documents serve as an early call to action for the social determinants of health and materialize important learnings around health as a human right and community participation as a characteristic of effective health care. Social determinants of health that hold particular relevance to the purpose of this study are environment, culture, and governance.

Environment. Inuit lifeways and the land, water and ice are considered intimately associated with human health (ITK, 2014). As a result of the close relationship and a culture that has developed in unison with the environment, the health of Inuit Nunangat is intimately

connected to human health. The environment has always provided the conditions for a healthy Inuit lifestyle, cultural vitality, language use, and traditional activities (Pauktuutit, 2006; Richmond, 2009). The social determinants of Inuit health describe the environment as a social determinant that encompasses all other social determinants (ITK, 2014).

Although not always considered as a social determinant of health outside an Inuit context, the environment plays an integral role in producing health outcomes. For example, a first edition social determinants of health textbook (Davidson, 2014) did not include the environment as a social determinant of health while the second edition does (Davidson, 2019). Considering the implications of climate change reveals how the environment acts as a social determinant of health. Food and water insecurity, extreme weather events, and emerging infectious diseases are examples of how the environment impacts human health (Cunsolo et al., 2020; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). The degradation of environmental systems is associated with poor mental health, immense grief and anxiety for the climate crisis is becoming more common among Indigenous people and others as well (Cunsolo et al., 2020). Socially disadvantaged and marginalized people are likely to experience relatively worse impacts of climate change (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). Some experts go as far as warning that a compromised biosphere will end in a 'climate apartheid' (Alston, 2019). A social-ecological perspective echoes this sentiment, informing that the biosphere provides the foundation upon which society functions (Berkes, 2017).

Culture. Outlining the understanding of culture that is carried through this study is important, because culture is potentially overlooked as a social determinant of health. Culture is a difficult term to define, but a simple definition is provided by Kuper (1999, p.55), "culture is

an integrated system of symbols, ideas and values that should be studied as a working system, an organic whole.” This definition is helpful for providing a baseline understanding of what culture is, although it is important to note that this is not an Inuit definition. Also, there is not one Inuit culture, it varies across regions and over time, it is everchanging (Pauktuutit, 2006). IQ is central to Inuit culture, as it informs and fundamentally shapes and frames how the world is perceived (McGrath, 2019). Therefore, culture has influence across all social determinants of health, shaping the way problems are viewed and the solutions sought. Culture and language are particularly important social determinants of Inuit health (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2014).

One theoretical perspective developed in this study is cultural trauma. The term trauma originally referred to physical injury but has gained attention from psychologists and other social scientists more recently (Kirmayer, Kienzler, Hamid Afana, & Pedersen, 2010). What constitutes trauma is highly dependent on social actors and their cultural, historical, and other contextual factors; what is traumatic to one person may not be to another (Kirmayer et al., 2010). From the traditional understanding of the term, trauma occurs at the level of an individual; cultural trauma happens at the level of the collective, affecting a broader group of people (Alexander, 2012). “Culture gives meaning to the traumatic event itself” (Kirmayer et al., 2010, p.156).

Cultural trauma, refers to an imposed or unpredicted situation that challenges a group of people’s set of beliefs, norms and values (Alexander, 2012; Sztompka, 2000). “Traumatic events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely, but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life” (Herman, 1992, p.33). Although Sztompka (2000) describes an interim period of ‘cultural disorientation’, the most common response to a

traumatic event is resilience and recovery. Cultural trauma has been used to describe the implications of climate change (Brulle & Norgaard, 2019), it relates to the coronavirus pandemic, and it holds relevance to an Inuit Nunangat context as well. Cultural trauma is a concept that helps to explain how culture acts as a determinant of health.

The framework for this concept involves four elements indicating cultural trauma: rapid onset, imposed or exogenous nature, undermining culture, and social mobilization (Alexander, 2012; Sztompka, 2000). Rapid onset specifies that cultural traumas begin with a force or event that suddenly disturbs the usual ways of being (Sztompka, 2000). The imposed or exogenous nature refers to subsequent disruption caused by traumatic events, which are collectively perceived as unexpected or unpredicted (Alexander, 2012). Third, cultural traumas are challenging to pre-existing norms or ways of life; perhaps most important is that the events directly and radically challenges the core of a culture's norms, values, and beliefs. Finally, cultural trauma results in social mobilization, as a result of the disorientation caused by cultural traumas, social reorganization and increased organizational activism occurs (Sztompka, 2000).

Cultural trauma presents a way of conceptualizing how culture can be approached as a determinant of health. The cultural trauma framework adds considerations for analysis while building upon an approach that is already applied in an Inuit context. Although Inuit organizations do not refer to cultural trauma specifically, in an Inuit context the legacy of colonialism and intergenerational trauma aligns with this framework. Historical and ongoing colonialism through residential schools have systematically degraded Inuit culture and language, and are referred to by Inuit as traumatic (Watt-Cloutier, 2015). The harms of acculturation continue to have effect in an Inuit context, by disrupting cultural continuity

through rapid and forced change (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2014; Newell, Dion, & Doubleday, 2020). Inuit culture has been resilient to intentional disruption over decades, but Inuit ideals are strong and have served Inuit well for millennia. Conceptualizing of culture as a social determinant of health through the cultural trauma framework brings empathy into this research. I suggest it applies to the social determinants of health and an Inuit context.

Governance. What does governance mean and why is it important? A thread on governance runs throughout the Sustainable Development Goals (Horton, Mahon, & Thomaz, 2019) as governance relates strongly to goals 16 (Peace and Justice Strong Institutions) and 17 (Partnerships to achieve the Goal). Governance is defined as “the systems of authoritative norms, rules, institutions, and practices by means of which any collectivity, from the local to the global, manages its common affairs” (Ruggie, 2014, p.5). Governance is distinct from government in that governance is not limited to the government of a nation state, while governance includes a range of individuals, institutions, public and private. Entities or actors that may be involved in governance include nation-states, civil society, business, legal systems or land claim organizations and a plurality of additional groups (Burriss, Drahos, & Shearing, 2005). While governance is not explicitly mentioned as a social determinant of Inuit health in ITK’s report (2014), the *National Inuit strategy on research* (ITK, 2018c) emphasizes how Inuit governance in research can help alleviate inequities. There is a clear recognition of how important governance can be to addressing health inequity.

As a social determinant of health, a constructivist theory on governance is helpful. Constructivism applied to governance supports and legitimizes social knowledge, norms and understandings, using a more sociological approach that emphasizes the role of non-state

actors in decision-making (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 2000). Governance is not possible without social actors, institutions as well as their ideas and interests. Governance may be quantified or qualified in different ways. It may be a particularly elusive social determinant of health to study because it is difficult to measure empirically, though studies have shown that good governance can increase the effectiveness of health expenditures (Farag et al., 2013) and that agency and decision-making power in a system may have a positive impact on health outcomes (Burris, 2006).

Our governance systems are the culmination of past practices, and some attention should be given to a brief review of the roots of the current global order. In particular, the 19th century plays an important role in global governance, as a time when imperialism, patrimony and industrialization were affirmed (Buzan & Lawson, 2013). This time period was marked by realist schools of thought surrounding governance: state survival as the primary goal of governance. Toward the end of the 19th century the rise of the international organization began, as important yet separate entities from nation-states; this led to innovations in human organization such as international law and interstate organizations such as the Concert of Europe or the International Telegraph Union (Bennett & Claude, 1957), the Inuit Circumpolar Council or the Arctic Council. This period aligns with the proliferation of technological innovation: cheap production and improved shipping, greater movement of people, ease of communication and the modern day ideal of 'progress' (Buzan & Lawson, 2013). More recently, globalization has led to a situation wherein the nation state cannot manage all common affairs, and a polycentric system of global governance is emerging.

To illustrate how governance functions as a determinant of health, let's consider Canada's history of colonialism. To begin with, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada recognizes how government policies have a direct impact on the health status of Aboriginal people⁵ (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Canada's residential schools were designed with the purpose of assimilating Indigenous people in Canada; the intention was to disable the Indigenous population by separating families, and limiting the practice of language and culture (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). A direct result nation state building and the associated governance structures, Indigenous genocide was legitimized and institutionalized. Policies such as the White Paper of 1969, or legislation included in the Indian Act such as the Gradual Civilization Act (1957), Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869) are evidence of racist governance. The harms of the human rights abuses, forced segregation integration, residential schools, and cultural genocide persist today in the form of intergenerational trauma (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). The health impacts of these intergenerational traumas result in lower perceived health and mental health (Hackett, Feeny, & Tompa, 2016), a decade shorter life expectancy than the average Canadian, and extreme food insecurity (Knotsch & Lamouche, 2010; S Nickels et al., 2005). Canada's mistreatment of Indigenous people demonstrates a case of governance operating as a negative determinant of health.

⁵ Call to Action 18. "We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to acknowledge that the current state of Aboriginal health in Canada is a direct result of previous Canadian government policies, including residential schools, and to recognize and implement the health-care rights of Aboriginal people as identified in international law, constitutional law, and under the Treaties." (Canada, 2015, p.2)

An important concept to include for its relationship to the discussion on governance as a determinant of health is self-determination. Self-determination is a concept that relates closely to governance, defined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as the right “to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” (UN General Assembly, 2007, p.3). Self-determination is important because power imbalances within political and social systems may limit Inuit involvement in governance; “some of those who have a stake, and have knowledge and capacity that could be useful to the system in terms of adjusting it towards more optimal states, may have no mode of entry into the system’s governance structure” (Burriss, 2006. p 347). Integral to advancements in health equity and action on the social determinants of health is promoting and realizing Indigenous self-determination. Despite the right to self-determination, Indigenous people have been excluded from governance, being denied Indigenous rights, while facing exclusion of traditional ecological knowledge (Noisecat, 2016). To quote ITK in relation to the social determinants of Inuit health, “a key action for future success is the support of increasing levels of self-determination in Inuit regions” (ITK, 2014, p.6).

Marine Governance

Within a planetary health framework, the governance systems relating to the marine environment are incredibly important. As an incredibly vast space, it is difficult to govern behaviour across the ocean. This relates to the scenario that Hardin (1968) puts forth in *Tragedy of the Commons*, governing the use of collective goods is problematic. In response to the difficulties of governing commons, Ostrom (2015) suggests that nation-states and market forces alone are incapable of adequately governing such as the ocean or atmosphere.

Considering the atmosphere as commons implicated in climate change, there appears to be no 'silver bullet', in terms of policy instrument that can solve this type of issue, and most transformations will take decades (Michaelowa, Allen, & Sha, 2018). In many ways, this situation is similar in the realm of marine governance, which constitutes another commons. This section provides an overview of some of the governance mechanisms relevant to a marine context: international and domestic law, land claim agreements, co-management, and adaptive governance.

The ocean is not governed by one distinct legal regime but by multiple legal frameworks. On an international scale, the notion of claiming tracts of ocean originated before the 16th century, when some maritime nations established a territorial sea, a three-mile area from the nations coast was within their sovereignty (Heinzen, 1959). Over time, the concept of the territorial sea developed into a more robust international legal framework. This framework is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), a codified system of international law signed by over 150 countries. This convention establishes five categories of marine spaces: internal waters, territorial seas, archipelagic waters, exclusive economic zone, and high seas to delimit areas of marine sovereignty (Tanaka, 2019). UNCLOS is not the only international law that applies to the ocean, the International Maritime Organization of the United Nations also establishes international law regarding shipping law and marine safety such as the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea and the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships.

In addition to codified international law for marine spaces are national laws. These laws outline what is legal within Canadian sovereign waters. For example, the Arctic Waters

Pollution Prevention Act (1985), made various regulations relating to safety and pollution, limiting the release of contaminants in the Arctic, while also formally defining Canadian Arctic waters. The Fisheries Act (1985) outlines appropriate management, conservation and protection of Canadian fisheries. Later, the Oceans Act (1996) came into effect; this statute outlines Canada's maritime zones, ocean management strategies, and the powers of the minister responsible for oceans. Successive versions of the Canada Shipping Act (2001) established legislation applying to Canadian vessels and foreign vessels in Canadian waters including registration of vessels, personnel, safety, navigation and pollution prevention. The Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act is also important for conservation of marine areas, and because Indigenous people retain the right to harvest in these areas (2002). There are numerous other federal laws, these are some examples of Canadian laws relating to marine governance in Canada.

Similarly, the four Inuit land claim agreements in Canada work to establish the legal grounding for Inuit involvement in governance, including marine governance. Within each land claim agreement are sections relating to the management of natural resources. These agreements are protected in the Constitution Act (Government of Canada, 1982) which is incredibly important for recognizing and affirming Indigenous rights. Land claims have led to the formation of new nodes of governance such as wildlife management boards or impact review boards (Berkes & Armitage, 2011). Such legal agreements establish co-management as a framework for shared responsibility between Inuit and the Canadian government (Martin, 2015).

Co-management is “the sharing of power and responsibility between the government and local resource users” (Berkes, 2009; p. 1692). This governance arrangement is centred around user participation in decision-making; the knowledge that people hold, in terms of information, perspectives, new ideas and creativity is a clear benefit to public participation. Co-management democratizes governance by including key actors and rightsholders in the decision-making process (Armitage, Berkes, & Doubleday, 2007; Berkes, 2007). Public participation is important as co-management is essentially a knowledge partnership with people and communities (Berkes, 2009). Each of the land claim regions have agreements with the Government of Canada relating to co-management, which is a step towards self-determination within Inuit Nunangat.

Co-management is a useful starting point, and scholars have studied how adaptability in environmental governance is necessary. Adaptive co-management is a governance mechanism wherein multiple centres of actors and rightsholders are connected and involved in decision-making, and are fluid depending on change. This type of structure has multiple centres of power, shifting away from centralized or nation state centric governance. In order to increase the capacity for coping within dynamic social-ecological systems, adaptive governance systems are a solution. Some key features of adaptive governance systems are public participation, an experimental approach and a polycentric organizational system (Huitema et al., 2009). The adaptive and experimental elements of adaptive governance systems are important too; the reality is that ecosystems are complex dynamic systems that follow nonlinear and unpredictable patterns of change (Berkes, 2009). The ability to shift approaches in the environmental governance is paramount. Rightsholder participation through a self organizing,

bottom up structure with strong leadership and a scientific approach to decision-making are key tenets of adaptive co-management (Berkes, 2009; Plummer et al., 2012). Additionally, in the context of collective action issues such as climate change and ocean governance, polycentric institutional design hold potential (Dorsch & Flachsland, 2017; McLean, Moodley, & Doubleday, 2020). Polycentric governance systems have the capacity to enable Indigenous knowledge and self-determination more so than environmental policy using a top-down framework of governance (Gómez-Baggethun, Corbera, & Reyes-García, 2013). The governance of marine spaces of Inuit Nunangat involves a plurality of mechanisms, and these are explored in detail in chapter three.

Conclusion

This chapter establishes the purpose of this thesis and the guiding research question about Inuit perspectives on marine governance within Inuit Nunangat. Planetary health, health promotion and the social determinants of health are at the core of this study. In particular, the focus is on the role of governance, culture, and the environment as social determinants of health. The importance of undertaking studies related to marine governance lies in the changing climate and environmental crisis, resulting in drastic and rapid changes to social-ecological systems globally and within Inuit Nunangat. To bring about positive change, we must reflect on human systems and their role within the biosphere; marine governance within Inuit Nunangat is a significant area of study because Inuit lifeways show potential avenues towards the promotion of planetary health.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods

Background on Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodologies, epistemological underpinnings and methods that inform this work. This critical theory study uses critical discourse analysis to explore Inuit perspectives regarding marine governance. The impetus of this work is rooted in a belief that global environmental change necessitates the study of marine governance. In exploring marine governance, a feminist standpoint approach is used to listen to and understand Inuit discourse relating to governance and resource management of the ocean, and how these concepts relate to health.

A defining aspect of the approach taken to this project is critical theory. Critical theory is an approach to research that involves social inquiry, suitable for the in-depth analysis of social and political phenomena. The purpose of critical theory is to challenge and question what may be taken for granted, to critique the fundamentals of normative social life, and to lead us towards “emancipation” from inequitable structures (Bohman, 2021). The range of epistemologies and methodologies that can be applied to critical theory research are diverse. This body of work employs social constructivism and qualitative methodologies to analyse Inuit discourse on marine governance.

Social constructivism underscores the claim that reality is actively produced and reproduced by social actors. Another way of conveying this point is to suggest that our perception of the world is influenced by social factors; knowledge is socially constructed, and the entities which make up our reality are social, political and cultural in nature (Robson, 2011). Social constructivism is a powerful epistemology to take on board for health researchers

because it allows researchers to ask questions that go beyond what is observable and empirically measurable. After all, it would be incredibly difficult to study governance through a microscope. For the strong focus on the social determinants of health and health promotion, social constructivism is a useful paradigm.

