

**MOBILIZING INUIT KNOWLEDGE:
REPRESENTATION AND INSTITUTIONAL MEDIATION
IN THE ERA OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the production and mobilization of Inuit knowledge in and beyond the Canadian Arctic in the context of climate change. Drawing on multi-scale, ethnographic research, it focuses in particular on the role of institutions, such as government departments and community-based organizations, in mediating between different understandings of change. Inuit knowledge is increasingly transmitted through land-based programs and supported by grant funding from outside the community. I argue that adaptation to climate change is therefore as much about understanding how to work within political and institutional frameworks as it is about responding to changes in the local environment.

I examine how Inuit knowledge, represented in material forms – such as reports, maps, and films – as well as through the work of spokespersons, is mobilized in scientific conferences, bureaucratic office environments, and multilateral governance meetings like the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). I argue that spokespersons play a particularly significant role in rendering Inuit knowledge palatable for *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) audiences by selecting particular aspects to emphasize over others, and by translating Inuit observations into the language of science.

A variety of factors constrain the mobility of Inuit knowledge and limit its potential to shape territorial, national, and global decision-making about climate change. These include bureaucratic commitments to written documents and hierarchical organization, as well as public narratives that emphasize the vulnerability of Inuit to climate change based on a simplistic conception of Inuit identity as traditional and rooted on the land. Inuit, however, engage with the changing Arctic in a variety of ways, including exploring the potential of oil and gas development in increasingly ice-free waters. Ultimately, I suggest that Inuit knowledge reflects the ability to endure in the face of change—most recently, anthropogenic climate change. Drawing on the comfort and stabilizing force of tradition, it is also informed by and shapes political relations in spaces far from the Arctic tundra.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine la production et la mobilisation des connaissances inuit dans l'Arctique canadien et ailleurs, dans le contexte des changements climatiques. S'appuyant sur une recherche ethnographique menée à plusieurs échelles, elle s'intéresse particulièrement au rôle de différentes institutions qui servent d'intermédiaire entre différentes perspectives sur ces changements, incluant des protocoles éthiques, des ministères et des organisations communautaires. Les connaissances inuit, comprises traditionnellement comme étant liées au territoire, sont de plus en plus supportées par des programmes institutionnels et des subventions venant de l'extérieur de la communauté. Je mets de l'avant que l'adaptation aux changements climatiques dépend donc autant de la compréhension du fonctionnement de la politique et du cadre institutionnel que des réponses aux changements développées dans l'environnement local.

J'examine comment les connaissances inuit, représentées sous forme matérielle (comme des rapports, des cartes ou des films) et par des porte-parole sont mobilisées dans des conférences scientifiques, des environnements bureaucratisés et des réunions de gouvernance multilatérale, comme celles de la Convention-cadre des Nations Unies sur les Changements Climatiques (UNFCCC). Je soutiens que les porte-parole jouent un rôle particulièrement significatif en rendant les connaissances inuit acceptables pour les *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) en mettant l'accent sur certains aspects et non sur d'autres et en traduisant les observations inuit dans un langage scientifique.

Plusieurs facteurs contraignent la mobilité des connaissances inuit et limitent son potentiel à influencer la prise de décision aux niveaux territorial, national et global au sujet des changements climatiques. Ces facteurs incluent les engagements bureaucratiques envers des documents écrits et des organisations hiérarchiques, de même que des récits publics qui insistent sur la vulnérabilité des Inuits aux changements climatiques basée sur une conception simpliste de l'identité inuit qui serait traditionnelle et enracinée sur le territoire. Les Inuit, toutefois, interagissent avec l'Arctique qui se transforme de diverses manières, incluant des explorations pétrolières dans les eaux ouvertes qui augmentent de plus en plus rapidement. Ultimement, je suggère que les connaissances inuit reflètent la capacité de perdurer malgré ces changements, c'est-à-dire les changements plus récents qui sont anthropogéniques et touchent le climat. S'inspirant du confort et de la force stabilisatrice de la tradition, ces connaissances interagissent avec des relations politiques établies loin de la toundra arctique.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Résumé	ii
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction: Mobilizing Knowledge	1
0.1 Conceptual Frameworks	7
0.1.1 A brief overview of anthropological representations of indigenous and Inuit knowledge	8
0.1.2 Inuit knowledge as boundary object: theories of representation and translation	10
0.1.3 Claiming epistemology: the political context of Inuit knowledge.....	14
0.1.4 Institutionalizing and bureaucratizing knowledge.....	16
0.1.5 Affective knowledge	19
0.2 Introduction to my research sites	22
0.2.1 Clyde River, Nunavut.....	23
0.2.2 Iqaluit, Nunavut.....	27
0.2.3 The Inuit Circumpolar Council, Ottawa, Ontario (and elsewhere).....	31
0.3 On multi-sited ethnography	36
0.4 Institutional and event ethnography.....	41
0.5 Chapter Summaries	44
Chapter 1: Socio-bureaucratic Translation and Knowledge Production in Clyde River	49
1.1 Clyde River institutions and the formalization of research.....	57
1.2 Ethics, institutions, and the juridification of research	64
1.3 Research as economic development.....	73
1.4 Research as “capacity building”	83
1.5 Climate change planning as “building capacity”	88
1.6 A federal audit in an out-of-the-way place	92
1.7 Underwriting land skills through socio-bureaucratic translation.....	96
1.8 Proposal politics.....	103
1.9 Confessions of a climate change spokesperson	106
Chapter 2: Land and Healing in Clyde River: Conceptions of Identity and Environmental Change.....	113
2.1 Over-articulated knowledge: Competing conceptions of environmental change	115
2.2 “Healing the Land”: Theology and rituals of stewardship.....	124
2.3 God’s miracles: Agricultural metaphors and ecological relations.....	127
2.4 Inuit, HTL, and scientific interpretations of environmental change	132
2.5 Inuit identity, <i>qallunaat</i> institutions, and land-based knowledge	137
2.6 The Land and the Community in Clyde River	143
2.7 Transmission of skill through land-based programs.....	145
2.8 Healing through land-based programs.....	152
2.9 Secular and evangelical approaches to land-based healing	155
2.10 Conclusion: Change and human agency	156
Chapter 3: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Climate Change, and Bureaucratic	