Qualitative research methodologies enable the study of phenomena that are inherently social or difficult to observe and measure. Given the social and political dimensions of this body of work, qualitative research provides methods suitable for the study of Inuit discourse on marine governance. When used proficiently, qualitative research opens possibilities for a rich understanding of the meaning associated with any phenomena (Given, 2008, p. xxix). In particular, the approach applied to this thesis assigns priority to language, meaning and symbols as the evidence to be studied and analysed. Studying the meaning attached to language can be a powerful way to analyse and reflect upon the social-ecological context, lived experiences, and power structures (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It can be like opening one's eyes to someone else's perspectives, albeit imperfectly. For these reasons, qualitative research methodologies enable social inquiry, aligning well with the purposes of critical theory scholarship and a social constructivist epistemology.

This chapter is separated into a number of distinct sections. First, the methodological concepts that underlie this project are further outlined. Specifically, the feminist standpoint theory approach and critical discourse analysis are discussed. The second section then moves into the methods applied for sampling the evidence, and the method of analysis: thematic analysis. At the end of the chapter, ethical considerations are presented alongside a short

reflection on my journey as a reflexive researcher, exploring moral considerations and allyship as a researcher from the south.

Methodology

Feminist Standpoint Theory

Feminist movements work with the aim of supporting and improving everyone's lives (Adichie, 2017). Initially, arguments for feminism originated out of the recognition of unequal power structures that unfairly grant men power over women. Feminist epistemologies emphasize that knowledge cannot be separated from power, a central focus of feminist research are power structures (Adichie, 2017; Harding, 2004). Now, feminist research considers power structures in more nuanced ways, considering power structures far beyond those relating to biological sex. Feminist research, being concerned with the larger political framework and power relations, aligns with the qualitative and critical theory basis of this research.

As an approach to critical theory, feminist research posits that knowledge is socially situated (Harding, 2016). Relevant here is the fact that most information written on the Arctic is from the perspective of men, usually white men (Natalia, 2011). In the context of Arctic research, some scholars suggest that a critical gap in the literature exists with respect to intersectional studies considering gender, ethnicity or indigeneity, within a framework that considers health and climate change (Sorensen, Murray, Lemery, & Balbus, 2018). One aspect of feminist approaches to research is they empower historically oppressed populations' knowledge and work to democratize knowledge production (Given, 2008 p.735). Building on the idea that knowledge production and the value assigned to knowledge are influenced by

power structures, Inuit perspectives are all too often sidelined by the lasting inequities of settler colonialism and paternalism, or other power structures. In order to critique social practices surrounding marine governance and shift patterns in knowledge production, Inuit perspectives contribute important and revealing discourse. As a non-Indigenous researcher, I cannot pretend to be an expert on Inuit perspectives, though I can lend my expertise in qualitative analysis and defer to Inuit leaders' expertise. Reconsidering the ways that knowledge is produced in research is a step towards dismantling the inequitable ways knowledge is generally created.

This study addresses these gaps in the research by using feminist standpoint theory as a guiding methodology. Feminist standpoint theory seeks to privilege and include knowledge of people that are or have been oppressed (Harding, 2016). Typically, the focus of feminist standpoint theory is on engaging women in knowledge production, emphasizing inclusion and engagement of women or other historically oppressed or marginalized groups throughout the research process (Harding, 2004). IQ may be overlooked as a result of hegemonic structures that place greater value on western knowledge. Thus, allyship with Inuit and including Inuit perspectives and ways of knowing is central to this study. This promotes more equitable knowledge production. Documents that are published by Inuit organizations are easily accessible online and serve as a key source of knowledge for this study; Inuit organization websites hold immense value as a repository for authentic and authoritative Inuit perspectives. By proceeding with Inuit produced knowledge as the central component of this thesis, Inuit perspectives are recognized as legitimate knowledge that is worthy of further consideration in

governance and health studies. The principles of feminist standpoint theory are mobilized through an approach that values and privileges IQ.

Feminist standpoint theory provides the methodological background that encourages the consideration of Inuit voices in this study. A useful concept called intersectionality is important here. Intersectionality builds on early feminist research, broadening that research to include additional systems of power dynamics such as class, race, gender, or Indigeneity (Crenshaw, 1991). In applying this principle to an Inuit Nunangat setting, I consider the multiplicity of ways that race and Indigeneity influence power structures in Inuit Nunangat. In particular, paternalistic, and colonial power structures are disruptive to Inuit ways of knowing. This is mobilized in this study by a targeted focus on Inuit discourse about marine governance in Inuit Nunangat. What this research brings forward is an intersectional lens into research on environmental governance in a northern context. This methodological approach helps to reconfigure the sources or types of knowledge that are valued and privileged in research and knowledge production, and to the extent possible, the uses made of that knowledge.

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is another methodology applied in this study as a means to listen to Inuit perspectives. Discourse refers to the systems of meaning that are conveyed through language and meaning that are derived through signs (Potter & Edwards, 1996). Conceptualizing language and discourse as symbols and metaphors that can be studied helps to frame how language can be the subject of scientific inquiry. Originating from linguistics, this methodology is based in the idea that the social world is inextricably tied to language. An overarching purpose is to examine the role of language as a method of producing, reproducing,

or challenging unequal power relations (Given, 2008; p. 145). Critical discourse analysis is therefore an inherently political methodology that can include language of any form including speech or text.

The symbols and meaning conveyed through language tell compelling stories that reflect reality. A central foundation of discourse analysis is the understanding that the way language is used creates and shapes social realities (Willig, 2014). Furthermore, discourse not only reflects the world's order, but also actively produces and maintains power relations, and thus is a worth inquiry in research (Fairclough, 2010). Interpretation of language through critical discourse analysis provides an avenue for revealing social practices and social structures involved in the discussants' lives. It involves a critical examination of social and political realities, requiring the consideration of elements beyond the language itself, the meaning beyond the text can be informed by historical contexts, geographical setting, or gender relations.

Understanding and analysing Inuit perspectives through discourse analysis therefore holds immense value because language is a reflection of Inuit lived experiences and realities in Inuit Nunangat. However, taking a moment to reflect on the role my language has as a researcher leads me to interrogate some complexities of conducting research in the English language. Language is a powerful tool for its conveyance of cultural meaning, and a consequence of not being able to explore this research question orally in Inuktut is that the evidence for the purposes of this study is all written in English. A limitation of this approach is the richness and meaning of Inuktut cannot always be emulated in the English language. This study considers Inuit discourse written in English, learning from it to critique our relationships with the environment and with one another.

Methods

Collection of Evidence

When conducting qualitative research, collecting evidence is a first step in analysis because it involves the initial familiarization with the topic of study. The evidence collected for the purposes of this work are secondary data, documents that reflect Inuit positions on the marine environment. Evidence gathering was geared towards positioning the main knowledge source as Inuit authors and organizations; the overall aim was to collect a sample of texts highly representative of Inuit discourse on marine governance.

Online research methods are used to access the publicly available web-based resources. The internet is integrated within social life and is thus a social space that is emerging as worthy of inquiry (Hine & Hine, 2020). Online research methods involve using the internet as a tool for conducting research⁶. The internet is a repository of discourse through its numerous documents, publications, declarations, websites, reports, hearings, magazines, and other records. To sample from the vast amount of information on the internet, well established Inuit organizations are searched first. The organizations include Inuit Circumpolar Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, as well as Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Makivik Corporation, Nunatsiavut Government, and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated. This non-random strategy of sampling evidence brings specific focus to Inuit discourse.

⁶ Please note that although internet-based discourse is the primary focus of this study, although some print records were suggested and recommended for inclusion in this study. In particular, *The Right to be Cold* by Sheila Watt-Cloutier (2015), *The Qaggiq Model* by Janet Tamalik McGrath (2019), and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996) also inform this study.

In order to make decisions surrounding inclusion, purposive sampling was used. This type of sampling strategy involves identifying a narrow yet highly specific sample that is highly relevant to the topic of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). From dominant streams of health sciences research, the reduced generalizability or universality of potential findings as a result of this strategy might be viewed as problematic. In response to this critique, I suggest that generalizability is not necessarily a desired outcome of this study. Instead, a strength of this sampling strategy is that it enables a flexible strategy for sampling the discourse, resulting in a focused collection of relevant information. As a part of this strategy, potentially relevant leads, or additional sources of evidence for consideration are pursued, in a form of snowball sampling. As I familiarize myself with the content, other relevant evidence that presents itself is included; as a result a limitation of this strategy is its lack of reproducibility. The approach to gathering evidence is a hybrid of purposive and snowball sampling, which results in a highly specific sample that represents Inuit perspectives relating to marine governance.

The strategy that guides and supports the approach to sampling is outlined here. Decisions around inclusion and exclusion were made in a three-step process. Throughout the process, maintaining focus on the research question helped guide decisions about inclusion or exclusion. As a first step, the websites of the Inuit organizations mentioned above are explored to collect any relevant resources. This allows for familiarization with the purposes and mandates of each organization. To be eligible for inclusion at this step, materials must be available in English and should hold relevance to the marine environment and its governance.

The second phase in sampling the evidence involves conducting site-specific Google searches to identify publicly available grey literature published by Inuit organizations. When

searches are conducted, the title and snippet of each result is read and used to evaluate inclusion and exclusion. Decisions about inclusion are made on the basis of the relationship of the record to the marine environment and marine governance. Considering the presence of key words (e.g., governance, management, marine, ocean, etc.), the topic of the document, and potential applicability to the research question, best judgement enables a purposely selected sample rich with evidence about marine governance. Searches are limited to a time period of publishing between 1990 and 2020; reasoning being that this period loosely aligns with the formation of Nunavut and the increasing use of the internet for digital forms of documentation.

The third and final step in sampling the evidence involves reviewing the collected materials and reading them with the intention of culling irrelevant material in order to reduce the sample sources to a relevant, more dense sample. Formalized criteria for culling are not employed; instead, judgement is used to gauge the significance of the materials in relation to the research question. For example, materials that had minimal content that relates to the marine environment were removed, as were documents that were not from authoritative Inuit sources. A full reading of each source along with some initial qualitative coding also takes place during this step. This three-pronged approach to sampling the evidence ensures that the searches are comprehensive and exhaustive of potentially relevant qualitative information in the online space.

Site Specific Google Search. A site-specific Google search is used to create a targeted search. This search strategy limits results to specified organizations' websites, yielding results including reports, press releases, webpages, policies, declarations, etc. To conduct a site-specific Google search, the term 'site:' and the specific Inuit organization's website address is

added to the search. For example, the prefix 'site:www.pauktuutit.ca' would yield results limited to Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. Search terms relevant to the purpose of this study are added to this prefix to produce a search that yields results relating to marine governance. Search terms used included "marine", "governance" and "ocean" (for a full list of search terms, see Appendix B). Thus, an example of a search would be 'site:www.pauktuutit.ca ocean' or 'site:www.pauktuutit.ca marine'. This general search strategy leads to grey literature that is publicly available and reveals resources that may be buried or difficult to locate online.

Document Tracking. While collecting evidence, a spreadsheet acts as a repository for relevant materials and items for follow up that may be relevant to analysis. The title, date published, date accessed, citation, and the type of document is recorded to manage findings. In order to facilitate sampling, an intake process was created. A form was created to track each Inuit organization that was searched and the searches that are conducted; the form includes various information including: name, website, searches conducted, internal governance format, and notes.

Limitations. This method of sampling is not without limitations. First, sampling this way relies on the presence of a specific word (the search term used) or phrase within the target websites. Thus, it is susceptible to omitting results with potentially relevant information due to the lack of the specific search term used; there may be scenarios where relevant information was excluded because a particular key word was not present. Another limitation of this sampling strategy is that it prioritizes discourse that is available online and in text format. Western science has a tendency to value documents or interviews as sources of qualitative information, which is limiting because important knowledge is conveyed through means other

than text (e.g., oral tradition). These types of records are important sources of evidence that could have been better included in this study but are excluded to maintain a manageable scope. Additionally, the time frame for eligible documents is relatively narrow, from 1990-2020, which reduces eligible entries to more recent Inuit discourse. This is problematic because earlier discourse most definitely holds valuable perspectives; however, a lengthier period of time is not feasible for the scope of this project. From these considerations, the value of web-based discourse appears; given that this study was conducted during a global pandemic, the desk-based approach is appropriate.

Describing the Documents

This section describes some general characteristics of the types of documents that inform this study. The search strategy that was used led to the identification of several resources relating to marine governance. Media such as reports, declarations, policies, press releases, and websites are the types of documents that serve as evidence for inclusion in this study.

In total, 122 unique sources were included in this analysis. About one third of sources that were included in analysis can be characterized as reports. The next most frequent type of source was press releases, making up about a fifth of the sample, followed by policies and declarations which make up roughly a tenth of the sample. The rest of the sample is comprised of webpages and other miscellaneous records. For more detailed information on the sample, including a full list of all documents, please see Appendix B.

Reports. A main type of record can be broadly characterized as reports. Reports comprise about a third of the sample, and an impressive variety of reports relevant to marine governance are published including reports to Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), feasibility assessment reports, consultation reports, and so on. Reports range from being short documents of a couple pages in length, to being very large and comprehensive reports comprising hundreds of pages. While some of these reports are co-authored by southern scholars, it is important to note these reports reflect Inuit positions; these records provide great detail and in-depth information about Inuit perspectives on marine governance.

Policies and Declarations. Policies and declarations are highly important sources for the purposes of this study. These records are almost exclusively published by national or international Inuit organizations: ITK and ICC. In particular, attention was given to the declarations that result from each ICC General Assembly, because these records represent perspectives of Inuit across the circumpolar north. As highly authoritative forms of discourse, these records present detailed Inuit perspectives relating to appropriate conduct within Inuit Nunangat as well as an Inuit vision for development in Inuit Nunangat. These records did not often relate explicitly to the marine spaces in Inuit Nunangat; however, these records are significant for representing Inuit perspectives about norms, rules, institutions, and practices within Inuit Nunangat. Comprising a small portion of the sample, a total of 15 declarations and policies are identified for this study.

Press Releases. These press releases are short and to the point, providing clear representations of Inuit positions relating to newsworthy events. These documents give brief

commentaries that reveal Inuit perspectives on major events relating to marine spaces. Press releases often focus on major events such as declarations or important actions on the part of governments. Twenty-five press releases are included in analysis, with the majority being published by ICC. This type of document was more common for larger organizations such as ICC, Nunavut Government, Pauktuutit or ITK; unfortunately, many of the smaller Inuit organizations appear to not publish these types of press releases. Also, the press releases were titled in ways that clearly frame Inuit position. The press releases that are selected clearly present an Inuit stance on the ocean and often relate to advocacy.

Webpages. Webpages are important sources of supplementary knowledge, providing concise presentation of Inuit positions. These records often present a brief and plain language overview of the topic material. Webpages are spaces where specific departments or branches of Inuit organizations share topic-specific information. For example, the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board has an informative webpage on co-management, while Pauktuutit publishes more about Inuit political leadership and equality. These sources provide clear representations of Inuit perspectives relating to marine governance and are easily accessed by the general public.

In addition to these major types of documents is a mix of other documents. Not all of these documents are easily typified or categorized. For example, speeches and presentations that had been transcribed are included in the sample as are formal agreements such as land claim agreements and memoranda of understanding. Some organizations publish dictionaries, fact sheets, information booklets, or manuals that are also analysed. The search strategy also

reveals some websites with organizational charts, blog posts and magazine articles. These sources remain important in representing the voice of authoritative Inuit, although they are among the less common records which inform this analysis.

What these sources of Inuit knowledge present in terms of Inuit perspectives on marine governance is immense. These documents are a reliable repository of Inuit perspectives, and have informed a great deal about how Indigenous rights, environmental change, and human health are connected. What follows is the explanation of themes that I interpreted through learning about Inuit perspectives on marine governance.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is the method employed to conduct critical discourse analysis. Thematic analysis is an interpretive method that results in themes which represent common ideas or topics, used to identify patterns of meaning within the sample. The purpose is to make analytic connections between the language used, the social context and the research question. Thematic analysis uses a process called qualitative coding which involves systematic categorization of ideas present in the text (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Parker, 2004).

Qualitative coding is a multi-step process, the phases of analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke are followed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Like most qualitative research methods, this method is iterative, which means that analysis is continually revisited and revised, conducted multiple times to promote a thorough examination of the sample (Given, 2008). The first step involves familiarizing oneself with the sample, which begins at the outset of sampling the

evidence. This step provided the foundation for the subsequent tasks in analysis, qualitative coding.

Next, initial codes are generated. Coding is engaged and critical reading of the text that considers the obvious meaning attached to the text and involves engaging with the underlying meaning by using conceptual frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Codes are the smallest unit of data in thematic analysis, and they label something of interest or importance to the research questions. Thus, coding involves identifying and labelling expressions, words, or phrases that holds analytic value relating to marine governance. If relevant, the expression will be labelled with a code, which is essentially a descriptive term, to signal the essence of the expression. When coding, only expressions that relate to the research question are coded. Codes are reused for other expressions when relevant, and new codes are developed as analysis progressed.

In this study, the conceptual frameworks outlined in the literature review section provide a background for exploring the latent meaning within Inuit discourse on marine governance. As a result, coding drew on the connections between the concepts outlined in chapter one such as co-management or the social determinants of health and the content of the sample. After completing coding of all documents in the sample, the codes are reviewed to support the analysis and review the breadth of expressions in analysis. For a full list of the codes and more information about the software and approach which enables analysis, see Appendix A. As an iterative research method, viewing and reviewing codes and expressions multiple time supports rigorous analysis.

The next step is identifying common codes to begin theme development. Provisional themes are developed as a preliminary step here. By considering codes as a group of related ideas, the pattern of meaning behind the codes is interpreted to create a theme. Themes are abstract constructs that conceptualize a broad idea within the sample, and they are broad in that they can represent more than one analytic idea (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). For example, the two main themes that are identified in this analysis are labeled *the meaning of the marine*, and *a rights-based approach*. Within these themes, subthemes are created to further explore and distinguish the ideas and components of analysis⁷. Some expressions belong to more than one theme, while other expressions had seemingly little meaning when not considered in relation to its theme or the broader context. The provisional themes were identified, then refined and reviewed by revisiting initial codes and reconsidering the collection of evidence as a whole.

To determine when theme qualitative coding and theme development are to be concluded, the concept of saturation is used. Saturation of themes indicates that the collection of evidence and thematic analysis is nearing completion. Saturation refers to reoccurrences within the sample of evidence and reoccurrences within the analysis (Saunders et al., 2018). As a researcher, claiming that saturation has been reached is a decision that is in fact a judgement. Although saturation is a principle which guides judgement about when analysis would be complete, I recognize that making this assumption as a non-Inuit researcher is problematic. My

⁷ *The meaning of the marine* includes three subthemes: *Inuit Nunangat and marine culture, our ocean (and culture) is changing*, and *environmental protection and marine places of significance*. *A rights-based approach* also includes three subthemes: *rightsholders not stakeholders, political inequality and marginalization*, and *collaborative governance*.

analysis is guided by an etic, southern worldview and my judgement of saturation in the evidence coming from this position is potentially skewed.

After searching for and reviewing themes concludes, themes are defined and through writing and describing the ideas they encapsulate. At this step, the provisional themes are further developed and named. The process of writing about the themes serves as useful for clarifying the scope of each theme and for ascribing meaning beyond the semantic level. This step leads into the final phase in thematic analysis, which involves a written report on the themes, full of additional details that highlight illustrative examples from the sample. This step involves creating a compelling narrative that represents the essence of the thematic analysis. By following the steps of thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), analysis was systematized and made rigorous.

Ethical Considerations

This section explores the ethical and moral considerations underlying this study. As with any research there are ethical considerations to discuss such as ethics approval, sampling the evidence, and other contextual factors. Here, discussion includes Inuit Nunangat research, the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS), the Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) Principles, as well as moral considerations around positionality and allyship.

Research involving Inuit or research within Inuit Nunangat has historically benefitted researchers (ITK, 2018c). These research relationships are often structurally inequitable: researchers benefit from publications, career advancement, or degree requirements for a master's program like this. Inuit, on the other hand, have been treated as objects to be studied,

excluded from participation, and receive marginal benefits from the research. In response to this inequitable relationship, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami presents five priority areas within their National Inuit Strategy on Research (ITK, 2018c). The five areas include: 1) advance Inuit governance in research; 2) enhance the ethical conduct of research; 3) align funding with Inuit research priorities; 4) ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information; and 5) build capacity in Inuit Nunangat research (ITK, 2018c). These priorities are a framework for promoting self-governance in Inuit Nunangat research. This study respects this framework by learning from existing capacity for Inuit Nunangat research; through this grounding in Inuit knowledge, ethical and allied conduct for research is advanced, especially given circumstances where community engagement is not feasible.

The TCPS informs ethical considerations for research that involves human participants (Government of Canada, 2018). The core principles of the TCPS (i.e., respect for persons, concern for welfare, and justice) are primary considerations integrated in this study. These principles hold relevance because they promote knowledge production that protects and respects human dignity. Although this study does not directly involve human participants (in the sense of living human participants or human biological materials), Inuit have contributed their knowledge to this study by way of publicly available discourse.

This study design does not require ethics board review, nor does it depend on community engagement. The reason being that the grey literature content used for this study is publicly available online. Article 2.2 of the TCPS informs that research involving publicly available information, with no reasonable expectation of privacy, is exempt from ethics board review (Government of Canada, 2018). In addition to ethics board review, chapter 9 of the TCPS

asserts that community involvement in the research process is an important part of ethical research involving First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples in Canada (Government of Canada, 2018). Similar to Article 2.2, Article 9.21 of the TCPS states that research involving only publicly available information does not require community engagement. Clearly, a study design characterized by engagement, agency and control of authoritative Inuit leading to self-determination in research would be ideal. The approach taken here is ethically permissible and feasible for a study of this scope, given the current confines of a global pandemic. With this in mind, it is important to acknowledge that the contributions of this study are my own interpretations, as a non-Inuk, and must be treated as such despite being based on authentic Inuit positions.

The First Nations principles of ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) are important to mention here. Although Inuit are distinct from First Nations and have not formally signed the OCAP principles (Scot Nickels & Knotsch, 2012), the OCAP principles promote Indigenous self-determination in research by establishing a framework for the governance of Indigenous people's information and data (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2014). Ownership of the data remains with the Inuit organizations which published electronically. Control refers to Inuit control over evidence involved in the research process. Given the self-governing structure of the Inuit organizations, the discourse that is included as data and content is under Inuit control and access and is used thereby as a result of Inuit consent through dissemination. Lastly, possession is the way by which control over information and data can be asserted, possession is maintained by the Inuit organizations which have published the information included in this study.

While adhering to the previously mentioned strategies and principles, this study presents a novel path for conducting ethical research relating to Inuit Nunangat. Here I study authoritative Inuit documents that are publicly available to ascertain an understanding of an Inuit view on marine governance. The answers to this study's research question can be ascertained through a consideration of the extensive work that Inuit have already done. In doing so, I reveal and infer authentic positions without contributing to research fatigue and without taking Inuit away from more important matters during a global pandemic. By recognizing the inherent value and authority of Inuit records and documents, this study (and others) can build upon decades of Inuit work and knowledge. Learning from Inuit perspectives through the methodologies described provides the opportunity to appreciate the practice of Inuit self governance while reflecting the validity to the claim on Inuit self governance.

Allyship and Solidarity: A Work in Progress

The intended approach throughout this body of work is one of allyship with Inuit and IQ. Stephanie Nixon's (2019) work on dismantling structures of inequality in health research informs this discussion. Nixon puts forward a simplistic yet revealing metaphor of a coin as an inequitable power structure. What follows is a binary model wherein people on the top of the coin are privileged, receiving unearned advantages from the inequitable power structures and those on the bottom are unfairly disadvantaged. Different coins represent different power structures such as racism, settler colonialism, sexism, etc. (Nixon, 2019). In working towards allyship in research, it is important to be reflexive and aware of one's positionality with regards to these coins. This means recognizing which side of the coin I find myself on. As a white, cisgender male, coming from an upper middle-class family of settler colonial descent I

recognize the unearned privilege I hold. As somebody from the south, a *Qallunaat*⁸ coming from a position of privilege, practicing allyship is incredibly important for conducting ethical research and advancing health equity.

Allyship means solidarity with and learning from marginalized groups. Allyship is about operating in solidarity with people on the bottom of the coin. It means abandoning the false sense of expertise about the lives and realities of marginalized groups, which many researchers hold (Anti-Oppression Network). This comes with recognition that researchers ought to be humble towards Inuit knowledge and commit to right relationships in research. Allyship requires a reset on the typical modes of thinking in health research whereby people who hold privilege aim to ‘help’ or ‘save’ marginalized groups (Nixon, 2019). Instead, the approach is to work *with* marginalized populations to deconstruct oppressive structures. This means educating oneself about the historical traumas and mistreatment by *Qallunaat*, by governments, missionaries, and researchers too. So, the fundamental approach I bring to this study is one of deep respect and solidarity with Inuit. Conducting work rooted in allyship that privileges IQ is a step towards decolonizing knowledge production. Inuit *know* and allyship with Inuit knowledge is central to this study.

Conclusion

Informed by a feminist standpoint methodology, this critical theory study examines Inuit perspectives on marine governance using critical discourse analysis. Using online research methods, qualitative evidence from Inuit organizations is gathered. Purposive and snowball

⁸ *Qallunaat* is an Inuktitut term that generally refers to somebody who is non-Inuit.

sampling are used to collect a sample of highly relevant texts and records relevant to governing the marine environment of Inuit Nunangat. In conducting analysis, thematic analysis provides a rigorous and systematic method suitable for this study. This work considered the authentic and validated public voices that represent all Inuit, at face value.

Chapter 3: Results and Findings

This chapter is split into three distinct sections. First, *Inuit organizations* serves to background the Inuit organizations and voices that follow in subsequent parts of this chapter. Next is a presentation of the thematic areas that are identified in analysis. Themes include *the meaning of the marine*, and *a rights-based approach*. Finally, in this discussion of results, particular consideration is given to linking the main findings to some key points (i.e., planetary health) that were prefaced in the literature review. In particular, analysis centres around the environment, culture, and governance as social determinants of health.

Inuit Organizations

The Inuit organizations that are a primary focus of this journey towards understanding Inuit perspectives included Inuit Circumpolar Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. These organizations are an excellent source of information about authoritative Inuit positions. In addition to these national and international organizations, regional voices from Inuit organizations within Canada are identified and included in this study.

In particular, regional Inuit organizations are significant for their role in terms of self-government, for they are political institutions with an original role in policy making and a rightful place at decision-making tables. Each carries weight, as these organizations are led by elected leaders representing on behalf of Inuit. Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Makivik Corporation, Nunatsiavut Government, and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated represent Inuit within each of the land claim regions within Canada. Other significant organizations identified through snowball sampling include Inuktitut Magazine and Nipiit Magazine, and Qikiqtani Inuit Association.

This section provides an overview of these organizations, framing discussion in alignment with the approaches these organizations assume as nodes of governance within complex systems. The mandate, vision, and responsibilities of each organization are distinct.

Inuit Circumpolar Council

The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is an Indigenous people's organization that represents Inuit from across Russia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Formerly known the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the ICC was founded in 1977 by Eben Hopson. Through General Assemblies, summits, and other activities, ICC unites the voices of Inuit in areas of mutual interest to promote unity, Inuit rights and interests, and Inuit ways of being. Essentially, the ICC is dedicated to the promotion of Inuit rights; more broadly, it is dedicated to the promotion of human rights⁹. This organization is central to this study, publishing numerous reports, declarations, and webpages that informed this chapter.

ICC maintains a highly political agenda. The governance structure of the ICC is based upon elected roles. Every four years at the General Assembly, a Chair is elected along with an executive council¹⁰. The executive council includes Inuit representation from within each of the four nations states that are found within Inuit Nunangat. In this regard, the ICC contributes Inuit self governance across Inuit Nunangat. An overarching purpose of the ICC is to "seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions" (ICC, 2018a, p.1). This organization is an incredibly important institution for its advancement of

⁹ At its core, the ICC functions as an international organization, as stated in the Kuujuuaq Declaration (2002), "ICC is fundamentally an international organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights"

¹⁰ General Assemblies were held every three years from 1977-1998. Since 1998, General Assemblies have been held every four years.

Indigenous rights, having also made significant contributions to the drafting of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP).

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) represents Inuit in Canada as the national Inuit organization. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami means “Inuit are united in Canada.” Formerly known by the name Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, ITK was founded just before the ICC in 1971. This organization predates the land claims agreements and played an important role in the treaties Inuit have signed. ITK is similar to ICC: it is an inherently political organization that works to promote Inuit rights. In ITK’s strategy

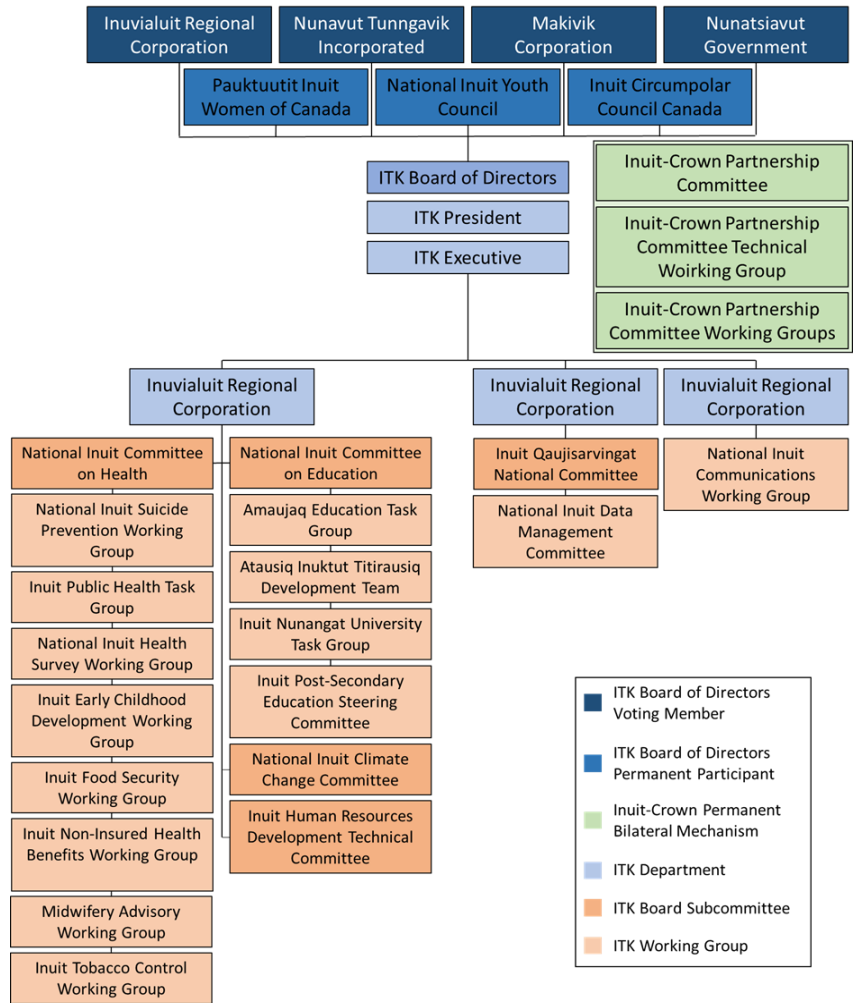


Figure 1. ITK Board and Committee Structure. Adapted from ITK, (2020, p.3)

and action plan for 2020-2023, their vision is stated as “Canadian Inuit prospering through unity and self-determination” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020, p.1). Over the years, ITK has produced many resources that align with the purpose of this thesis, including declarations, strategy plans and policy frameworks and more topic-specific reports.

ITK's governance structure includes Inuit from across Canada (see figure 1). Each of the four directors on the board are from the four land claim organizations and the directors have voting power on the board. Every three years, one of these four directors is elected as president. In addition to the voting members are permanent participants hailing from other Inuit organizations: the presidents of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, and the National Inuit Youth Council. ITK represents Inuit within Canada as a whole.

Pauktuutit

Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada (hereafter referred to as Pauktuutit) unites and represents Inuit women across Canada. Pauktuutit formed in 1984 with the mandate to promote awareness of Inuit women's issues, promote equality, and promote participation of Inuit women in social, cultural, and economic development. The organization's main areas of work include violence and abuse prevention, health, and social and economic development. Key components of Pauktuutit's vision that relate to the purpose of this thesis are happy, safe and healthy Inuit communities, and Inuit women engaged at every decision-making table that impacts them (Pauktuutit, 2006). Inuit women's knowledge informs this thesis not only through the reports, but also through the voices of leaders like Sheila Watt-Cloutier and Mary Simon in particular. Pauktuutit is governed by a diverse board of directors that includes Inuit women from across Inuit Nunangat, including urban Inuit and Inuit youth.

Regional Inuit Organizations

Regional Inuit Organizations are also imperative to consider in this study. These larger Inuit organizations stand on the shoulders of Inuit settlements, communities themselves, and hunters and trappers' organizations that have always been fundamental units of organization,

active within Inuit governance. Regional Inuit organizations are self-government institutions that are led by boards of directors elected by Inuit. Regional organizations pre-existed land claims agreements and persist in modified forms subsequently. These land claim agreements are modern treaties which have resulted in the formation of numerous nodes of governance such as boards, councils, and tribunals, with advisory and decision-making authority. Some of which are involved with marine decision-making. The four Inuit land claim regions are considered here: Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, and Inuvialuit. Each land claim is unique and contains its own mechanisms for marine governance.

Nunavut. As the largest Inuit region within Canada, the formation of Nunavut led to the creation of many nodes of governance. Within Nunavut, Kitikmeot, Qikiqtani and Kivalliq are administrative regions that work to support Inuit self-determination¹¹. In addition to these self-organized nodes of governance are institutions of public government that were created as a result of the Nunavut Agreement, which was signed in 1993 (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993). A brief introduction to these Inuit organizations follows.

Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) represents Inuit under the Nunavut Agreement. Like many other Inuit organizations, the purpose of NTI is to foster Inuit economic, social, and cultural wellbeing. NTI also works towards implementing the Nunavut Agreement, by making sure that obligations within the agreement are adhered to and met, although this has been a

¹¹ For more information on Nunavut organizations that are presented here, view this organization chart (<https://www.tunngavik.com/documents/Org Chart Final - 3 languages/index.html>).

work in progress. The Board of Directors includes eight people elected by Nunavut Inuit, while the executive committee includes the NTI president and vice-president, as well as presidents of the three regional Inuit associations within Nunavut: Kitikmeot, Qikiqtani and Kivalliq. The other Inuit regions follow a similar pattern whereby the Inuit organizations are led by elected directors.

Through the Nunavut Agreement, a number of institutions of public government were established. Articles 5 (Wildlife), 11 (Land Use Planning), 12 (Development Impact), 13 (Water Management) form the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, Nunavut Planning Commission, Nunavut Impact Review Board, and Nunavut Water Board respectively (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993). These nodes of governance are, for the most part, comprised of a balanced representation of Inuit and non-Inuit appointees.

The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB) is a prominent co-management institution with a mission to “conserve wildlife (and wildlife habitat) for the long-term benefit of all Nunavut residents while fully respecting Inuit harvesting rights and priorities” (Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, 2021, p.1). To achieve this mission, the vision is to apply both IQ and scientific knowledge. This is mobilized by including knowledge of wildlife users, managers, and the broader public in co-management of wildlife in Nunavut. The NWMB has a number of working groups and committees that are involved in meeting its objectives such as the Nunavut Inuit Wildlife Secretariat, community-based Hunters and Trappers Organizations (27 in total), Regional Wildlife Associations (Kitikmeot Hunters and Trappers Association, Kivalliq Wildlife Board, Qikiqtaaluk Wildlife Board), Fisheries Advisory Committee, and Northern Shrimp

Advisory Committee. The NWMB has an advisory role to the federal government, including in matters relating to marine management.

The Nunavut Planning Commission is responsible for creating and implementing land use plans. In the Nunavut Agreement, section 11.1.3 notes that the term 'land' includes water and resources including wildlife (Nunavut Tunggavik Incorporated & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993). The Nunavut Impact Review Board is involved with screening and monitoring projects through a review of the potential impacts, including the socioeconomic and ecosystemic impacts. The board can give recommendations to the federal government. For example, the impact review board was important in establishing National Marine Conservation Areas within the Nunavut Settlement Area. Lastly, the Nunavut Water Board is involved with governing the use and management of water in the Nunavut Settlement Area. These institutions of public government enact Inuit self-government. However, as a public government the legislative assembly reflects the composition of its membership. Since Nunavut follows a consensus style of decision making, the degree to which the government will reflect Inuit views and values will continue to evolve. It is important to note that all of the agencies are involved in marine governance to some degree. All of these institutions of public government amalgamate to form the Nunavut Marine Council, which serves to coordinate the other institutions of public government on matters related to the marine environment¹².

¹² The Nunavut Agreement states in section 15.4.1, "the NIRB, the NWB, the NPC, and the NWMB may jointly, as a Nunavut Marine Council (NMC), or severally, advise and make recommendations to other government agencies regarding the marine areas, and Government shall consider such advice and recommendations in making decisions which affect marine areas." (Nunavut Tunggavik Incorporated & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993)

The Government of Nunavut has a wide range of departments with mandates concerning marine governance. For example, the Department of Environment includes: Wildlife Management, Fisheries and Sealing, Parks and Special Places, and Environmental Protection, all of which could potentially have roles regarding marine governance .

Nunatsiavut. The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was signed in 2005, and formed the Nunatsiavut Government which plays a central role in governing Nunatsiavut (Nunatsiavut Government, 2014). There are a number of boards that support co-management of marine areas in Nunatsiavut through the Torngat Wildlife Secretariat, including the Torngat Wildlife & Plants Co-Management Board or the Torngat Joint Fisheries Board. These boards are comprised of three Nunatsiavut Government appointees, two Provincial appointees and one Federal appointee (Nunatsiavut Government, 2020a). These boards can make recommendations about conservation and management, and hold the power to set total allowable harvest (although this can be disapproved by the Canadian or Labrador Government).

Nunavik. Nunavik has a longer history, as the first Inuit region to negotiate a land claim (James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975). With the more recent implementation of the Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement, Nunavik Inuit own 80% of the islands in the marine region and new co-management bodies were established (Makivik Corporation, 2007). These important aspects of the agreement were not included in the agreement of 1975 (Makivik Corporation, 2021). Relating to marine governance, the Nunavik Marine Region Wildlife Board was formed as an institution of Nunavik's government to support marine co-management (Nunavik Marine Region Wildlife Board, 2021). Members of this board are

appointed in a similar fashion to other co-management boards: three appointed by Makivik Corporation, two by Federal Ministers and one by the Government of Nunavut; the chairperson is nominated by these appointees. Akin to other co-management boards, a central aim of this board is to consider both western science and IQ in wildlife management.

Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in 1984 and outlines the management bodies that relate to wildlife (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2005). Inuvialuit co-management boards established by the treaty include the Environmental Impact Screening Committee, Environmental Impact Review Board, Fisheries Joint Management Committee, and Wildlife Management Advisory Councils. The Inuvialuit Game Council appoints Inuit to these co-management bodies. The Inuvialuit Joint Secretariat supports these co-management groups by appointing Inuit members (Joint Secretariat, 2021). These boards include equal numbers of Inuvialuit appointees and other government appointees and operate very similarly to those described from Nunavut.

The Meaning of the Marine

The first analytical theme, *the meaning of the marine*, serves to establish some main ideas about the ocean that are represented in the sample. These representations of the Arctic Ocean are important to establish because they serve as a foundation for subsequent sections in this analysis. When the Arctic Ocean is discussed, the topics of discussion are diverse. This theme highlights some of the key and recurring meanings associated with the ocean, and how they relate to planetary health.

The meaning of the ocean is incredibly holistic to Inuit, working to encompass all parts of life. This is reflected by the vast range of documents gathered as evidence that relate to the marine context. The ocean and marine environments hold innumerable meanings, and these vary across time and space. Although categorizing this theme into smaller subthemes goes against the holistic view of Inuit, it remains useful to me for organizing my thoughts and conveying some of the main ideas I have learned. In this section, the meaning of the Arctic Ocean is explored through three subthemes: *Inuit Nunangat and marine culture*, which captures how the ocean is integrated within Inuit culture and life; *our ocean (and culture) is changing*, which explores the wholesale changes occurring to the marine environment and beyond; and *environmental protection and marine places of significance*, which covers Inuit stewardship for the environment and specific areas of significance.

Inuit Nunangat and Marine Culture

First and foremost, Inuit Nunangat is defined as including not only the land but also marine spaces. This means that Inuit homelands are inclusive of marine spaces and large areas of the Arctic Ocean are within Inuit Nunangat (ITK, 2016). Inuit have lived on the coast since time immemorial and they continue to, as practically all permanent settlements in Inuit Nunangat are coastal (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018). From this perspective, marine spaces are not desolate and barren frontiers, but rather a part of home. The ocean is a central component of Inuit homeland because Inuit have relied upon the marine environment for survival since time immemorial.

Discourse that reflects the meaning of the Arctic Ocean often reference a culture and way of life that has developed in unison with marine spaces because of the life the ocean provides (Katelyn Jacque, 2020; Koperqualuk, 2019; Pauktuutit, 2006). All people depend on the ocean to some degree, though Inuit communities are particularly dependent on the ocean. This idea is expressed throughout the sample; for example, Inuit are referred to as “marine people”. As a result of this close relationship to the marine environment, Inuit culture has developed to be adaptable in the face of environmental conditions that are experienced in Inuit Nunangat. Throughout the sample, Inuit culture is represented as being resilient to changes (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2001; Pauktuutit, 2006; Watt-Cloutier, 2015).

The life within the oceans is foundational to Inuit ways of being, and this is reflected in the language throughout the sample. For example the Nunavut agreement reads, “Inuit are traditional and current users of certain marine areas, especially the land-fast ice zones” (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993, p.130). As marine people, the ocean is connected to the idea of living, the ocean is a requisite for being alive¹³. The ocean provides the basis for the subsistence economy, through its wildlife: the fish, mammals, birds. Inuit rely on the marine environment; the ocean is so integrated that the relationship between Inuit and the ocean is one of dependence. Most importantly, the ocean provides sustenance through the life within it¹⁴. A presentation by Lisa Koperqualuk, Vice-

¹³ “...it provides for our needs, now and in the future. We continue to depend on the marine environment; we live on the coast, ocean, and rely on the sea ice.” *Aluki Kotierk, President, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated* (ICC Canada & Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2020, p.2)

¹⁴ For example, consider how marine mammals enable Inuit ways of life in many regards (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016). They are an important source of nutrition most obviously. Their skins are used in numerous ways, commonly to produce clothing. The oil from marine mammals can be used as a source of heat as well. The

President International of ICC Canada at the time, highlights the meaning of this theme through her presentation titled *The ocean sustains us*.

“The Arctic Ocean defines our people and our culture. We move over its surface whether it is liquid or frozen solid. It is central to our cultural identity and economic and social wellbeing. It is irreplaceable to us.” (Koperqualuk, 2019, p.1)

The ocean provides not only the requisites for life, but also the ways of understanding life. The ocean is woven into the fabric of Inuit epistemology and ontology through worldviews and culture, language, and even place names. For example, though I cannot emulate the richness of the original tale, marine life has its own creation story. Inuit mythology tells the story of Sedna, a woman who is the goddess of the sea (Katelyn Jacque, 2020; Oo Aqpik, 2017; Pauktuutit, 2006). Although there are multiple iterations and regional variations of the story, a commonality is that Sedna’s fingers became the animals in the ocean¹⁵. This is just one example of how the ocean is deeply integrated in Inuit ways of life, through cultural beliefs and traditional stories.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that the discourse emphasizes the environment’s integration with Inuit health and wellbeing (ICC, 2010a). Ocean health is related to human health and wellbeing, the ocean provides that which supports Inuit lifeways. The marine

following quote phrases the relationship succinctly: “If it weren’t for the seal, I would not be here” (Oo Aqpik, 2017, p.9).

¹⁵ A concise rendition of this legend is provided in the Tallurutiup Imanga National Marine Conservation Area Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2019b). “In ancient times the sea mammals and all life in the sea were created from the fingers and hands of a woman who lives in the vast Arctic sea. She is the mother of the sea and when she is angry the seas are rough and dangerous and there is no food. She is angered when people do not care for her and the life that she has created. Inuit respect and honour her, and all life stemming from her, as a symbol of our reciprocal relationship.”

environment can provide food security, economic opportunities through sustainable resource development, and cultural continuity through traditional activities. Aligning with what was established in the literature review: the environment is an all encompassing social determinant of Inuit health (ITK, 2014; Richmond, 2009). Therefore, a deterioration of Inuit Nunangat results in the deterioration of Inuit health. The following quote from *Nilliajut: Inuit perspectives on the Northwest Passage shipping and marine issues* summarizes this point.

"Being a marine peoples, Inuit reliance and knowledge about the Arctic coastal and marine systems continues to be integral to our wellbeing. The balance and health of those systems, still largely undisturbed by commercial marine traffic today, have a direct link to the health and wellbeing of Inuit." Nancy Karetak-Lindell (ITK, 2018c, p.30)

From the analysis that resulted in this subtheme, it becomes clear that the discourse reflects a worldview of Inuit as integrated within the environment. From this cosmocentric vantage point, the importance of our homeland (including the ocean) to planetary health is apparent. This differs from a western egocentric worldview that practices a culture and way of being that view people as having domain over nature, instead of viewing people are within nature. Within this epistemic difference are important perspectives that can inform hegemonic governance systems about human ecology and the relationship people have with the environment.

Our Ocean (and Culture) is Changing

The meaning attached to the ocean was often associated with the rapid changes it is undergoing. Inuit awareness of the impacts of climate change is extensive. In the documents,

discourse specifically about the marine areas often mentions the physical changes in our ocean (ICC, 2008, 2010a, ITK, 2018d, 2019d; S Nickels et al., 2005; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2005a, 2005b, 2020). Impacts from temperature increases include sea ice loss, reduced winter ice cover, acidification, sea level rise, melting permafrost, coastal erosion and others (Government of Nunavut, 2012). An initial focus in analysis was the impact that climate change has on the ocean. However, as analysis progressed it became apparent that this is related to the range of social and ecological changes occurring in Inuit Nunangat. Thus, this subtheme captures what Mary Simon (2017) suggests in her report, *A new shared Arctic leadership model*, changes in the Arctic are not only a result of climate change, but also they are also result of changing social circumstances. This subtheme explores the idea that a changing ocean is a potential cultural trauma¹⁶.

The ocean and cryosphere are being disturbed by forces that Inuit alone cannot address, and this is understood by Inuit as a global issue. Natan Obed (Obed, 2016, p.3), current President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, stated that climate change is the "largest and most widespread threat to human rights and the environment." Discussions about climate change in the Arctic often highlight that it is a reality that Inuit have been acutely aware of for decades now (Nickels et al., 2005). Similarly, Inuit leaders have consistently voiced how Inuit homelands are undergoing drastic ecosystemic changes as well (ITK, 2019d; Sheila Watt-Cloutier, 2007; Smith, 2007)¹⁷. Marine spaces of Inuit Nunangat are represented to be undergoing rapid change

¹⁶ As a reminder, the four elements of cultural trauma are: rapid onset, imposed or exogenous nature, undermining culture, and social mobilization (Sztompka, 2000).

¹⁷ Inuit have contributed in negotiations over the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (2004), Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement (2011), Minamata Convention on Mercury (2013), Paris Agreement on Climate Change (2015), Agreement on Arctic Scientific Cooperation (2017), and Agreement on Central Arctic Ocean

that is beyond the control of Inuit. Interpretation leads me to believe that such physical changes have potential to cause cultural trauma.

The ice is an important feature of the ocean that is often the focus of discourse about the changing ocean. Inuit frequently mention how the extent of sea ice is rapidly declining (ICC, 2008, 2014; Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017). Melting sea ice has knock-on social implications; for example, Inuit subsistence activities may be limited due to a reduced ability to hunt on land-fast ice (ICC, 2014). The ice also plays an integral role for Inuit travel and transportation, which is becoming more dangerous due to unpredictable ice conditions (ICC, 2008). Furthermore, changing sea ice conditions challenge marine life as well¹⁸. Melting sea ice is beyond Inuit control.

These changes are suggested to challenge the applicability of IQ in some instances, such as for gauging the safety of travel over ice (ICC, 2008). Changes in the timing and duration of the seasons as well as changes to the snow and ice present struggles for land users as travel conditions become dangerous, traditional navigation methods become unworkable, prevalent wind directions are changing, lack of snowfall are indicators of the changing climate (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2001). Inuit women tell how the animal skins used for sewing traditional clothing are deteriorating in quality (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2009). The usefulness of IQ comes into question during a time when environmental change is so drastic

Fisheries (2018) (ICC, 2019b). In addition to these conventions, Inuit played key roles in the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (1991), and the Arctic Council (1997) (Huebert, 2011).

¹⁸ "First, marine mammals including polar bears, walrus, and species of seals including species of marine birds that rely upon sea ice as habitat, face potential extinction. The Inuit culture and relationship is uniquely related to the arctic ecosystem, and what happens to the species directly affects our fortitude." (Smith, 2007, p.1)

that predicting the weather or animal behaviours, for example, becomes extremely difficult. Inuit culture and way of life is under pressure from changes to the Arctic Ocean, although a point of Inuit pride is adaptability and resilience under changing conditions. This reflects how physical changes to the ocean can present social challenges that undermine culture.

Globalization and geopolitical forces hold an important space in the discourse. A thread that runs through this subtheme are external interests in the Arctic for resource development, shipping, or other reasons. Melting sea ice and its impact on shipping in Inuit Nunangat is a major contributor to Inuit concerns, particularly because the Arctic ocean has increasingly important waterways such as the Northwest Passage (ITK, 2018d)¹⁹. As sea ice melts, the region becomes more accessible to shipping and resource extraction. The feeling conveyed through the sample is uncertainty and concerns about increased ship traffic in Inuit Nunangat. Discourse linked concerns to environmental protection and shipping issues such as dumping and heavy fuel oil, disturbances to wildlife, disturbances to traditional uses of the ice and ocean, accidents, oil spills, traffic, tourist ships without adequate safety, etc. (ICC, 2014, 2019a; ICC Canada & Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2020; ITK, 2018d; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2019a). Nancy Karetak-Lindell discusses how shipping brings new changes to communities that are already busy with other changes (ITK, 2018d), indicating the complexity of globalization and geopolitics.