Practice in the Government of Nunavut	161
3.1 An introduction to climate change policy in Nunavut	161
3.2 Inuit knowledge in the GN's <i>Upagiaqtavut</i> climate change strategy..	163
3.3 Building an Inuit bureaucracy through <i>Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit</i>	165
3.4 <i>Igloo, qulliq, qamutiik</i> : Cultural icons in government design	170
3.5 Articulating and segregating IQ in government practice	175
3.6 Article 23 and the perpetuation of stereotypes.....	179
3.7 Government work and land-based knowledge	186
3.8 Representing Inuit knowledge in bureaucracy.....	189
3.9 Rehumanizing bureaucracy.....	195
3.10 Conclusion.....	202
Chapter 4: Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge:	207
4.1 Part I: Knowledge spokespersons	210
4.1.1 Representing Inuit knowledge in local governance.....	212
4.1.2 Elder vs. youth perspectives	215
4.1.3 Bringing back knowledge.....	219
4.1.4 Temporality and performativity in knowledge spaces	222
4.2 Part II: Immutable mobiles? Material representations of Inuit knowledge	225
4.2.1 <i>Qapirangajuq</i> : Mediating Inuit knowledge and climate change through film	227
4.2.2 Translating Inuit knowledge into legal claims	240
4.3 Conclusion	255
Chapter 5: Transmutation and Endurance in Global Climate Change Politics	257
5.1 Part I: Vulnerable metaphors.....	262
5.1.1 Polar Bear ≈ Arctic ≈ Inuit.....	263
5.1.2 Arctic ≈ Ice and Snow ≈ Inuit ≈ The Rest of the Planet.....	266
5.1.3 The material and affective technologies of vulnerability	270
5.1.4 The political stakes of representation	273
5.2 Part II: The Inuit Petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights	278
5.2.1 Publics, witnessing and the role of human rights narratives	278
5.2.2 “Inuit Youth Speak Out on Climate Change”	287
5.3 Part III: Climate change, oil and gas, and the limits of global indigenism 291	
5.3.1 Oil and gas and the problem of publics at COP 15.....	295
5.3.2 A regional approach to climate change politics.....	303
5.4 Epilogue.....	306
Conclusion: Inuit knowledge as endurance	311
References:.....	321

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Introduction: Mobilizing Knowledge

This dissertation offers an ethnographic examination of how Inuit knowledge is mobilized through a number of knowledge-making and governance spaces, from the small Inuit community of Clyde River on Baffin Island to the government of Nunavut, Canada's newest and largest territory, to the hallways of UN gatherings. For the past decade or so, climate change has been a significant focus of Arctic research, and has provoked concern and some controversy about the best way to respond as a matter of policy and collective engagement. Because of this, I use climate change – which I take to include physical changes in the environment as well as the ways that these changes are socially understood and acted upon – as the central organizing framework of my investigation of Inuit knowledge.

As Mike Hulme has noted (2009), climate change has “moved from being predominantly a physical phenomenon to being simultaneously a social phenomenon” (2009:xxv), an “idea that now travels well beyond its origins in the natural sciences” (2009:xxvi). Climate change is at once everywhere and nowhere, resolutely “global,” known to the scientific community largely through computer models, yet refracting through melting ice, droughts, and storms to touch people in increasingly personal ways. In contrast, many representations of Inuit knowledge equate it with locality and rootedness, fixed in time and referenced to life “on the land.” Meanwhile, the “local” quality of Inuit knowledge, somewhat paradoxically, is what marks it as relevant to global climate discussions and debates, where Inuit actors have sought ways to put a “human face” on climate change.

Examining Inuit knowledge through the lens of climate change, then, offers the chance to reexamine and rethink these spatialized categories as they are made, and made meaningful, in context. Several questions in particular informed

my exploration and analysis of these themes, including: What happens to Inuit knowledge when it is mobilized into global climate change debates, or conversely, when the traveling concept of “climate change” is drawn into community level debates and discussions? What are the mediums and forms, the representational strategies, used to do so? How do individuals situated in a particular place accommodate and make sense of divergent interpretations of change? And finally: what kinds of translations are used to render local understandings of change palatable to differently situated audiences and publics?

My interest in Inuit knowledge and climate change was initially sparked by the work of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), an organization representing Inuit – and Inuit knowledge – in global decision-making bodies. ICC, which has offices in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka, Russia, helped lead an effort to incorporate Inuit knowledge into the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, a state-of-the-art, interdisciplinary scientific report commissioned by the Arctic Council (ACIA 2005). ICC has also advocated for the importance of Inuit knowledge in national and global knowledge networks, including the International Polar Year (IPY) and ArcticNet, two initiatives that have channeled significant funding towards research on Arctic climate change over the past decade.

I first observed ICC in action in April, 2008, when I attended the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) at the UN headquarters in New York. The Permanent Forum has convened annually since 2002, chaired by a committee of indigenous representatives and attended by thousands of participants representing indigenous peoples’ organizations, development and environmental NGOs, UN agencies, and delegates of national governments. That year, the theme of the meeting was “Climate change, bio-cultural diversity and livelihoods,” and ICC hosted a side event related to the theme entitled “Indigenous Peoples Leading the Way on Climate Change.”

The Forum was an excellent entry point into my dissertation topic, introducing me to themes that proved to be significant across the different scales and sites of my project. Within ICC’s side event, for example, the personal observations of environmental change that Arctic indigenous leaders shared were

accompanied by commentary on the limitations of governance and scientific systems. Aqqaluk Lynge, President of ICC-Greenland, opened his commentary by describing how the glacier known in Greenlandic as “Sermeq Kujalleq,” which extends from the Greenland ice sheet and touches the ocean at Disko Bay in western Greenland, is melting at an increasing rate.¹ He noted the ways that climate change was challenging the continuity of traditional knowledge in Greenland and also cited the significant insights of Greenlandic hunters about climate change and about the Greenlandic environment and animals. “When it comes to wildlife, scientists are often wrong and we are often right,” he told the audience, adding that “politicians are also often wrong... and for a long time, Inuit were largely ignored.”

Later, I spoke with Carl Christian Olsen, known as “Puju,” the Vice President of ICC-Greenland, about ICC’s work on Inuit knowledge. He mentioned ACIA as a successful example of how Arctic indigenous peoples’ knowledge can inform research, citing the research community’s long history of ignoring the deep knowledge and specific interests of human residents of the Arctic.

“Like when you see 2,000 people in Greenland for IPY,” he said, referring to an influx of researchers resulting from International Polar Year funding. “How many of them are involving the local people or informing them of their work? Because we have a long tradition of dealing with this change.”

As these statements by Lynge and Olsen suggest, advocating for the importance of Inuit knowledge, as ICC and other Inuit organizations do, goes beyond merely pointing out the value of Inuit knowledge as a source of observation and information about environmental change. The documentation and representation of Inuit knowledge about change is also part of a much larger project: the decolonization of knowledge making and governance processes in the Canadian Arctic and other indigenous contexts. It references the desire of Inuit to be meaningfully involved in setting research agendas, in identifying priorities for

¹ See Lynge (2009a) for a more complete description of Sermeq Kujalleq and climate change impacts in Greenland.

government and local action, and in representing themselves in all kinds of decision-making contexts. While Lynge and Olsen, experienced political leaders, made these connections between knowledge and governance with particular poise, I found that community members in Clyde River and bureaucrats in Iqaluit were also significantly skilled in making political connections and commentary on knowledge production.