Despite all the concerns regarding marine shipping and other changes reflected in the discourse, marine infrastructure development is a major priority among Inuit given the changes

¹⁹ Aqqaluk Lyngé describes the Northwest Passage as much more than a shortcut shipping route, it is a feature of Inuit Nunangat (ITK, 2018d). Through this perspective of Inuit Nunangat as a home, it becomes clear how the changing Arctic Ocean, due to both climate change and rapid social change, has impacts on Inuit. To outsiders, a common interest for shipping in Inuit Nunangat is primarily financial interests.

to the Arctic Ocean (ITK, 2019c). In particular, marine infrastructure in Inuit Nunangat is represented as an integral component for equitable economic development (Government of Nunavut & Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2005; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2008; ITK, 2019a; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2018). Marine infrastructure remains a disparity in comparison to other regions of Canada, and is perceived in some instances as a colonial legacy (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2020). Inequalities in marine infrastructure relative to other parts of Canada leads to economic inequity²⁰; these types of gaps are critical barriers to equitable benefits from a changing Inuit Nunangat.

Analysis reflects the changing Arctic Ocean in relation to economic development in Inuit Nunangat. The position that Inuit hold is evident: Arctic development must recognize and respect Inuit reliance on the marine areas. Frequently, a concern was expressed for the increasing shipping and resource extraction in the region. The sentiment conveyed in the discourse is that resource extraction is overly focused on the profit motive (ICC, 2016a; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2020; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2018; Smith, 2007). Inuit women express concern about the sexism, harms to women and families, and unequal benefits that result from the resource extractive industries (Pauktuutit, 2012). Changes in terms of the economic relationship with marine life and resources in Inuit Nunangat includes a shift from subsistence lifestyles and economy to a market economy (Government of Nunavut & Nunavut

²⁰ "Insufficient marine infrastructure, most notably a lack of deep sea ports and small craft harbors, shortens the period during which cargo ships can deliver to communities, increases the cost of goods and services, hampers search and rescue operations, limits ocean access for Nunavummiut participating in marine hunting and gathering activities, and inhibits economic opportunities that could arise from offshore fisheries and cruise-ship tourism." (Government of Nunavut, 2019, p.16)

"Out of 1010 harbours in Canada, only one is in Nunavut, despite having about 40% of Canada's shoreline ." (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2020, p.10)

Tunnngavik Incorporated, 2005; ICC, 2014). For economic development in Inuit Nunangat, planning ought to be holistic, "shipping, commercial fisheries, oil and gas exploration, and tourism must all be considered when talking about a sustainable ocean economy in the Arctic" (Koperqualuk, 2019, p.2). Inuit are not opposed to economic development, when it is done right. Economic development done right means social equity as a goal of business, long-term sustainability for communities, futures for youth, and self-determination; development that achieves these ends is more significant than stock value (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2018).

Change and Cultural Trauma. Many of the ways in which changes are occurring align with the framework of cultural trauma. Cultural traumas have a rapid onset, as described in the documents analysed; they are also imposed and exogenous, aligning with how climate change and globalization are beyond the control of Inuit; they challenge Inuit culture by undermining norms, beliefs, and adaptations to life; cultural traumas also often result in social mobilization, such as Inuit advocacy and environmental stewardship (Alexander, 2012; Sztompka, 2000).

The magnitude of the changes and their impacts is amplified when considered in tandem with the colonial history of Inuit Nunangat. Mary Simon (2018, p.10) states, "there is no other region of Canada that has experienced the breadth and pace of geo-political development in the last 50 years than the Arctic." Similarly, Duane Smith (2007, p.1) says, "In the last 40 or 50 years Inuit have adjusted to wholesale social, economic, and cultural change." There is plenty of evidence of the rapid changes that Inuit face (Crowe, 1997; Pauktuutit, 2006; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a; Watt-Cloutier, 2015), and some directly mention the trauma associated with the these imposed and forced changes.

"We are just coming out of the first wave of tumultuous change. This change, together with historical traumas have created a sense of loss of control, which of course has contributed to the social and health struggles we face today in our communities. We must be well prepared for the next wave." (Sheila Watt-Cloutier, 2007, p.26)

The equilibria that have been established within social-ecological systems (including human culture) are shifting. What began as a theme about how climate change is affecting the Arctic Ocean emerges as the understanding that not only is the Arctic Ocean undergoing physical changes, but so are social, cultural, and economic circumstances. Sheila Watt-Cloutier (2007, p.20) writes, "discussion of climate change all too often tends to focus on political, economic and technical issues rather than human impacts and consequences." The human impacts and consequences in this case are the challenges to social, cultural, physical, and mental wellbeing that come from climate change²¹. The relevance of culture in relation to planetary health is that the dynamics of social-ecological systems change have far reaching impacts to people. Thus, the importance of a collective society to resist and adapt to potential cultural traumas emerges; robust governance has an important role to play here. The last element of cultural traumas, social mobilization, is explored in the next subtheme, as advocating for environmental protection is a form of social mobilization that results from our changing ocean.

²¹ "The increasing use of and resource development in the waters of the Northwest Passage would have irreversible impacts on Inuit, especially Inuit residing in outlying communities adjacent to the Northwest Passage, and on Inuit way of life" (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2015, p.1)

Environmental Protection and Marine Places of Significance

Analysis reveals that discourse on the marine environment focuses on how Inuit are stewards to the environment. As established earlier, a healthy environment holds significance because it is an all-encompassing social determinant of health that can promote healthy communities (ICC, 2010a; ITK, 2014). The review of this sample of documents establishes that marine places are often connected to environmental protection and conservation (Government of Nunavut, 2006; Nunatsiavut Government, 2021; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2007; Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2020). Maintaining ecological integrity for future generations is a central objective among Inuit organizations. For example, an objective of the ICC is to “develop and encourage long-term policies that safeguard the Arctic environment” (ICC, 2018a, p.1). The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2005, p.1) states its third principle, “to protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment, and biological productivity.” Each of the land claim agreements is based in principles of conservation and environmental protection. This is a central feature of the discourse.

Inuit express significant concern about threats to the environment, for a number of reasons. Frequently mentioned is the fragility of the Arctic ecosystems (ICC, 2016a, 2017). The circumpolar north is described by Sheila Watt-Cloutier and others (Smith, 2007) as the barometer of the planet, acting as an indicator of biosphere stability. Some concerns include heavy fuel oil use as spill response is extremely difficult in circumpolar conditions²². Other forms

²² In regards to oil spill pollution in the marine environment, “any significant oil spill would be catastrophic for Inuit” (ICC, 2010, p.1).

of pollution from Arctic shipping may include noise or black carbon pollution (ITK, 2018d). Of course, sea ice cover decrease is another worry, it affects Inuit travel and safety, wildlife ecology and food security (ICC, 2008). As previously mentioned, other anxieties stem from the encroachment of ships and resource extractive industries. Although resource extraction can provide significant economic opportunities for Inuit, the associated human and social costs must be considered. Inuit political involvement and engagement in environmental management and marine protection is indicative of social mobilization against climate change.

Principles of environmental protection and a conservation ethic manifest themselves through Inuit governance structures. For example, the Government of Nunavut is guided by the principle *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* which means, “respect and care for the land, animals and the environment” (Government of Nunavut, 2012, p.9). Similarly, the treaties were negotiated with a spirit of conservation in mind. Inuit have significant experience in international diplomacy relating to environmental protection as well. Discourse about environmental protection is present in records of all sorts, as a central purpose of existing and emerging Inuit governance is environmental protection. Inuit strongly desire inclusion in environmental governance, and IQ has the capacity to guide environmental protection as it always has. An important aspect of the holistic approach to environmental protection comes from Inuit ways of being and knowing.

“The unique relationship between the Inuit of Nunavut and the ecosystems of the NSA is ecological, spiritual and social in nature. Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit is a related body of knowledge, which is necessary to and which Inuit shall bring to responsible decision-

making regarding the lands, waters and marine areas of the NSA.” (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated et al., 2016, p.8)

A defining feature of this theme is that discussion about environmental protection often fixates on a particular place. The Government of Nunavut published a report about creating ‘place’ and the importance of making ‘place’, emphasizing the importance of an area or region in terms of a connection between the physical environment and cultural heritage (Government of Nunavut, 2006). Place can create a sense of identity, provide physical and spiritual nourishment, allows the interface between people and the environment. Places are connected to specific values and beliefs, the link to traditional Inuit values is clear (ICC, 2010a). It is important to note that although Inuit engage in place-based environmental protection, they stress the importance of a holistic, ecosystem-wide approach to conservation (Dorough, Behe, & Roche, 2020; ICC, 2010a; ITK, 2019b, 2019d). This section provides some commentary on the marine areas of significance. Each example is unique and at varying levels of maturity or development. Four environmental protection regimes in Inuit Nunangat are identified for more detailed consideration here: Tallurutiup Imanga, Tuvaijuittuq, Imappivut and Pikialasorsuaq.

Tallurutiup Imanga. Tallurutiup Imanga, also known as Lancaster Sound, is a National Marine Conservation Area established by the Government of Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association in 2019 (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2020). Tallurutiup Imanga is a biologically diverse marine area, forming a small but significant portion of the Northwest Passage. The Nunavut Agreement enables inclusive environmental protection because the Government of Canada must consult Inuit regarding any developments in the region, through an Inuit Impact

and Benefit Agreement (IIBA). Through the IIBA, Inuit have the capacity to guide decision-making, exercising the right to self-determination. This conservation area aligns with the notions of adaptive co-management and is viewed as a success because of the community engagement in decision-making.

"I want to tell you a story about what can be achieved when we all work together. When Canada takes a whole-of-government approach and collaborates with Inuit in the spirit of reconciliation. Together we can protect the environment, and also build the frameworks for sustainable industries and conservation economies. In short, we can save our land, our waters, and our people." Sandra Inuitiq (2019, p.2)

The governance structure of the area is significant for its whole-of-government approach and co-management between Inuit and the Government of Canada. The governance structure is described as a whole-of-government approach because it includes a range of actors and rightsholders in governance. Multiple scales of human organization are meaningfully engaged, from adjacent communities such as Arctic Bay, Clyde River, Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet and Resolute Bay, to Qikiqtani Inuit Association, all the way to departments of the federal government. Importantly, this initiative brings co-benefits to all parties involved²³.

The principles of this conservation area reflect Inuit values; for example, the importance of biodiversity, IQ, monitoring climate change, building Inuit capacity, benefits for Inuit and

²³ Tallurutiup Imanga also directly supports Canadian sovereignty over the Northwest Passage, something which has been contested in the past. The legislation promotes the consideration of the passage as internal waters to Canada. This should enable Inuit and Canada to safeguard the marine environment through Canadian law and by legitimizing the Canadian claim to regulating shipping in the region.

consensus-based decision-making are principles of Tallurutiup Imanga (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2020). These principles are further expanded upon in the IIBA²⁴. Tallurutiup Imanga promotes reconciliation and polycentric governance through Inuit stewardship in research, input from hunters and trappers' organizations in governance. It is also unique with regards to its adaptive capacity; it was created with mechanisms that necessitate review and evaluation every couple of years.

The cooperative approach to management creates opportunity Inuit centric nodes of governance. This promotes Inuit self governance in many ways. Most notable is the Aulattiqatigiit Board which is a joint Inuit and Canada management board. Out of six board members, three are appointed by Qikiqtani Inuit Association, and three from the Government of Canada. This board is responsible for approving the final Management Plan for the area. This is achieved through Inuit advisory committees consisting of hunters and trappers, hamlet council members, Inuit elders, and other Inuit knowledge holders.

The conservation area empowers Inuit decision-making in development. For example, the IIBA includes provisions for over \$190 million in marine infrastructure investments in five communities (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2020). Multi-use facilities are to be built in the near future, creating food-processing infrastructure and small community harbours. Additionally, funding is available for youth who would like to learn skills to live on the land and practice

²⁴ Section 5.1.1 of the IIBA (Tallurutiup Imanga National Marine Conservation Area Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement, 2019) refers explicitly the objectives of governance structure, "To work together to manage Tallurutiup Imanga National Marine Conservation Area using the consensus-based governance model outlined in this Article in a manner that is consistent with the Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act, other federal legislation, and the Nunavut Agreement, while taking into account Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit."

cultural continuity. Economic opportunities in the area are possible after review to promote sustainable use of fisheries in the area, in a way that aligns with Inuit knowledge²⁵. Also, the Nauttitsuqtiit Inuit Stewards program was established, providing wage positions to Inuit acting as environmental stewards.

Tuvaijuittuq. In 2019, Tuvaijuittuq became an interim National Marine Conservation Area. It is one of Canada's newest marine protected areas, found in the Arctic Ocean off Nunavut's northwest coast (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2019). In Inuktitut, Tuvaijuittuq means the area where the ice never melts (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2019); the area's ecological significance is its year-round ice pack. This protected area was established through provisions in the Tallurutiup Imanga National Marine Conservation Area IIBA. This protected area is a major contributor to helping Canada meet international governance targets for conservation²⁶.

Tuvaijuittuq is different from Tallurutiup Imanga in that it is less developed as a conservation area, due to the fact that Tuvaijuittuq is an interim protected area. This means that it will be revised and evaluated at the end of a five-year period (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2020). Additionally, Tuvaijuittuq does not have as extensive Inuit involvement and engagement as Tallurutiup Imanga's various advisory boards do. Nevertheless, the IPA remains unique for its joint management structures between branches of the Canadian government and Inuit; both

²⁵ This also aligns with the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, which in section 15.1.1(e) states that "an Inuit economy based in part on marine resources is both viable and desirable"

²⁶ Aichi Target 11 is to protect 10% of coastal and marine areas by 2020 and was established by the Convention on Biological Diversity. The establishment of Tuvaijuittuq Marine Protected Area brought Canada to fulfill this target.

spaces are significant for their affirmation of Inuit rights. In response to these two places of significance, Tallurutiup Imanga and Tuvaijuittuq, Qikiqtani Inuit Association (2020) states,

“The success of these Agreements serves as a blueprint for what can be achieved when Inuit and the Federal Government work together. These unprecedented Agreements ensure Inuit governance of the protected areas, jobs for Inuit as environmental stewards and funding to address the infrastructure deficit in the High Arctic.”

Pikialasorsuaq. Started in 2016, the Pikialasorsuaq Commission calls for the identification of a protected area and Inuit led management regime. Pikialasorsuaq is the West Greenlandic name for the North Water Polynya, a tract of ocean that does not freeze over all year round, making it one of the most biologically productive areas north of the Arctic Circle (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2018). The area is found in the waters between Greenland and Canada, in the northern tip of Baffin Bay, and is critical for marine mammals as a habitat during the winter months, when sea ice present elsewhere prevents surfacing for a breath of air (Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017). As a result, the polynya provides significant ecosystem services for Inuit in the region who rely on the land for subsistence and food security.

“The Pikialasorsuaq is not just an ocean, or a unique wildlife area impacted by climate change. This is our home, our Nuna. This shared body of water defines who we are as a people – it connects us.” Okalik Egeesiak, Chair of ICC and International Pikialasorsuaq Commissioner (ICC, 2018b, p.1).

The Pikialasorsuaq Commission is an Inuit initiative, jointly led by ICC Greenland and ICC Canada. At the core of the Pikialasorsuaq project is Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous rights and title to lands, territories, and resources. In working towards the establishment of this Inuit-led marine management area, ICC Greenland and ICC Canada are advancing Inuit rights, interests, and agency in the region (Dorough, Chircop, & Idlout, 2016). An important recommendation of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission is an Inuit Management Authority that would govern activities such as transportation, shipping, and offshore industrial development within and adjacent to Pikialasorsuaq (Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017). The commission works to increase Inuit self-determination over the marine areas of Inuit Nunaat.

Imappivut. Imappivut means “our oceans” in Inuktitut, and is the name for a marine protected area still in the development and planning stages since 2017 when a Statement of Intent was signed (Nunatsiavut Government, 2021). The territory to be managed and protected includes the marine areas of Nunatsiavut, spanning the entire coast of the Labrador Inuit Land Claim Area. As Labrador Inuit rightfully increase their decision-making power over the marine areas of their homeland, this initiative is an exercise in self-determination (Nunatsiavut Government, 2021). Similar to the Tallurutiup Imanga, Imappivut is to be led by Inuit values and knowledge. Imappivut intends to be adaptive and integrated with dynamic ecological, social, cultural, and economic systems. It is suspected that as this plan moves towards action, it will build off of the foundation laid by Tallurutiup Imanga as a prototype for adaptive co-management arrangements between the Government of Canada and Inuit.

The discourse about these places for conservation implies that Inuit engagement in environmental protection and its governance holds potential for promoting planetary health. The position I have come to understand is that Inuit are keen to protect their homeland in a way that aligns with their worldviews, and that doing so can align with an Inuit conception of development (Simon, 2018). Inuit are confident in the application of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in governance of marine areas of importance, and this should work to benefit the environment (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2007; Simon, 2017; Watt-Cloutier, 2018). My interpretation is that marine protection is associated with planetary health promotion, good marine governance can help future generations of Inuit live healthy lives.