Inuit knowledge is therefore very much tied to the notion of sovereignty, a term that, as numerous scholars of indigenous identity have pointed out, simultaneously invokes a desire for autonomy while also pointing towards the ever-evolving ways that indigenous politics and identity are tied to the non-indigenous, settler society ways of knowing and being in the world (Cattalino 2008; Merlan 2007). In other words, indigeneity is relational; the category of the “indigenous” has emerged largely as a response to the settler, whose ways of organizing society and knowledge were and are still experienced as doing violence to the endurance of diverse, emplaced ontologies of native peoples (Smith 1999; Smith 2008; Starn 2011). This is not to suggest that indigenous identity – and by extension Inuit identity – is *defined* by settler colonialism, but rather that efforts to fight for indigenous rights, cultural continuity and expression and self-determination have been conducted in response to and defiance of the assimilating ideals of colonialism (Simpson 2011). This relational understanding of indigenous knowledge and identity strongly shapes my approach in this dissertation, as I attempt to document the tensions that arise at the point of encounter between communities and visiting researchers, and between the bureaucratic approaches of the Government of Nunavut and the hopes and dreams of individuals working within it.

This leads to a second theme that runs through this dissertation: the way that bureaucratic infrastructures shape the mobilization of local knowledge and experience. My first ethnographic encounter with this phenomenon was also at the UNPFII, where the meeting format mirrored other official UN assemblies. At the front of the large assembly room, the Chair and host committee sat behind a table facing the audience of “delegates” (the UN term for participants – in this

case, official representatives of indigenous groups and organizations) and “observers” (academics like myself, along with NGO staff and others). An official schedule dictated the focus of each morning and afternoon session, and delegates delivered “interventions” (short speeches from the floor) by requesting permission from the Chair, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz. The Chair would call on each in turn: “Madam, you have the floor,” she might say to a Saami woman wearing a traditional, dark blue woolen dress, brightly tasseled scarf and intricate silver brooches, or “You have the floor, sir,” to a Peruvian man from the Andes wearing a woven poncho.

Outside in the hallway near the assembly room entrance, tables were piled high with official and unofficial documents – copies of statements made by the many groups in attendance, working papers on climate change and adaptation, DVDs, colorful brochures, copies of “Cultural Survival” reports, and other textual and visual artifacts.

In a side meeting I attended that week, Mary Simat, a Maasai woman from Kenya, expressed some reservations related to the Forum’s emphasis on documentary forms as the central technology through which it organizes engagement. She stated:

I have attended the Permanent Forum since 2000 and I can assure you we have achieved very little. Issues of climate change don’t need a lot of biology and physics because people at home know what to do. It’s a problem of limited access to education – you always have to go to the “www,” and some of us don’t have access to the “wwws.” It’s a language problem – the UN meetings use very formal language, and we need to translate it into our own languages.

Ms. Simat framed her comments in relation to internet access, education, and language, but they also reflected a wider concern with how bureaucracies structure engagement hierarchically and through a reliance on written forms of documentation. The Forum’s formality, its reliance on schedules and documents, on microphones and rules of order, offered an early glimpse for me of what would become an important theme of my dissertation: the way that indigenous identity and experience are translated through formal institutions and bureaucracies, and

the ways that these bureaucratic translations so often seem to be at odds with the everyday lives – replete with joys and challenges – of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic and many others as well.

In the chapters that follow, I explore this theme in relation to a number of climate change projects that bridge different scales, including efforts to document the impacts of climate change and to plan adaptation and mitigation responses. Subjecting these projects to anthropological analysis reveals a significant gap between the ways that Inuit actors experience change and seek to act on it locally, and the techniques through which bureaucracies organize information and action. I pay particular attention to the ways in which people and institutions mediate between local experience and bureaucratic form, allowing certain things – funding, particular renderings of Inuit knowledge – to flow through the gap while others remain persistently “local” or “global.”

As I describe the different trajectories of Inuit knowledge, I foreground the role of a wide range of actors – Inuit community members, territorial and federal government employees, scientists, anthropologists, and staff members of conservation NGOs, among others – who serve as translators of and spokespersons for Inuit knowledge in scientific conferences, government meetings, and UN gatherings. Spokespersons play a role in the mobilization of *all* knowledge, as anyone who has attended a scientific conference or sat in a government hearing on a matter related to health or the environment can attest. I argue, however, that spokespersons play a particularly critical role when it comes to mobilizing Inuit knowledge – and by extension other forms of indigenous or local knowledge – because science and bureaucracy structure the norms and rules of conference and policy settings. Spokespersons therefore render Inuit knowledge palatable for non-Inuit audiences, often by reframing it in scientific terms or by positioning it as a kind of nonthreatening cultural difference, thus helping *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) audiences to feel at ease.

Translators also try to fill in the gap between local ways of relating to knowledge and the categories and logics imposed by top-down, bureaucratic systems. Climate change offers a particularly good point of purchase in

understanding these dynamics, since as an object of policy, it has proven unwieldy and malleable. Policy makers and government managers in northern Canada have an uneasy relationship with climate change, since environmental change has a particularly strong physical presence in the North, yet at the same time, both experts and publics remain uncertain or divided about what kind of action should be taken. This means that terms like “adaptation,” and corollary concepts like “vulnerability” and “resilience” take on a discursive life of their own, supported by the needs of bureaucracies for documentary forms that claim a kind of clarity while masking the uneven and often paltry ways that “knowledge” – both local and scientific – informs governance. Bureaucracies, in other words, often say one thing while doing many other things or alternately nothing at all.

As much as Inuit knowledge may be constrained as it is translated into particular forms and mobilized through bureaucratic systems, the inflexible nature of bureaucratic governance is not entirely hegemonic. As I suggest in my discussion of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* – a rendering of Inuit knowledge within the Government of Nunavut – to focus solely on the translation of Inuit experience into bureaucratic form is to miss the way that human actors make knowledge meaningful through relationship and interpersonal exchange. A final theme of my dissertation is therefore to explore the affective qualities of knowledge mobilization, to examine how relationships and exchanges between individuals can disrupt the logic of bureaucratic systems, opening up the possibility for something new to emerge.

0.1 Conceptual Frameworks

A number of frameworks have shaped my engagement with the topic of Inuit knowledge and representation in the context of climate change. Particularly because my treatment of climate change knowledge within some of my chapters is diffuse, I believe it will be helpful to explicitly situate my understanding of knowledge and representation.

0.1.1 A brief overview of anthropological representations of indigenous and Inuit knowledge

The question of knowledge, of how different peoples make sense of and organize the world, has been of interest to anthropologists since the first days of the discipline (Nader 1996; Scott 1996). The topic was energized in the 1950s and 60s through the development of the subfields of ethnobiology and cultural ecology (Hunn 2007; Nazarea 2006). Over this same period, anthropologists contributed to both applied and academic work on economic development, with an increasing focus beginning in the 1980s on the sustainability of local and indigenous knowledge systems. In many cases, anthropologists advocated for a more careful examination of the value and benefits of local systems of environmental management that development projects and initiatives sought to alter or replace (Brokensha et al. 1980; Hobart 1993; Sillitoe 1998). Over time, then, anthropological engagements with local knowledge increasingly incorporated questions of power and politics. One result was that by the early 1990s, the modality of “local knowledge” had left the ivory tower and infiltrated the halls of development institutions and UN Agencies as a proposed mechanism to make development more participatory, democratic, and sustainable (Martello 2001). A good example of this process was the formal incorporation of indigenous and local knowledge into the text of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity in 1992, where it was recognized as both as a resource for protecting biological diversity, and as an indicator of diversity worthy of protection in its own right (Escobar 1998; Mauro and Hardison 2000).

The growing interest in indigenous knowledge was fueled by three interrelated phenomena: first, the widespread perception, supported by anthropological research, that indigenous cultures were in decline and at risk of disappearing through cultural assimilation; second, the growth of regional indigenist movements in the Americas and Australia focusing on land claims and recognition of cultural rights; and finally, the emergence of an international indigenous peoples’ movement. This latter movement was based in part on the

notion of shared experiences of trauma at the hands of colonial powers and state governments. It also mobilized a collective interest in reclaiming local and indigenous “ways of knowing” that offered valuable ecological knowledge and reflected a more spiritual, sustainable relationship with the environment.²

The anthropological tradition of cultural critique led to the development of theories of identity and knowledge as hybrid (Dove et al. 2007; Gupta 1998; Shepherd 2010), and of cultures as open rather than closed systems that respond to and participate in regional and global economies (Gupta & Ferguson 1992; Wolf 1982). More recent work on indigenous knowledge has thus focused on its uses by indigenous actors as a political tool within indigenous rights movements (Hathaway 2010; Merlan 2009; Pieck 2006; Tennberg 2010). Scholars have documented the way that indigenous actors use knowledge as an indicator of cultural difference and as a vehicle through which to build alliances and win public sympathy for a variety of causes (Blaser 2004; Li 2004). These strategic uses of knowledge, however, carry the risk of creating expectations of cultural authenticity and thus limiting indigenous agency in the context of economic development strategies, among other issues. Another concern raised by scholars relates to what happens to local cultural knowledge when it becomes a commodity of interest to actors outside the context in which it originates (West 2005); such efforts to render local culture legible (Scott 1998) often result in its “generification” (Errington and Gewertz 2001).

More politically oriented discussions of indigenous knowledge have filtered into Arctic social science literature only to a limited extent. Changes to Inuit knowledge transmission and practice, such as the adoption of technologies like GPS units (Aporta et al. 2005), and practices of heritage documentation through archival projects and CD-ROMs have been discussed (Gearheard 2005; Krupnik 2005). The adoption of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit knowledge – translation discussed in Chapter 3) as a political reference point within the

² The question of whether indigenous knowledge is actually “sustainable” is a loaded one, and is not relevant to the central focus of this dissertation. See Feit (2007), Hames (2007), Hunn et al. (2003), Krech (1999; 2005), and Nadasdy (2005), for different contributions to and perspectives on this debate.

Government of Nunavut has also been a subject of debate and discussion (Bonesteel 2006; Laugrand & Oosten 2009; Martin 2009; Tester & Irniq 2008; Wenzel 2004). In spite of these various treatments, however, there remains a tendency within Arctic social science literature to emphasize the “tradition” rather than the hybridity in Inuit knowledge. Many discussions therefore focus on the land-based skills and practices that enabled Inuit to survive in a harsh and changeable environment in the time before permanent settlements were established in the 1950s and 60s. Inuit knowledge is thus understood to be rooted on the land and to incorporate hunting, working with skins and sewing traditional clothing, constructing shelters and building igloos, making tools and sleds and traveling by dog team, knowledge of the land and of travel routes, the ability to predict the weather based on wind and cloud formations, and knowledge of animal migration patterns and animal behavior, etc. (Aporta 2005; Bielawski 1996; Pearce et al. 2011, among others).

In other words, in spite of efforts to broaden the definition and treatment of Inuit knowledge in the context of contemporary governance, it is still often conceptualized as *ecological* knowledge (Wenzel 2004). As I elaborate more fully below, although this way of thinking reflects the embodied and situated nature of local knowledge, and thus has much to offer, my treatment of Inuit knowledge breaks from this framework in significant ways.

0.1.2 Inuit knowledge as boundary object: theories of representation and translation

The concept of “boundary objects” was developed by Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer as an analytical framework that could help explain “the problem of common representation in diverse intersecting social worlds” (1989:388). In particular, they sought to explain how differently situated actors involved in scientific work and representation could negotiate their differently situated commitments and understandings to embrace a shared project: in their example, the creation of a museum of zoology. They suggested:

In natural history work, boundary objects are produced when sponsors, theorists and amateurs collaborate to produce representations of nature. Among these objects are specimens, field notes, museums and maps of particular territories. Their boundary nature is reflected by the fact that they are simultaneously concrete and abstract, specific and general, conventionalized and customized (Star and Griesemer 1989:408).

Describing Inuit knowledge as a boundary object suggests that, like science, it is co-constructed (Jasanoff 2004). In other words, the qualities of Inuit knowledge that are emphasized depend on the social and political context in which it is used (Huntington 2005).

Many scholars and researchers have pointed toward the essential adaptability of Inuit knowledge (Berkes and Armitage 2010; Leduc 2007)-- the resilience that Inuit show at being able to take up new technologies and still also rely on embodied and oral knowledge traditions (Aporta et al. 2005; Wenzel 2009). Describing Inuit knowledge as co-constructed goes beyond this understanding, however, to suggest that non-Inuit and the social environment more broadly also participate in the construction of Inuit knowledge. In this sense, Inuit knowledge loses its essential quality of being *necessarily* tied to the land and particular cultural practices, and instead refers to a much more diverse set of practices that includes its deployment as a political concept in decision-making contexts, as in the Government of Nunavut's emphasis on *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, and representational venues, including various United Nations bodies and the Arctic Council. Inuit knowledge is therefore "adaptive" beyond the local ecological context, since it can be adapted for use in political venues.

The idea that Inuit knowledge is a boundary object that enables diverse actors to collaborate on a variety of projects runs through all the chapters of this dissertation, although I generally avoid using the term directly in favor of more context specific language. What I hope to illustrate through my treatment of Inuit knowledge in these chapters is the extent to which labeling it as such both constrains and enables particular alliances and modes of action.

In a robust theory of representation, boundary objects are but one device in a larger theoretical toolbox. Other theories are also needed to make sense of how knowledge is co-constructed and how it travels between scales. Most interesting to me here are the ways that it moves from the local level, the small Inuit town of Clyde River on Baffin Island, to other contexts such as regional and national government agencies, conferences and international policy meetings. As David Turnbull claims:

To move knowledge from the local site and moment of its production and application to other places and times, knowledge producers deploy a variety of social strategies and technical devices for creating the equivalences and connections between otherwise heterogeneous and isolated knowledges (1997:553).

One way of understanding this process is through what Bruno Latour termed “immutable mobiles” (1986), the formal representations used to mobilize knowledge, to move it from one location to another and to “win” allies along the way. Latour developed this concept to refer to visual representations that are “presentable, readable, and combinable” with one another (Star 1995:91), qualities that allow them to be taken from place to place or otherwise rendered mobile. He suggested that “optical consistency,” or the establishment of linear perspective, was one of the qualities of immutable mobiles that traditionally gave scientific representations an edge over other knowledge forms in terms of mobility. It is this quality of “optical consistency” that allows architects and engineers, for example, to represent objects and buildings in two-dimensional form such that they are recognizable and reproducible by construction workers or builders in three-dimensional form. Similarly, Turnbull suggests that technologies of knowledge representation are “technical devices,” which “may include maps, templates, diagrams and drawings, but are typically techniques for spatial visualization” (1997:553).