To conclude this subtheme, Inuit have an important role in the environmental protection of marine spaces. The need for Inuit involvement in Arctic marine management is mentioned throughout the sample in land claim agreements, reports, and webpages. To achieve such ends, numerous marine places of significance are either already protected and co-managed, or they are in the process of obtaining such status. These conservation areas are important avenues for increasing Inuit self-determination over Inuit Nunangat. Working with Inuit epistemologies and embedding them in governance structures has the capacity to protect the environment.

A Rights-based Approach

The second analytical theme, *a rights-based approach*, is about the importance of Indigenous rights in the discourse. If the other theme, *the meaning of marine*, describes the problem, this one presents a solution. This theme intends to capture how important the rights

that a person holds can be, for these rights determine their degree of power in society and engagement in systems of governance. Treaty rights, inherent rights and the rule of law and are foundational here, providing the basis for Inuit inclusion in marine governance. The basis for Inuit involvement in marine governance rests in their status as Indigenous peoples, their cultural environmental social knowledge and relationship with the ocean, and the recognition of their rights constitutionally. The path forward begins with respectfully implementing Inuit rights.

A rights-based approach represents avenues for achieving political equality, through the meaningful and respectful enactment of Indigenous rights, specifically the right to self-determination. Important elements of this theme include the mechanisms, declarations, and treaties that implement the right to self-determination. The general premise here is that exercising self-determination can result in political restructuring that enables Inuit agency and the reflection of IQ in governance. This theme begins to uncover some of the more political aspects of marine governance through three subthemes: *rightsholders not stakeholders*, *political inequality and marginalization*, and *collaborative governance*.

Rightsholders not Stakeholders

As a starting point to this theme as a whole, it is important to establish that Inuit are rightsholders, not stakeholders. This distinction is significant because it emphasizes the unique rights that Inuit hold as an Indigenous people living in the Arctic since time immemorial (ICC, 2009). To describe Inuit as stakeholders overlooks and minimizes Inuit rights. In discussions surrounding inclusion in governance, the term 'rightsholder' carries the weight of Indigenous

rights, while the word 'stakeholder' does not adequately acknowledge the obligations carried by Indigenous rights. The difference between rightsholders and stakeholders highlights a key learning: as rightsholders, Inuit have the right to be engaged in matters affecting Inuit Nunangat.

Inuit organizations are dedicated to the promotion of Inuit rights - or human rights more broadly. The centrality of Inuit rights to the discourse was a significant finding, though its importance has become clear through learning from various Inuit organizations. For example, the Kuujuaq Declaration of the 2002 ICC General Assembly states, "ICC is fundamentally an international organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights" (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2002, p.1). Within Canada, ITK was involved with negotiating the land claims agreements, demonstrating its dedication to the promotion of Inuit rights and self-determination. Since inception, ITK has been on a path towards achieving political, social and cultural self-determination for Inuit across Canada; their vision in the 2020 strategy and action is, "Canadian Inuit are prospering through unity and self-determination" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020, p.1). Pauktuutit is engaged in this realm as well, working to promote Inuit women's rights (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2020). Regionally, Inuit organizations are promoting Inuit rights through the implementation of the land claim agreements.

Inuit rights are recognized and affirmed throughout the sample. The ICC's declaration on sovereignty in the Arctic provides a helpful starting point by emphasizing Inuit as an Indigenous people of the Arctic, a people with a collective identity: shared culture and language, laws and values, and homelands (ICC, 2009). Like other Indigenous peoples, Inuit have always been self-governing; Inuit society has its own rights and laws, established long before written law and

western conceptions of law (Crowe, 1997; Pauktuutit, 2006). Colonial administrations systematically dismantled the decision-making structures, traditional leadership, and governance structures Inuit practiced before the disruptions of colonialism (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Now, Inuit rights are recognized by treaties upheld by Canadian law and declarations such as UNDRIP.

Inuit rights are recognized and protected in land claims agreements that make up Inuit Nunangat: Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, Nunavut, and Inuvialuit. These agreements serve to establish treaty obligations and support Inuit self-determination²⁷. The rights that land claims serve to protect include (but are not limited to) the harvesting rights, self government rights, rights to joint management of the environment (co-management). Self-government structures were established as a result of these treaties including public governments in Nunavut, Kativik Regional Government in Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut Government in Labrador. The treaty obligations in each region are different as a result of separate regional negotiations and contexts. Despite any differences, these agreements are innovative and have strengthened Inuit rights.

“Inuit have developed a considerable political voice and organizational capacity, swiftly progressing toward self-determination through the signing of Land Claim Agreements, a Partnership Accord, and the election of Inuit governments.” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2014. p. 38)

²⁷ “In Canada, four land claims agreements are some of the key building blocks of Inuit rights; while there are conflicts over the implementation of these agreements, they remain of vital relevance to matters of self-determination and of sovereignty and sovereign rights.” (ICC, 2009, p.1)

Perhaps most importantly, the rights within the treaties and inherent rights are protected by Canadian domestic law. Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act recognizes and affirms aboriginal and treaty rights (Government of Canada, 1982). This is significant because not all nation-states in Inuit Nunaat recognize these rights, but Canada does. To have aboriginal and treaty rights in the constitution is significant because it protects Indigenous rights in Canada. Mary Simon (2018, p.43) said, "the entrenchment of Aboriginal and treaty rights was a monumental achievement for Aboriginal peoples and for Canada enshrining our recognition as peoples in Canadian law." As a result of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, Indigenous rights are part of Canadian law.

In addition to domestic institutions such as land claims agreements and the Constitution Act are international institutions that promote Inuit rights. The UNDRIP is significant in this regard (ICC, 2010a; ITK, 2019c; Simon, 2018) . Canada is a signatory to UNDRIP, further acknowledgement of the inherent Indigenous right to self-determination. However, please note that acknowledgement of inherent rights does not equate to the ability to implement and meaningfully manifest these rights, as they are often impaired by hegemonic powers.

The discourse suggests that Inuit rights are central to marine governance; until such rights are recognized and not violated, inequitable and racist systems of decision making will persist. In terms of decision-making and governance structures, the distinction between being a rightsholder and being a stakeholder is important because Indigenous rights have historically been violated and continue to be violated (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2006). In relation to the marine environment, willful ignorance of Inuit rights on a federal and international scale is a

result of governance systems that view Inuit not as rightsholders, but as an afterthought. Hegemonic systems of governance prioritize western conceptions of development over right relations with indigenous people. Inuit rights are key components of governance and they provide a framework for decision making that respects Inuit worldviews.

To summarize, Inuit are an Indigenous people and possess inherent rights that necessitate their involvement in governance. Indigenous rights establish the right to function as self-determining peoples, to have agency in making choices and managing affairs that affect Inuit Nunangat. This right to self-determination and other rights are established in an international context through the UNDRIP, in a Canadian context through Section 35 of the Constitution Act, and regionally through modern treaties. Inuit are rightsholders, not stakeholders.

Political Inequality and Marginalization

Clearly represented in the discourse is the fact that Inuit rights are not always recognized nor fulfilled to an appropriate extent. This subtheme describes some of the recurring representations of political inequality, and the Canadian history of colonialism and racism. Political equality and leadership has always been a priority for Inuit organizations (ICC, 2010a; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2020). Representations of political equality are important to analyse because they reveal how power structures are reproduced or negotiated in Inuit Nunangat. An overall message that this theme relates to is that Inuit strongly desire to be full and equal partners, and that the implementation of Indigenous rights is a pathway to

reconciliation, but governments at all levels fail to achieve political equality (ICC, 2009; ITK, 2018a). The sample reveals a pattern in which Inuit are not treated as political equals.

Political equality would not have even emerged as a theme in this analysis if it was not frequently raised as an issue in the materials reviewed. This section highlights discourse that presents evidence of the violation of Inuit rights; specifically, the sample reveals the Inuit reality of political inequality that is not appropriate for a nation-to-nation relationship (McNab, 1993; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2006; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a). There are barriers to political equality and leadership as a result of oppressive and colonial structures. Inuit rights are not always well understood by Qallunaat, and Inuit often educate Qallunaat on specific Inuit rights, even though land claims have been settled for decades.

“Federal, provincial and territorial governments must be proactive in understanding and upholding Inuit land claims.” (*National Inuit climate change strategy*, 2019, p.30)

Reiterated throughout the discourse are expressions of the racism inherent in Canada’s assimilationist policies, residential schools, coerced and forced relocation to permanent settlements and the high north (Watt-Cloutier, 2015). These infractions of Inuit rights are indicative of the political inequality Inuit have faced and continue to face. Political inequality is the mechanism for Canada’s assertion of sovereignty over Indigenous lands. Inuit were self governing before western political systems were imposed (Crowe, 1997). Importantly, as

established by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, these political factors have a direct impact on the health of Indigenous people in Canada²⁸.

To address the major, recurring violations of the right to self-determination, Inuit must be recognized as equal partners in policy-making and decision-making affecting Inuit Nunaat, for that is part of the right to self-determination (ICC, 2009). Evidence of the political inequality between Inuit and other governments can be seen in the many concerns voiced about inequality and untrue partnership between Inuit and non-Inuit, in all spheres of relationships²⁹. For example, many documents raise concerns for the ways in which Inuit ways of being are continually under threat of extinguishment from colonial structures (Crowe, 1997; ITK, 2018b; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a). Crown law (e.g., through police, courts, etc.) displaces Inuit institutions of law such as elders, leaders, traditional customs³⁰. The imposition of western political systems through racist policies is a breach of Indigenous rights.

²⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Call to Action 18 (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p.2) "We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to acknowledge that the current state of Aboriginal health in Canada is a direct result of previous Canadian government policies, including residential schools, and to recognize and implement the health-care rights of Aboriginal people as identified in international law, constitutional law, and under the Treaties."

²⁹ Untrue partnership is characterized by inadequate fulfillment of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, resulting in suspicion and a "profound sense of disillusionment, and sometimes distrust, related to agreements with the Government of Canada, whether it was the slow pace of devolution agreements, conflicts in land claims implementation, or bilateral agreements that by-passed territorial governments." (Simon, 2018, p.13)

³⁰ "For many years, the customary laws of Canada's Aboriginal peoples were ignored by the legal system because they did not fit into modern legal concepts of how laws should work. Aboriginal customary laws were not usually written down, nor were there people who were given special authority to enforce these laws. As well, punishments for misbehavior were often applied unevenly against offenders. However, these societies did have clear codes of behaviour that were well understood by all members of the society. People who did not follow these codes could expect to face a range of reactions from the community depending upon the severity of the offense. These societies were self-governing and able to maintain a primarily stable and peaceable existence." (Pauktuutit, 2006, p.9)

“A central target of colonialism in the Qikiqtani region the North has been Inuit governance.” (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2018, p.10)

More evidence of how Inuit are not treated as political equals emerges on the international scale regarding marine governance. For example, intergovernmental discussions between Arctic nation-states that leave out Inuit are a breach of Indigenous rights. In 2010, Arctic maritime states met outside of the Arctic Council’s spaces to discuss marine issues. Because the ICC holds Permanent Participant status at the Arctic Council, Inuit would have been included in deliberations. However, “by taking the summit out of the Arctic Council, Minister Cannon found a deft way of turning his back on inclusion.” (ICC, 2010, p.1) Similarly, Inuit were excluded in 2018 when Canada and the USA agreed upon an Arctic Ocean fishing moratorium (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2018)³¹. As a result, Inuit are working towards including their voices in more international spaces, as demonstrated by the request for consultative status to the International Maritime Organization (ICC, 2021).

In terms of marine governance through co-management agreements, although significant progress has been made by Inuit to gain representation in these spaces, these agreements may perpetuate Inuit marginalization in some ways. For example, Inuit inclusion is often limited to advisory roles or consultation roles, and the ultimate decision on matters is up to federal ministers³². This suggests that while Inuit have the right to self-determination, the

³¹ "There was a total lack of consultation prior to the imposition of the moratorium. This and the subsequent changes to key legislation impacting our marine areas are actions inconsistent with the way the Crown is required to engage with its Indigenous counterparts." (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2018, p.1)

³² From the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, “Subject to the ultimate authority of the relevant Minister, the NWMB is the main instrument of wildlife management and the main regulator of access to wildlife in the Nunavut Settlement Area (NSA).” (Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, 2021, p.1)

ultimate decision on about development within Inuit Nunangat lies with federal ministers, not Inuit themselves. Although there is no doubt that momentum and openness to a renewed relationship exists, what appears to be necessary is that all parties approach without the distrust and ill-will of the past. In order to do so, Inuit point towards acceptance of international Indigenous rights standards, self-determination, and self-government.

Political equality can lead to social and economic equity. The sample indicates how Inuit have innovated and mobilized to self-determine through building their own organizations. Inuit are vocal about their values, ideals, and norms through a number of channels. Inuit specific policy has been formulated by various Inuit organizations. In particular, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) has published the Inuit Arctic Policy (ICC, 2010a). This policy advances Inuit rights and addresses a range of issues including environmental, social, cultural, and economic issues; essentially the policy advocates for equity throughout Inuit Nunaat. In addition, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2019) released *Arctic and northern policy framework: Inuit Nunangat* which is similar in scope to the ICC policy but focuses on a Canadian specific context. These policies must be considered for all types of development within Inuit Nunaat or Inuit Nunangat.

In addition to these policies, ICC publishes declarations which establish Inuit positions. For example, there are declarations on resource development, sovereignty, harvesting rights, as well as declarations at every ICC general assembly. These types of declarations, reports, and strategies act as a roadmap towards political equality. Commitment to these declarations on the part of nation-states is required to build partnerships which recognize Inuit rights, and to work towards political equality. Issues of implementation of Inuit policies remain to be

resolved. Because Inuit have not been treated as political equals, Inuit have innovated and mobilized to build self-determination. Inuit organizations' declarations, policies, and strategies have emerged as Inuit assertions to the realm of global governance, and present avenues towards collaborative governance. Moving beyond political inequality and marginalization involves being open to these Inuit perspectives, and respective Inuit ideals, norms, and laws within Inuit homelands. Inuit political mobilization has been robust and stems from a culture that is adaptive to change.

Collaborative Governance

This subtheme represents some of the principles for collaborative governance that are present in the discourse. First of all, governance that does not include Inuit is likely to be inappropriate, inequitable, unsustainable, and ineffective; this often is a result of failing to recognize Inuit rights, realities, and contexts. To move beyond inequitable systems and to achieve effective change, Inuit call for a “whole-of-government” approach (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2017, 2018). Inuit approaches to problem solving are incredibly holistic and characterized by long-term approaches that works across scales (ICC, 2010a). The whole-of-government approach is similar to the assertions within the Ottawa Charter, that health promotion requires coordinated action across all sectors, not the health sector alone (WHO, 1986). This type of holism in governance is indeed hard work, but it is necessary work.

Collaborative marine governance systems require true partnerships with recognition of Inuit rights. As a starting point on the path towards reducing the harm of colonial systems, implementing modern treaties and self-government is imperative. The land claim agreements

are a foundation for new governance models, yet the maximum potential benefits of treaties are yet to be attained (ITK, 2018b). Implementation of the National Inuit Strategy on Climate Change centres around Inuit rights and land claim agreements (ITK, 2019d), and Inuit marine governance should as well. These systems should allow the reclamation of Inuit identity through Inuit self-determination and respect for IQ. We can also turn to a guiding principle of climate change adaptation in Nunavut (Government of Nunavut, n.d., p.9), *aajiiqatigiinniq*, which means “decision-making through discussion and consensus.” Inclusion of all levels in decision-making should enable the definition of community priorities. Essentially, the right to self-determination must be reflected in programs, policies and services designed to address marine spaces in Inuit Nunangat.

Examples of collaborative governance that support Inuit self-determination emerge from the sample. The establishment of co-management boards for the purposes of wildlife management, water use, land use planning, and environmental impact assessment are significant collaborative governance arrangements. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Inuit hold the right to appoint or nominate half of the members of these management boards and institutions of public government, which supports Inuit self-determination. Additionally, Inuit consultative groups support the co-management boards, bringing community perspectives to marine governance. Collaborative marine governance that builds Inuit capacity for self-determination has potential to promote Inuit and environmental wellbeing as well as equitable decision-making.

"Inuit involvement in marine management by working with industry and governments to protect our ecosystems today and into the future is crucial." (ICC Canada & Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2020, p.1)

There is indication that Inuit centric nodes of marine governance are emerging. Inuit environmental protection initiatives such as Pikialasorsuaq and Tallurutiup Imanga are notable. Pikialasorsuaq is significant for a collaboration between Inuit in Canada and Greenland, as well as with academics and government. Furthermore, the Pikialasorsuaq Commission is specifically mandated to listen to Inuit and knowledge holders (ICC, 2016b), which should promote the integration of Inuit perspectives into governance. The Tallurutiup Imanga IIBA is exemplary of a whole-of-government approach. It was agreed upon by the federal government by the Minister of Environment, the Government of Nunavut and the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2018). The IIBA establishes several mechanisms for Inuit involvement and local benefits. The emergence of these structures for marine governance is demonstrative of polycentric governance that is more responsive to Inuit and northern realities.