Of course, today, scientists are not the only spokespersons to make use of the immutable mobile; “other” knowledge forms including Inuit knowledge are also rendered in visual forms that attempt to make them immutable and mobile. As I discuss in Chapter 4, these renderings, though often attempted, are not

always successful because they are constrained by the unequal power relations that structure spaces of knowledge representation.

Literature on indigenous media offers ways of conceptualizing these unequal fields of power in the context of visual representation. Indigenous filmmaking has been described as a way of reclaiming representation from the historical distortions of indigenous life and culture produced through colonial encounters (Ginsburg 2002; Wilson and Stewart 2008). In particular, I engage with scholarship on indigenous film in my discussion of *Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* (Kunuk and Mauro 2010) in Chapter 4. Film is a particularly salient technology for representing Inuit knowledge because it foregrounds oral and visual over written methods of knowledge transmission, allowing it to speak to multiple audiences for a variety of purposes simultaneously. At the same time, there are limits to the amount of translation possible through film among non-Inuit audiences. In this case, additional translation by the filmmakers was needed when it was screened for *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) audiences.

The role of the *Qapirangajuq* filmmakers as translators for Inuit knowledge illustrates another theme of this dissertation: the central role of individual actors, situated within wider institutional networks, in the acts of translation and representation. That is, the ability of immutable mobiles or technical devices to move knowledge from one place to another has limits, and individual actors must often step in to overcome these limits. This emphasis brings together a focus on materiality with a focus on performance to suggest that knowledge representations often require *both* dimensions to achieve translation. This enables me to consider the specific ways that particular forms such as grants or films contribute to the movement of Inuit knowledge, while also highlighting the role of human agency and the ways this agency is constrained by the contexts in which it is enacted. As Sally Engle Merry (2006b) has suggested in her work on the “people in the middle” who help vernacularize human rights concepts in specific localities:

Translation takes place within fields of unequal power. Translators' work is influenced by who is funding them; their ethnic, gender, or other social commitments; and institutional frameworks that create opportunities for wealth and power. They may have greater interest in the source than the target of the transaction or vice versa. Moreover, translators work within established discursive fields that constrain the repertoire of ideas and practices available to them (Merry 2006b:40).

Individuals who serve as spokespersons for Inuit knowledge are not always Inuit — indeed, as I discuss in Chapter 1, some of the more effective translators in Clyde River were *not* Inuit, but were *qallunaat* schooled in the language and techniques of bureaucratic management. Through practices of “socio-bureaucratic translation” these individuals navigate between local experiences and understandings and the structures of logic that animate government funding programs. In Chapter 1, I explore this dynamic through the lens of a climate change and health project, suggesting that successful translations involve both local and non-local actors and enable different visions and understandings of climate change to co-exist. In the context of the UNFCCC, both Inuit and *qallunaat* actors represent Inuit knowledge, often in similar ways but in support of very different projects, a topic I take up in Chapter 6.

0.1.3 Claiming epistemology: the political context of Inuit knowledge

In his essay, “Representations are Social Facts,” Paul Rabinow (1992) suggests that the anthropological concern with diverse knowledge forms reflects a colonialist preoccupation with difference in the context of rationality. Rabinow thus positions anthropological interest in knowledge within a wider field of power, suggesting:

We do not need a theory of indigenous epistemologies or a new epistemology of the other. We should be attentive to our historical practice of projecting our cultural practices on the other; at best, the task is to show how and when and through what cultural and institutional means other people started claiming epistemology for their own (Rabinow 1992:241).

In my treatment of Inuit knowledge in this dissertation, I am interested in the political project that Rabinow describes as “claiming epistemology.” Climate change has created new opportunities within the Arctic and beyond for Inuit actors and others to make claims about Inuit knowledge. Climate change research also brings non-Inuit actors with diverse projects and interests into the Arctic. Their interactions with Arctic residents are informed by their perceptions and understandings of Inuit knowledge, as well as by the unequal fields of power that structure research processes and governance of local communities. These are all part of the field described as “climate change” through which Inuit are engaged in claiming, or reclaiming, epistemology in a number of ways.

One of the central concerns animating efforts to (re)claim epistemology in the Canadian Arctic context is the involvement of Inuit in research design and practice. This is framed in many ways, including “community-led” and “community-based” research, “participatory” research, and “capacity-building” (de Leuw 2012; Gearheard and Shirley 2007; Pearce 2009). The ideal of making research accountable to the concerns, interests and priorities of northerners reflects a wider emphasis on decolonizing research in indigenous and aboriginal contexts (Smith 1999). In the Canadian Arctic, this has been described as moving from doing research *on* to doing research *with* Inuit communities (Koster et al. 2012). I take up this topic in Chapter 1, exploring the specific techniques that have been employed and proposed to decolonize Arctic research, and pointing out some of the unintended and often unrecognized impacts of these practices and policies.

Initiatives to promote Inuit sovereignty and self-determination, often pursued through land claims processes, have been another arena for reclaiming epistemology in the Canadian Arctic. In the years leading up to Nunavut’s official separation from the Northwest Territories in 1999, its founders were interested in finding a way for Inuit knowledge to inform the practices of decision-making in the new, majority-Inuit territory. According to Jack Hicks and Graham White (2000), one of the goals of the Nunavut Land Claim was “the creation of a new government in the eastern and central Arctic with capacity to

protect and foster Inuit language, culture and social well-being” (Hicks and White 2000:54). A series of workshops gave rise to the concept of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or “that which Inuit have long known,” often translated as “Inuit knowledge” and abbreviated with ironic humor as “IQ” (since in general Inuit have more IQ than *qallunaat* do) (Laugrand & Oosten 2009; Arnakak 2000; Wenzel 2004). IQ is an explicitly hybrid form of knowledge, since it was developed as a concept in order to bring insights from land-based practices into the relations and practices of bureaucracy.

Finally, Inuit knowledge has served as a political tool that Inuit use to claim a greater role in national and international political discussions of climate change, a topic I take up in Chapters 4 and 5. This has enabled Inuit to participate more directly in global conversations about the changing climate, such as those within the UNFCCC. At the same time, in order to shape public opinion on climate change, Inuit must choose their representative strategies and narrative forms carefully. Discourses that focus on “vulnerability” and “human rights” enhance Inuit agency in certain arenas while limiting it in others, a topic I explore in Chapter 5.

0.1.4 Institutionalizing and bureaucratizing knowledge

A wide variety of Inuit institutions, from community organizations like the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre in Clyde River, to Nunavut government agencies like the Nunavut Research Institute, to national and international organizations like Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Council, are attempting to decolonize research, equalize research relations, promote local control over knowledge production, and highlight the significance and depth of Inuit knowledge as a resource for addressing climate change. Institutions thus serve as crucial mediators in the creation of knowledge and its movement from one space to another. In this dissertation, I am particularly interested in the role of institutions in structuring the possibilities and mediating the exchanges through which people relate to the environment, to one another, and to knowledge, itself.

Bureaucracy is a social technology that is central to these practices of institutional mediation. I draw on Michael Herzfeld's (1992) consideration of bureaucracy as a "modern" social form that carries with it and reproduces many pre-modern social characteristics, such as the use of blood markers to categorize and control social groups within the nation state. Herzfeld's consideration of the role of metaphor and symbol in bureaucracy is useful in conceptualizing the symbolic forms used within the Government of Nunavut to reference Inuit knowledge. Similarly, his consideration of stereotypes offers a model from which to examine the effects of Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA 1993), which stipulates that the government must employ "representative" numbers of Inuit.

Virtually all contemporary theorists of bureaucracy, Herzfeld included, owe a debt to Max Weber. In his classic, sociological analysis of bureaucracy, Weber (1958) identified several defining features of bureaucratic administration that continue to shape social science approaches to bureaucracy. Weber suggested that bureaucracy is first and foremost ordered by rules rather than conventions, which structure the way that individuals relate to one another and to the practice of administration. The bureaucrat is expected to fulfill his or her duties in an impersonal way, based on abstract principles rather than through sympathy or personal attachments. Weber referred to bureaucracy as "dehumanized," because it "seeks to eliminate from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements that escape calculation" (1958:216).

Bureaucratic governance, with its emphasis on writing, hierarchy, and delineation and separation of specific roles and functions, is usually viewed as inimical, or at the very least irrelevant, to indigenous knowledge forms. As indigenous peoples have become increasingly involved in local, territorial, and even national governance (for example in Greenland and Bolivia) through land claims, co-management initiatives, and democratic processes, however, the question of how to integrate indigenous knowledge into governance arrangements has gained salience. Scholars have pointed towards a paradox that underlies these

arrangements: that assertion of rights to autonomy and self-governance has relied increasingly upon the ability of indigenous representatives to navigate the complex networks of institutions that structure contemporary governance arrangements (Babridge 2007; Nadasdy 2003; White 2006b). Ronald Niezen (2003b) refers to this as a “Weberian dilemma,” invoking Weber’s belief in the inevitable expansion of bureaucracy as well as his rueful acknowledgement of the “iron cage” that it represented in its transformation of local governance systems.

Reading Weber’s description of the characteristics of bureaucracy, I was immediately struck by the uncanny way that his descriptions, written more than a century earlier, so accurately applied to the bureaucracy that had developed in contemporary Nunavut. Of course, I am not alone in turning to Weber to understand contemporary bureaucratic forms. Indeed, the enduring nature of Weber’s writings on bureaucracy has made him a “paradigmatic theorist of bureaucracy” (du Guy 2011:12-13).

A number of scholars have productively employed Weber’s discussion of bureaucracy to shed light on aboriginal governance in the contemporary era (Morantz 2002; Nadasdy 2003; Sullivan 2006; White 2006b). In his work on land claims and co-management bodies in the Kluane First Nation of Yukon Territory, for example, Paul Nadasdy argues that land claims processes in Canada were a “mixed blessing,” since they required First Nations peoples to “learn a completely new way of speaking and thinking” (2003:2) in order to participate in government-to-government negotiations and interactions with the federal state. Nadasdy takes issue with the institutionalization of rationality and the “dehumanized” framework for action that accompanies bureaucratic management, pointing out that “there are simply no acceptable bureaucratic rules or functions that allow First Nations peoples as bureaucrats to act upon the land and animals according to their own alternate conceptions of them” (2003:9).

In a similar vein, Graham White (2006b) suggests that in contrast to the top-down, hierarchical nature of Weberian democracy, northern aboriginal cultures in Canada tend to be egalitarian and non-hierarchical, using knowledge and experience to guide the group rather than issuing specific orders or making

unilateral decisions. In contrast to Weber's notion of the formal office holder, he notes that aboriginal societies accord influence to persons based on their personal attributes and experience. He compares the flexible, improvisational nature of traditional knowledge with the "extensive, written, impersonal rules and procedures" and emphasis on written documents and formal accounting procedures characteristic of in the wildlife management regimes of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut (White 2006b:407).

I describe Weberian conceptions of bureaucracy at some length here because the culture of bureaucracy and the way that other modes of social organization must adapt to it is a theme that runs through the different scales of analysis within my thesis. The functions, rules, and norms of bureaucracy structure the ways that local groups and communities engage with government in significant ways. As I discuss in Chapter 1, for example, new funding for research and adaptation and mitigation initiatives flows through federal and territorial agencies, leading community-based organizations to reframe local priorities and experiences in the bureaucratic language of techno-climate speak.

While Weber offers a sound description of the hierarchical, depersonalized logics of bureaucracy, a different framework was required to explain how bureaucratic and legal institutions reframe patterns of thought and action at the local level. For this, I adopt Habermas' conception of juridification (*Verrechtlichung*) (1987), the expansion of formal, written law to encompass "new, hitherto informally regulated social matters" (1987:357). In Chapter 3, I discuss the bureaucratic culture of the Government of Nunavut as it relates to different conceptions of Inuit knowledge and identity. In Chapter 5, I examine the ways that Inuit representatives navigate the bureaucratic practices of large, institutional meetings, such as the UNFCCC.

0.1.5 Affective knowledge

A discussion of Inuit knowledge as *only* political would risk ignoring the meaning and importance of knowledge for Inuit, themselves. I therefore consider a final

dimension of Inuit knowledge that supports the ways that diverse Inuit actors, from Clyde River residents to Inuit Circumpolar Council spokespersons, understand and relate to knowledge practices. I understand “affective knowledge,” to encompass the intimate, pre-discursive, situated, social field that structures how knowledge is understood and experienced. For Inuit, this field is linked to their past and present embodied experience on the tundra and sea ice. Here, I draw inspiration from Hugh Raffles’ concept of “intimate knowledge,” which he developed through his long-term research in the Amazon, including numerous boat trips up the Amazon River and some of its many tributaries. Raffles writes that intimate knowledge:

...recalls the intimate, lived experience of everyday life: the textured intimacies among men and women, and those between people and these mercurial fluvial landscapes. This incident [in which his boat nearly becomes overturned on a sandbar] reminds me how on these rivers people enter into relationships among themselves and with nature through embodied practice; how it is through these relationships that they come to know nature and each other; and how the relationships, the knowledge, and the practice are always mediated not only by power and discourse, but by affect. And it also brings to mind how affect, though inconstant, is also ubiquitous, the perpetual mediator of rationality (Raffles 2002:326).

Scholars of affect distinguish between emotion, which lies in the realm of individual experience, and affect, which is inter-subjective, in-between, and experienced through the body as much as the mind. As Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg claim, affect is "the name we give to those forces - visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion - that can serve to drive us toward movement... [or can] leave us overwhelmed by the world's apparent intractability" (2010:1). Or as Navaro-Yashin has pointed out, following Deleuze, affect is post-subjective, which means that not only individual humans but also space and the environment can be understood as contributing to affect, as “affective” (Navaro-Yashin 2009: 8).