"A convergence between Indigenous peoples and conservation, through a rights-based, custodian driven approach, would decolonize conservation and make a significant contribution towards reconciliation." (Simon, 2018, p.39)

In addition to marine co-management, the Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee was recently formed as a bilateral space ("Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership," 2017). Indigenous rights necessitate this partnership, and the partnership should work to enable further the attainment and fulfillment of Inuit rights. Thus, the first line of the document

recognizes Inuit as rights holding people³³. Although "a strong relationship with the Crown is still in its infancy," (Simon, 2018, p.43) this partnership is a step in the right direction. The Inuit-Crown partnership is an example of a collaborative governance structure that can advance Inuit priorities. The declaration suggests the partnership will support socio-economic and cultural equity between Inuit and other Canadians. Thus, equity and emerges as a basic principle of collaborative governance.

Collaborative governance must not leave certain groups behind. Inuit women, men, youth, and elders must be included for a true whole-of-government approach. It has been established that a lack of inclusion for Inuit women leads to a situation where gendered issues are disregarded (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2016). For collaborative governance to be truly effective, it must take into consideration a gender-based analysis approach that considers intersectionality. For example, recent developments such as the Pauktuutit - Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada memorandum of understanding (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, 2017; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2017) and an agreement between Pauktuutit and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Kirkup, 2021) are a step towards governance that recognizes and engages Inuit women while addressing systematic racism. An important aspect of collaborative governance that advances commitments to a whole-of-government approach is governance that respects the rights of Inuit women.

³³ "Whereas Inuit are an Indigenous rights-holding people under the Constitution. It is on the basis of this special relationship that Inuit are entering into a bilateral partnership with the Government of Canada to take action on shared priorities." ("Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership," 2017, p.1)

"A strong Arctic will only come when Inuit women are heard, safer, and empowered." -
Rebecca Kudloo (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2019, p.1)

As alluded to previously, collaborative governance promotes social equity. Participation in collaborative governance can enable Inuit to freely determine their economic, social, and cultural development. There is a need for placing equal value on Indigenous and western knowledge, and Inuit engagement in decision-making can advance the inclusion of IQ in policy. Indigenous led initiatives with locally driven management are equitable governance arrangements that support decolonization, self-determination, and health promotion.

Conclusion

Discourse from Inuit organizations such as ICC, ITK, Pauktuutit, and regional Inuit organizations inform this study. Publicly available documents such as reports, policies, declarations, press releases, and webpages are analysed. Thematic analysis reveals two main themes that are interpreted: *the meaning of the marine*, and *a rights-based approach*. The first theme presents an overview of the strong connection between Inuit and the marine environment, the implications of a changing ocean, and the manifestation of environmental protection. The second theme suggests the importance of Inuit rights while emphasizing the right to self-determination, the political inequality that Inuit continue to face despite their rights, and pathways towards reconciliation through collaborative governance arrangements. Throughout, connection is made between these ideas and Inuit health, as the environment, culture, and governance are key social determinants of health.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Conclusion

This study involves the analysis of publicly available documents that reflect authentic Inuit perspectives on marine governance. Through examining Inuit perspectives, this thesis works to “re-examine our relationships with nature and with our fellow human beings” (Doubleday, 1992, p. 213). While there is much that I have to learn as a settler, we can begin by listening to, understanding, and respecting Indigenous worldviews, epistemologies, and ontologies. This thesis is an effort to do so; the methodological basis of this study works towards critiquing the root causes of inequity in Canada. Thus, this study is an expression of solidarity with Inuit, and the methodological approaches that are employed can be applied by allies in other contexts as well.

The methodological decision to apply feminist standpoint theory and thematic analysis to learn from Inuit perspectives is a direct action against the ‘epistemic injustice’ in academics (Bhakuni & Abimbola, 2021) which values western scientific knowledge over Indigenous knowledge. In this study, feminist standpoint theory informs the approach to the evidence. People who suffer from unfair, unjust, and inequitable systems have important knowledge which contributes diversity of thought and critique hegemonic worldviews (Harding, 2016). Treating publicly available materials as authoritative evidence is a way for researchers who identify as Indigenous allies to learn when community engagement is not possible. Future research should apply similar methodological approaches that attempt to shift the paradigm of what knowledge is valued in science. This principle extends beyond academics and into governance, we must be aware of whose voice, perspective and knowledge is the focus of decision making.

In the context of this study, Inuit perspectives inform considerations about how governance systems relate to health promotion. The analysis points towards the inherent right to self-determination as a key aspect of marine governance among Inuit. Enacting the constitutional rights and agreements within the land claim agreements should provide Inuit the agency needed for self-determination, although historic and persistent colonial institutions present barriers to this reality. The idea is conveyed eloquently in this quote: "In order to become healthy again, we need to be in control of our lives here" (Dorough, Behe, & Roche, 2020, p.13). Because inequitable systems persist, Inuit are denied their inherent right to self-determine their political, cultural, and economic development. The discussion point that arises from this line of reasoning is that unfair political systems are an upstream social determinant of health that perpetuates health inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada.

In terms of planetary health, Inuit bring to marine governance a cosmocentric worldview that values environmental protection and stewardship, recognizing humans as an integrated part of nature. At the current moment, this perspective is incredibly important for critiquing human interactions and relationships with the biosphere. The culture of holism that Inuit use to approach complex problems appears to be somewhat unique to Inuit governance structures. Indigenous knowledge and wisdom with regards to human ecology is needed and has a rightful place in global governance that strives to promote planetary health.

To explore this idea further, the social determinants of health guide this chapter; three that are central to this study are the environment, culture, and governance. While learning

from Inuit about the marine environment, it becomes clear how the marine environment is foundational to Inuit health (Dorough et al., 2020; Koperqualuk, 2019). Humans are an integral part of the environment, not separate from nature, but integrated within it. Inuit culture expresses a proximity to the environment and solidarity with nature. Emerging Inuit governance structures are important to the landscape of social determinants across Inuit Nunangat. This discussion works through this line of reasoning to present how governance systems that recognize and affirm the Inuit right to self-determination can unlock health promotion gains and co-benefits linked to planetary health. I conclude with one key takeaway and recommendation that emerges from this study, and the path forward it presents.

The Environment

A central component of my analysis is the environment as an all-encompassing determinant of Inuit health. Within the discourse, it is evident that as a result of living lives which are integrated with the biosphere Inuit know the importance of a healthy biosphere to human wellbeing (Koperqualuk, 2019; Whitmee et al., 2015). Inuit are ambassadors to the claim that the environment and life is the foundation of our social realities, always affecting the cultural, social, economic, and geopolitical context. The marine environment in particular is significant for what it provides, whether that is food security from marine mammals, highways of sea ice for travel, or the oxygen we breathe. This finding is not only true for Inuit, but it can be extrapolated to everyone globally, as well as other living things. The wellbeing of the environment we are within determines much about our health, through its influence other part of our lives.

Anthropogenic environmental change is pushing ecological systems beyond normal states of equilibrium, as ecological tipping points are passed some of the most noticeable changes in the world are occurring the circumpolar north (Watt-Cloutier, 2015). Equilibria within Inuit Nunangat are shifting rapidly and Inuit have firsthand experience of these changes. As reflected in the subtheme, *our ocean (and culture) is changing*, environmental changes such as warming temperatures, sea ice melt, and species distribution shifts, for example, have subsequent social consequences. Many of these dynamics within social-ecological systems represent a threat to the marine environment and life upon which people rely. The relationship between Inuit and the ocean is characterized as one of reliance upon the ocean; the ice and water are central components of Inuit homeland, and the marine environment is a key determinant of Inuit health.

A central recommendation that emerges from this analysis is a shift towards paradigms of health that allow for synergies between different knowledge systems. From my analysis, the Inuit worldview of being an integrated part of Inuit Nunangat, including its marine area, aligns with the planetary health framework and the idea of humans as situated *within* nature (Guzmán et al., 2021). Planetary health and IQ can run parallel to each other; both frames of thought consider long-term sustainability and stewardship, life for future generations, and equity. Western worldviews have much to learn from Inuit about how to interact with the environment, future research should explore how Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit can inform further lessons about planetary health. The planetary health framework can be a bridge between Indigenous and western systems of knowledge, this synergy presents a path forward giving

future direction for knowledge production about the environment as a critical social determinant health.

Culture

Culture permeates the discourse of the sample and relates closely to the environment. The omnipresent discussions about Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit and Inuit culture indicate strong connection between Inuit ways of life and the environment . As represented throughout the subtheme *Inuit Nunangat and marine culture*, Inuit culture and identity are connected to the ocean. This perspective may not be as widely held or taught in western cultures, the holistic frame of mind contrasts with western egocentric worldviews.

An important finding of my research is that environmental changes and changes to the ocean may induce cultural trauma. Cultural trauma serves as a useful framework for examining how social-ecological changes are disrupting our norms, beliefs, and behaviours. Considering the cultural connection with the environment that Inuit hold, it becomes clear how environmental change could disrupt Inuit culture. Core elements of cultural trauma include sudden onset, imposed or unpredicted nature, challenging to norms, and social mobilization (Alexander, 2012; Sztompka, 2000). Through applying this framework to my examination of Inuit discourse, I have identified that the core elements of cultural trauma emerge in the discourse about changes to the marine environment.

The pattern is one where Inuit culture is suddenly and rapidly disrupted. The forces that disturb the equilibrium are imposed or beyond the control of Inuit; for example, climate change and colonial disruptions are both exogenous forces (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate

Change, 2018; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). These result in direct and indirect effects on the ways Inuit live, potentially overwhelming or modifying pre-existing cultural norms, values, and beliefs (ICC, 2014; ITK, 2018d; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2005). In other words, social-ecological changes have knock-on effects that may challenge IQ and pre-existing adaptations to life and ways of being. For example, increased accessibility for shipping and resource development brings challenges that may undermine Inuit uses of the ocean (ICC, 2008). The experience of cultural trauma is represented in relation to colonialism; the sample tells of how since contact with Qallunaat, Inuit have continually undergone rapid and forceful changes many facets of their lives. Racist actions such as coerced settlement, high Arctic relocations, inequitable marine resource allocations, and intentional exclusion from decision-making settings oppress Inuit and are culturally traumatic (Nunatsiavut Government, 2020b; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2006; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993; Watt-Cloutier, 2015).

Within the cultural trauma framework, social mobilization occurs to address cultural changes. Social mobilization supported by Inuit institutions such as ICC, ITK, Pauktuutit and community level hunters and trappers' organizations continues. For example, consider the land claims agreements or initiatives such as the Pikialasorsuaq Commission or Tallurutiup Imanga. These nodes of governance are significant in terms of recuperating from potential cultural trauma because the governance structures themselves carry Inuit values, beliefs, and culture within. This discussion suggests that Inuit health and wellbeing can be promoted through a flourishing culture that is adaptive to social-ecological dynamics.

Governance

This study has also described Inuit governance structures as they relate to marine governance. Ideas that relate to governance permeate throughout the discourses, political issues are central to Inuit (Dorough et al., 2020; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2020). The discourse also suggests a strong desire for meaningful Inuit engagement in all matters that affect Inuit. Analysis illustrates how nodes of governance involve themselves in environmental protection which indicates how governance is an integral social determinant of health in the context of Inuit Nunangat and the marine circumpolar north. A main position is that inclusion in decision-making that affects cultural, social, economic, and environmental development is not only highly desirable, but it is also an Inuit right.

Discourse that focuses upon Inuit rights emphasize the centrality of Inuit rights to governance in Inuit Nunangat. Inuit highlight how section 35 of the Constitution Act is a significant for Inuit governance, protecting Inuit treaty rights. Similarly, land claim agreements recognize Inuit rights within the four Inuit regions. The UNDRIP also has an integral role in recognizing Inuit rights. From this Indigenous rights perspective, the recognition of Inuit rights is an important aspect of governance as a determinant of health because it guides us towards right relations, self-determination, and health promotion.

The right to self-determination as a very important aspect of governance (ICC, 2009). Self-determination is about the ability for Inuit to determine their own destiny and development. The connection to planetary health follows. The line of reasoning is that through Inuit involvement in governance systems, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit has a place in decision making and becomes more able to address Inuit realities and lived experiences (ICC, 2010a). As

a result, Inuit knowledge and principles such as *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq*³⁴ can guide decision making in a way that promotes healthier relationships between people and the environment. Similarly, governance that respects self-determination results in development that has the capacity to address the root causes of inequity and social determinants of Inuit health. In other words, Inuit self-determination and agency in governance can promote health. A key learning that emerges from analysis is the conception that full implementation of Indigenous rights (particularly the right to self-determination) is an action of health promotion.

In the marine context, co-management innovations provide avenues towards self-determination. New governance structures can work to advance Inuit interests through meaningful engagement in decision-making. For example, the Nunavut Marine Council is a mechanism for integrating Inuit knowledge in decision-making (Nunavut Marine Council, 2018). Another example is Tallurutiup Imanga with its co-management boards and adaptive mechanisms (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2019b). Adaptive co-management is a marine governance mechanism that holds potential for equitable decision-making (Berkes, 2007). These innovations in governance create a rightful space for Inuit while prompting distinct knowledge systems to collaborate and protect the marine environment. Manifestation of an ecosystem-wide approach, a precautionary approach with future generations in mind, and sustainable management regimes are Inuit ideals that promote planetary health.

To promote health, Inuit control over Inuit Nunangat, empowered local decision-making and self-determination is imperative (ITK, 2014). Moving beyond systematic racism in

³⁴ *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* is an Inuktitut term meaning respect and care for the land, animals, and environment (Nunavut Marine Council, 2018).

governance can reduce barriers to Inuit-specific health promotion. Underlying this claim is a willingness to rethink existing power structures, an openness to polycentricity in governance systems, and a trust in Inuit management and community-based decision-making. Colonial and paternalistic political power structures that purposefully delegitimize and marginalize IQ have a direct impact on Inuit health (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Building the capacity for meaningful leadership of Inuit youth, elders, women, and leaders in governance will promote social equity which can subsequently address the social determinants of health. Development and decision-making that fails to respect the Inuit right to self-determination is likely to be unsustainable and inequitable and will perpetuate systems of oppression (ITK, 2018c). Inuit rightfully require inclusion in decision-making that affects the marine spaces of Inuit Nunangat.

Key messages and conclusion

Inuit involvement in marine governance is health promotion. Inuit self-determination in the decisions that affect Inuit Nunangat has the capacity to address the social determinants of Inuit health while promoting planetary health. Innovative marine governance structures such as Tallurutiup Imanga and Pikialasorsuaq are evidence of this because they protect the marine environment while enabling an Inuit defined concept of development. The co-management governance mechanism fulfills the right to self-determination and enables Inuit agency over the decisions that affect Inuit Nunangat. Considering governance as an upstream social determinant of health that can influence other social determinants reveals its value in health promotion. This is beneficial to planetary health because it promotes decision making structures informed by cosmocentric worldviews, environmental protection and sustainability,

the importance of cultural vitality. As Inuit take back the control of their lives and deconstruct oppressive structures, there is a need for transformative change; it is not adequate to simply adopt the same systems that are the root cause of inequity. Although this is difficult work, further consideration of governance as a social determinant of health is of utmost importance because it has the capacity to address the core issues that perpetuate health inequalities in Canada.

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https://www.healthpromotion.org.au/images/ottawa_charter_hp.pdf

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Appendix A

Approach to thematic analysis and qualitative coding

This appendix serves to illustrate systematically the approach that was taken to data analysis. Here, a series of screen clippings are used to demonstrate the approach to data analysis. The Notepad software is a word processing tool used to support analysis. Excerpts of interest were quoted from their sources and pasted into Notepad.

First, the document to be considered is opened. In this example, the Utqiagvik Declaration is used.

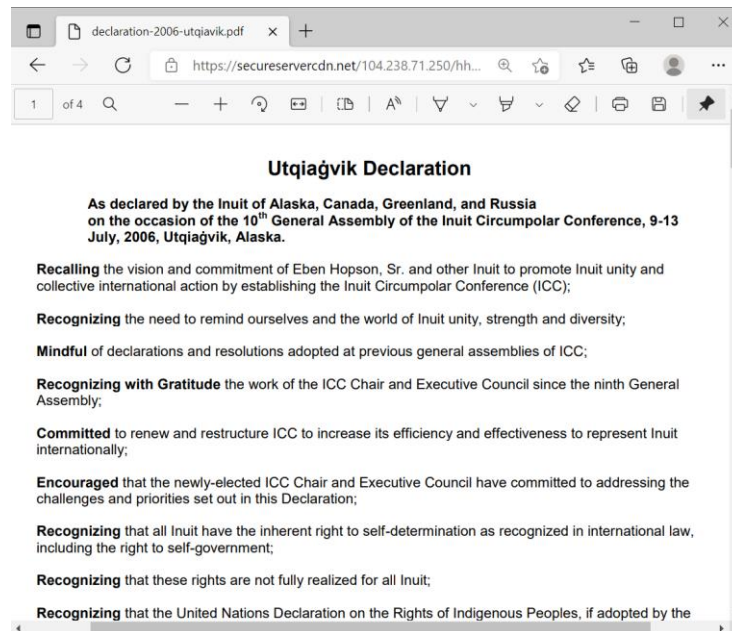


Figure A1. Sample of thematic analysis using the Utqiagvik Declaration.

Next, a Notepad window needs to be opened and the title, year, and link of the document being analysed is input. Beneath these lines of text will go the codes from the subsequent analysis of the text.

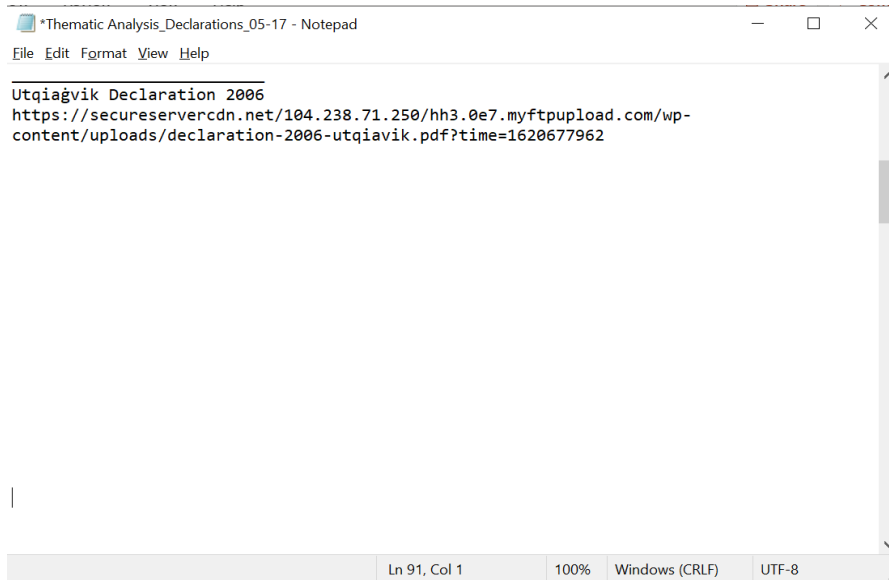


Figure A2. Sample of setting up Notepad for thematic analysis using the Utqiaġvik Declaration.

To guide analysis, certain formatting was used. The next image demonstrates the various elements of a Notepad document that include the code, the expression or quote, and any additional notes from analysis.

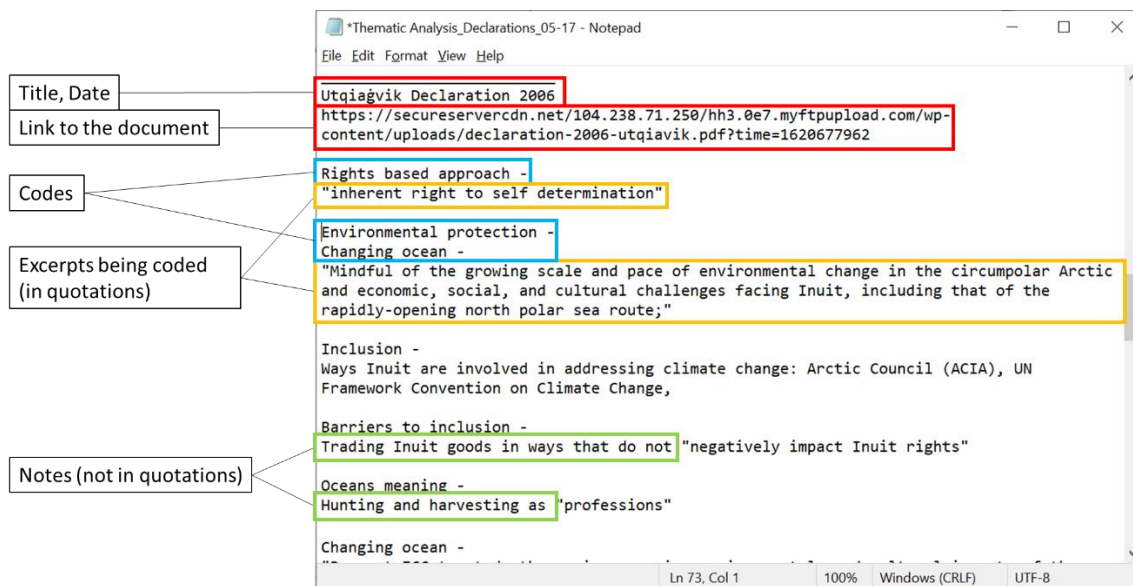


Figure A3. Sample of coded materials using Notepad for thematic analysis using the Utqiaġvik Declaration.

To compile codes after having analysed the sample, the search function in Notepad flagged codes for and allowed grouping for further analysis.

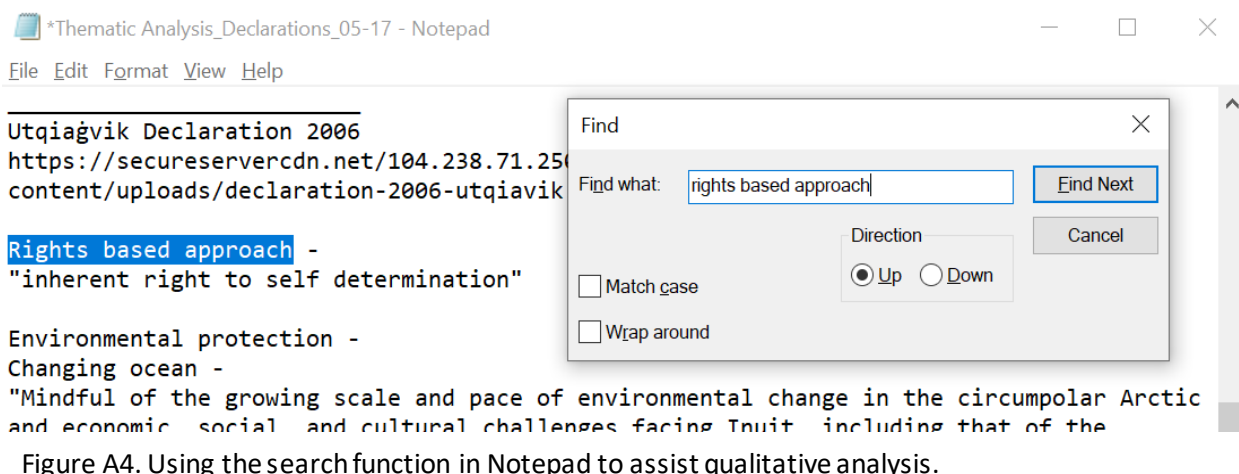


Figure A4. Using the search function in Notepad to assist qualitative analysis.

I acknowledge that there are computer programs that could have been more appropriate for this type of qualitative analysis. NVivo or Microsoft OneNote would have been more powerful software for this type of analysis. While Notepad is a limitation of this thesis, it still provides the core competencies that are required for thematic analysis.

Most importantly, Notepad allows for coding by assigning a code to an expression. These codes may appear to have little meaning when considered on their own, but when paired with an expression, the analytic value begins to appear. A list of the codes that were developed in analysis follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Culture | Co-management |
| Family | Decolonization |
| Between two cultures | Resource extractive industries |
| Ocean's meaning | Violence against women |
| Holism | Barriers to inclusion |
| Cultural Relevance | Dominant society vs oppressed society |
| Inuit Nunangat | Climate change |
| New relationships | Environmental protection |
| Good leaders | Shipping |
| New considerations | Economy |
| Inclusion | Employment |
| Systematic issues | Lack of funding |
| Political equality and leadership | Priority areas |
| Rights based approach | Trade offs |
| Gender based analysis | Need for |
| Communication | Places for voice |
| Self reliance | Social and health effects |
| Colonialism | Space for qualitative research |

Appendix B

Complete sample of evidence

This appendix includes the sources of information that were collected through researching this thesis. Prior to the complete list of documents are the searches and websites that informed the collection of evidence.

Site specific Google Searches:

site:www.pauktuutit.ca "marine"
site:www.pauktuutit.ca "marine governance"
site:www.pauktuutit.ca "ocean"
site:www.itk.ca "marine"
site:www.itk.ca "marine governance"

site:www.itk.ca "ocean"
site:www.inuitcircumpolar.com "marine"
site:www.inuitcircumpolar.com "marine governance"
site:www.inuitcircumpolar.com "ocean"

Websites that were explored (organized by region):

Nunavut

gov.nu.ca/
www.nwmb.com/en/
www.tunngavik.com/
www.qia.ca/
www.qnsw.ca/

Nunatsiavut

www.nunatsiavut.com
www.torngatsecretariat.ca/
www.labradorinuitwomen.com/about/

Nunavik

www.makivik.org
www.nmrwb.ca/
www.saturviit.ca/

Inuvialuit

www.irc.inuvialuit.com
www.jointsecretariat.ca

Title	Organization	Year	Type of Discourse	Link
Nuuk Declaration	ICC	1998	Declaration	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/wp-content/uploads/Declaration-1998.pdf
Kuujuuaq Declaration	ICC	2002	Declaration	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/declaration-2002-kujuuaq.pdf?time=1620677962
Utqiagvik Declaration	ICC	2006	Declaration	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/declaration-2006-utqiavik.pdf?time=1620677962
Climate Change: An Inuit Reality	ICC	2007	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/climate-change-an-inuit-reality/
Canadian Inuit Call for Direct Say on Arctic Sovereignty	ICC	2008	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/canadian-inuit-call-for-direct-say-on-arctic-sovereignty/
Pan-Inuit Sovereignty Summit to Convene In November	ICC	2008	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/pan-inuit-sovereignty-summit-to-convene-in-november/
A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic	ICC	2009	Declaration	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Declaration_12x18_Vice-Chairs_Signed.pdf
Inuit Arctic Policy	ICC	2010	Policy	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/project/inuit-arctic-policy/
Inuit Expect to be Invited to Oceans Five Foreign Affairs Ministers' Summit on Arctic Sovereignty	ICC	2010	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/inuit-expect-to-be-invited-to-oceans-five-foreign-affairs-ministers-summit-on-arctic-sovereignty/
Inuit Leader says Minister Cannon Prorogued the Arctic	ICC	2010	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/inuit-leader-says-minister-cannon-prorogued-the-arctic/
Nuuk Declaration	ICC	2010	Declaration	https://iccalaska.org/wp-icc/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/nuukdeclaration.pdf

Circumpolar Inuit Reflections on Sea Ice Use and Shipping in Inuit Nunaat	ICC	2014	Report	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/Sea-Ice-Never-Stops-Final.pdf
Kitigaaryuit Declaration	ICC	2014	Declaration	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/ICC-Kitigaaryuit-Declaration.pdf?time=1619721782
ICC Canada Applauds Canada's Recognition of the Value of Indigenous Knowledge and Encourages its Use in Climate and Fisheries Discussions	ICC	2015	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-canada-applauds-canadas-recognition-of-the-value-of-indigenous-knowledge-and-encourages-its-use-in-climate-and-fisheries-discussions/
ICC Applauds Adoption of Central Arctic Ocean Fishing Moratorium	ICC	2015	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-applauds-adoption-of-central-arctic-ocean-fishing-moratorium/
A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat	ICC	2016	Declaration	https://iccalaska.org/wp-icc/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Declaration-on-Resource-Development-A4-folder-FINAL.pdf
An Inuit Vision for the Future of the Pikialasorsuaq	ICC	2017	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/an-inuit-vision-for-the-future-of-the-pikialasorsuaq-2/
ICC Calls on the Global Community to Work with Inuit for the Future of the Arctic Ocean	ICC	2017	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-calls-on-the-global-community-to-work-with-inuit-for-the-future-of-the-arctic-ocean/
ICC Canada Commends Government of Canada Support for Pkialasorsuaq Inuit Marine Management, Inuit Mobility Rights, and Cooperation with Kalaallit Nunaat	ICC	2017	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-canada-commends-government-of-canada-support-for-pikialasorsuaq-inuit-marine-management-inuit-mobility-rights-and-cooperation-with-kalaallit-nunaat/

Inuit Call on Canadian Navy Not to Dump Raw Sewage in the Arctic Ocean	ICC	2017	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/inuit-call-on-canadian-navy-not-to-dump-raw-sewage-in-the-arctic-ocean/
Pikialasorsuaq commission	ICC	2017	Web page	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-activities/pikialasorsuaq-commission/
Wildlife Management Summit Report	ICC	2017	Report	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/ICC-Wildlife-Management-Summit-Report.pdf
ICC's Pikialasorsuaq Commission Workshop Concludes with an Implementation Plan: Moving Forward with the Recommendations	ICC	2018	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-s-pikialasorsuaq-commission-workshop-concludes-with-an-implementation-plan-moving-forward-with-the-recommendations/
Utqiagvik Declaration	ICC	2018	Declaration	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2018_Utqiagvik_Declaration.pdf
ICC Canada Brings Inuit Message to London IMO Meeting: Time to Ban HFO's in Arctic Shipping	ICC	2019	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/icc-canada-brings-inuit-message-to-london-imo-meeting-time-to-ban-hfos-in-arctic-shipping/
IPCC Special Report on Ocean and Cryosphere Highlights Critical Inuit Concerns Over Climate Change in the Arctic	ICC	2019	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/press-releases/ipcc-special-report-on-ocean-and-cryosphere-highlights-critical-inuit-concerns-over-climate-change-in-the-arctic/
Submission of the ICC Canada to the Special Senate Committee on the Arctic regarding the Arctic Policy Framework and international priorities	ICC	2019	Report	https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/ARCT/Briefs/InuitCircumpolarCouncilCanada_e.pdf

The Ocean Sustains Us – an Inuit Perspective	ICC	2019	Presentation	https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/20190708-en-koperqualuk-speech-high-level-panel-oceans.pdf?time=1594046063
Food Sovereignty and self-governance: Inuit role in managing Arctic marine resources	ICC	2020	Report	https://iccalaska.org/wp-icc/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/FSSG-Report_LR.pdf
Inuit urge protection and preparation now – To avoid paying the ultimate cost	ICC	2020	Press-release	https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/news/inuit-urge-protection-and-preparation-now-to-avoid-paying-the-ultimate-cost/
ICC Presents Case for Consultative Status to IMO Council	ICC	2021	Press-release	https://iccalaska.org/wp-icc/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/20210301-en-imo-consultative-status-press-release.pdf
The Right to be Cold	Sheila Watt-Cloutier	2015	Book	
Traditional knowledge and aboriginal self-government	Indigenous Survival International	1995	Report	https://data2.archives.ca/rcap/pdf/rcap-556.pdf
Qallunaat governments and Inuit: A brief history	Inuktitut Magazine	1997	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/1997-0082-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN.pdf
Sedna	Inuktitut Magazine	2001	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2001/12/2001-0089-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN-FR.pdf
Climate change in the Arctic	Inuktitut Magazine	2007	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2007-0102-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN-FR.pdf
Makivik Economic Development	Inuktitut Magazine	2008	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/2008-0105-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN-FR.pdf
Inuit on Arctic Sovereignty	Inuktitut Magazine	2009	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2009-0106-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN-FR.pdf

All hail the queen	Inuktitut Magazine	2017	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Inuktitut121.pdf
Questioning the Northwest Passage with Quitsak Tarriasuk	Inuktitut Magazine	2018	Magazine Article	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Inuktitut122.pdf
Inuvialuit Final Agreement	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation	2005	Land Claim Agreement	https://irc.inuvialuit.com/about-irc/inuvialuit-final-agreement
Inuvialuit Set to Take Next Steps to Clarify Rights, Benefits and Resource Management in the Offshore Areas of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation	2018	Press-release	https://irc.inuvialuit.com/news/inuvialuit-set-take-next-steps-clarify-rights-benefits-and-resource-management-offshore-areas
Social Determinants of Inuit Health in Canada	ITK	2014	Report	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ITK_Social_Determinants_Report.pdf
Arctic wildlife	ITK	2016	Information booklet	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Arctic-Wildlife.pdf
Remarks By Natan Obed At The Meeting Of First Ministers And First Nations, Inuit And Metis Leaders	ITK	2016	Speech	https://www.itk.ca/remarks-by-natan-obed-at-the-meeting-of-first-ministers-and-first-nations-inuit-and-metis-leaders/
Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership	ITK	2017	Declaration	https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/English-Inuit-Nunangat-Declaration.pdf
Fisheries And Oceans Canada, The Canadian Coast Guard And Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Announce New Arctic Region	ITK	2018	Press-release	https://www.itk.ca/dfo-and-canadian-coast-guard-and-itk-announce-new-arctic-region/
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