Affect is not reducible to emotion, but it does incorporate sensibilities

within the individual body. This includes bodily memory – knowledge of activities and practices the body has experienced in the past – as well as the feelings that such memories evoke within the individual. It also extends from the individual body to the social body. It therefore has some relationship to the idea of “collective emotion” that has been developed within social psychology, political science and philosophy (Bar-Tal, Halperin and de Rivera 2007; Berezin 2002; Huebner 2011).

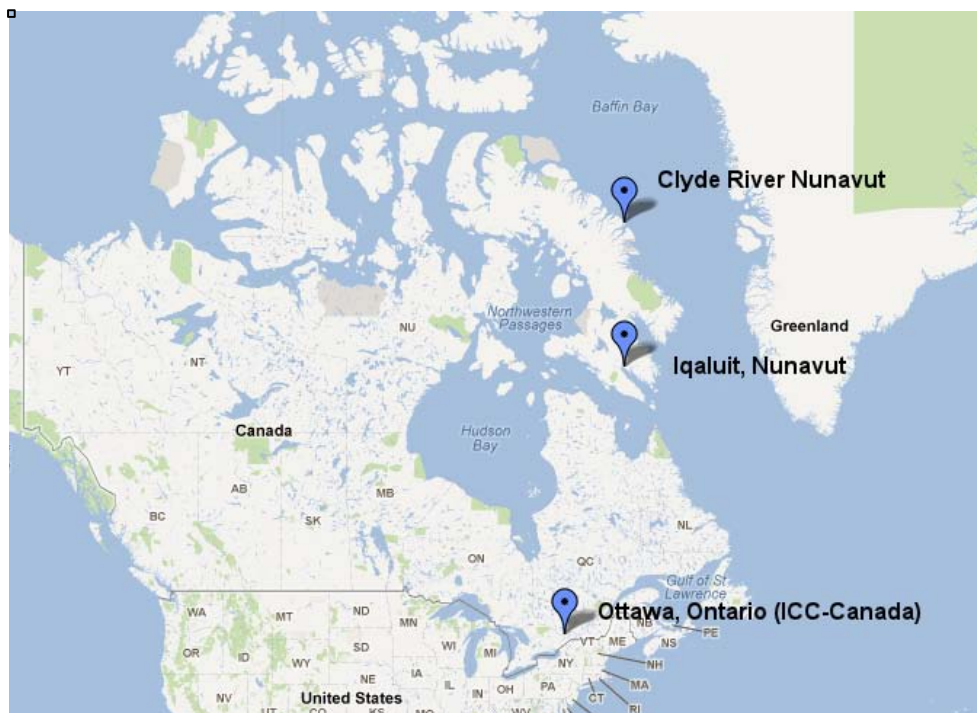
Affect can be seen to saturate or permeate human/human or human/non-human relations, allowing particular possibilities of action to emerge and take shape. Recent studies of affect have been attentive to its influence in economic and labor relations (Muehlebach 2011), leading Analiese Richard and Daromir Rudnytskyi (2009) to coin the term ‘economies of affect’ to consider in particular the relationship between economic transformations and affective transactions. As Muehlebach (2011) has suggested in her work on volunteerism and post-Fordist affect, affect is present as an after-life of previous economic organizational structures.

In considering the representational work of Inuit knowledge and those who serve as its spokespersons, a theory of affect enables a more fluid conception of politics, one in which the bureaucratic structures that I describe as shaping interactions need not determine the outcomes of these encounters. During my fieldwork, many Inuit suggested that they felt different, more clear-headed and less strained, when they were on the land. The land (as opposed to the settled community) is a space of a particular *habitus* that Inuit associate with health - where bodies and minds are synchronized and focused on practices of material and social reproduction. Today, when houses are overcrowded and the settlement is often associated with difficult social relations and challenges, the land represents the persistence of a different kind of sociality. The land is where healing can occur most easily, where families go to relax together, and also increasingly where new social ties are made through formalized land programs like the women’s retreat.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the importance of the land as a space of health and healing through the lens of affect, considering how being away from the settlement and out on the tundra shapes understandings of emotion, well-being, and relatedness. In Chapter 3, I extend this discussion to briefly consider the role of the land and environment in shaping the political and bureaucratic engagements of actors within the Government of Nunavut.

0.2 Introduction to my research sites

My research follows Inuit knowledge about climate change as it is produced, transmitted, and mobilized across different sites. This topic required a “multi-sited” approach to ethnographic research, discussed in detail as a methodology below. Here, I offer a short description of my three primary research “sites:” Clyde River, Nunavut; Iqaluit, Nunavut; and the Inuit Circumpolar Council, based in Ottawa, Ontario. These three sites can be understood as representing different “scales” in which Inuit knowledge of climate change is created and represented.



(Map generated on google maps)

0.2.1 Clyde River, Nunavut

Clyde River, “*Kangiqtugaapik*” (a nice little harbor) in Inuktitut, is a hamlet of around 1,000 people located on Baffin Island, in the northern Canadian territory of Nunavut. I selected Clyde River as my “community scale” research site for two primary reasons: first, George Wenzel, a member of my committee, had experience with the hamlet that spanned 30 years of his own research commitments and personal friendships. George served as an important source of connection and introduction that helped me find my way into my research in the community. Second, and importantly, Clyde River had hosted a number of research and media projects on climate change. Since my interest was primarily in the institutional and political dynamics of climate change knowledge, this previous engagement with “climate change” as a category of knowledge, co-constructed by both local and outsider perspectives, was a necessary dimension in selecting a local fieldwork site.

I stayed in Clyde River for a total of five and a half months split over three visits. My first visit was from late June through August of 2009, and I returned the following spring, from March to the end of May of 2010. I returned for a final visit in late August/early September of 2010 to participate in a women’s land-based retreat as a visiting research assistant, described in Chapter 1.

I conducted a total of 49 interviews in Clyde River with 45 individuals. I used a semi-structured interview format in which I brought a list of questions with me to each interview and then allowed our conversation to determine follow-up questions as the interview went on. Most interviews lasted around an hour; in a few cases, interviews went on for several hours, and in some cases, particularly when speaking with younger individuals unaccustomed to being interviewed, they were as short as 30 minutes. I transcribed all of my interviews completely and coded them using MaxQDA software as an initial mechanism to identify overlapping themes of importance. My interviews included the following groups and thematic focuses:

Interviews with elders and older adults who were active hunters (n = 7) focused primarily on their knowledge of the history of the community and the

establishment of a variety of institutions therein. I also asked questions about the history of research in the community, and about these individuals' engagements with specific institutions in the present (such as the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre, described in Chapter 1). I asked these individuals about climate change, focusing in particular on questions about their participation in previous climate change research projects. Finally, in a few cases, I spoke with elders about the evangelical movement "Healing the Land," described in detail in Chapter 2). All of my interviews with elders, who were selected through referrals based on expertise, were conducted with the help of an interpreter.

In addition to my own interviews with elders and hunters, I transcribed and made use of archived interviews conducted with six elders and active hunters for the Inuit Legal Petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights, which were available on Isuma.tv, a website hosted by the Igloolik production company, Isuma Productions. These focused explicitly on individual's observations of environmental change.

I also interviewed eight youth and young adults over age 17 and under age 25. These interviews were often the result of more casual encounters I had with these individuals, who I came to know through personal, social engagements or through their participation in programs and activities organized by the Ilisaqsivik Society (see below). These interviews focused on a number of themes, including land-based experience (see Chapter 2), experience with formal employment, and personal interests and passions, which ranged from filmmaking to hip hop to environmental issues.

Additionally, I interviewed 19 individuals who were employees or board members of institutions, including the Quluq school, the hamlet, the Anglican church, the Ilisaqsivik Society, the Arctic College, the Canadian Rangers, and the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre. Because of the wide diversity of institutions that these individuals were engaged with, our interview topics ranged considerably, but they focused primarily on the role of these institutions in supporting land-based skill learning and transfer, on the history of these institutions in the community (i.e. when they were founded, how they had

changed over time), and on the different ways that younger versus older generations engaged with these institutions.

Along with my interviews with residents, I interviewed eight researchers and scientists who had conducted work related to climate change in Clyde River about their various projects, the challenges and benefits of conducting research in Inuit communities, and a range of other topics and issues, many of which are discussed in Chapter 1.

In addition to conducting interviews, my research in Clyde River involved a routine of visiting a number of households where, through casual conversation and observation, I was educated about the way Inuit live, the issues that concern them, and the challenges, joys, and sorrows of life in a small hamlet in the contemporary context. Most days, I visited two or three households and stayed for anywhere from ten minutes to several hours each time. Because of the formal rules governing research practice in Inuit communities, which I discuss in Chapter 1, I do not write about the things I learned or experienced in these informal settings directly in this dissertation, but they did serve as an important source of verification of observations and discoveries I made in less personal settings.

The fact that I do not speak any Inuktitut significantly limited my research in Clyde River, particularly the extent to which I was able to understand how climate change was talked about, or not talked about, in casual conversation. It also restricted my experience and understanding of life in the community. Inuktitut, I am told, is a sophisticated language with very precise terminology, which makes translation into English difficult. I am particularly grateful that I was able to work with a skilled interpreter, Geela Tigullarak, who helped me navigate this handicap in my conversations with elders who did not speak English.

An early “home” to me in the community was The Ilisaqsivik Society, a non-profit, community-based organization that runs a wide variety of programs that focus broadly on health and wellness and serve many residents of Clyde River. Ilisaqsivik is the parent organization of the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre, as I describe in Chapter 1. Because of my central interest in institutions

as mediators of knowledge production and translation, Ilisaqsivik also became an important site of research in its own right, albeit in a somewhat indirect way.

Ilisaqsivik has important confidentiality rules, which are a crucial part of its work as a center for counseling and healing. Posted in every room of the family resource center is a sign that states: “What you see here, what you say here, what you hear here, let it stay here.” Because of this, as was the case with my experiences in private homes, most of what I observed and experienced in relation to Ilisaqsivik’s work also does not enter my dissertation directly, except in relation to topics about which I explicitly interviewed the organization’s leadership and staff members. Nevertheless, the time that I spent in and around activities at Ilisaqsivik deeply informed my understanding of the institution’s role in the community and the ways that it facilitates knowledge learning and translation through practices of grant writing and reporting, as described in Chapters 1 and 2.

While in Clyde River, I also participated in or attended a number of public events. My very first night in Clyde River, I attended the “Miss Clyde River” competition at the community hall, an event that inaugurated my experience of the “C-Hall” as an important venue for public activities. Shortly after my arrival the following spring, a friend called and told me about an igloo-building contest held in the field just below the Hamlet office, which I subsequently attended. Other activities I witnessed and participated in include: festivities for Nunavut Day and Hamlet Day in early July, which involved public cook-outs, games, prizes, and a range of competitions; a public send-off for a youth land program hosted by Ilisaqsivik; a consultation about health and wellness organized by the land claims organization, NTI; a celebration and community feast marking the establishment of a new protected area for bowhead whales; and the annual hockey tournament in which Clyde River hosted teams from other communities. I also went to several dances that were organized to raise funding for the Nunavut Quest dog sled race in 2010, and to a number of festivities, including traditional square dancing and a feast, organized to celebrate the arrival of the racers in the hamlet after a grueling, 400 kilometer race to Clyde from Pond Inlet.

In addition to these “public” events and celebrations, I took part in a number of less formal, family events and outings, including birthday celebrations, picnics and “Inuit barbecues” involving cooking seal meat and pork chops over a rock using heather as fuel (not an easy task, since heather burns very quickly), visiting a family campsite set up close to the community, as well as a very memorable weekend “on the land” at a cabin with Inuit friends, and a number of shorter trips by “Honda” (ATV) and skidoo to Cape Christian. I also participated in a women’s sewing circle where I learned to sew *pualu* (mitts) in the traditional style (albeit using leather and fur imported from southern Canada).

I am tremendously grateful for these experiences and connections, which were critical to my developing a sense of personal commitment to and emotional and affective engagement with Clyde River and the people who live there. While they do not all enter into my dissertation directly, they nevertheless deeply informed my understanding, thus shaping this work in opaque yet significant ways.

0.2.2 Iqaluit, Nunavut

To investigate Inuit knowledge in the regional (territorial) governance context, I spent time in Iqaluit, which has been the capitol of Nunavut since 1999, when Canada’s newest territory legally separated from the Northwest Territories. Iqaluit was a necessary site to include in my research because of the role of various departments of the Government of Nunavut in funding community initiatives and in mediating between the federal government and the smaller, Inuit communities in which climate change is experienced first-hand.

Before it became the capitol of Nunavut, Iqaluit was the major administrative center for the eastern Canadian Arctic. The settlement, initially named Frobisher Bay, has always been a space shaped by contact between Inuit and *qallunaat* cultures; it was first established as a US Air Force base in 1943 where a number of Inuit families were employed (Eno 2003; QTC n.d.). Inuit began to settle in Frobisher Bay in larger numbers in the late 1950s, and the

federal government began to send teachers, medical workers, and administrators to the community. From 1960 – 1963, Frobisher Bay was the site of a US Air Force Strategic Command, and then became the Canadian federal government's center for administration of the Eastern Arctic. In 1974, Frobisher Bay was recognized as a “village,” a designation that was upgraded to “town” in 1980. In 1986, the town was renamed Iqaluit, “the place of many fishes,” and in 2001, due to population growth, it achieved “city” status (QTC N.D.).

Iqaluit is home for Inuit whose families lived in the region prior to its establishment as a settlement, as well as for more newly settled Inuit attracted by the city's jobs or educational opportunities. As the center for the territorial government, Iqaluit is also “home” to a significant number of *qallunaat* from southern Canada and overseas who are employed by the Government of Nunavut, or who provide services, such as taxi drivers or hotel workers. These individuals have a wide range of commitments to Iqaluit and the North; the majority stay only a short time to boost resumes or save money, while others have lived in Iqaluit for the majority of their lives and contributed significantly to the life of the city and its institutions. In 2006, Iqaluit had 3,650 individuals who identified as “aboriginal” and 2,435 residents who were “non-Aboriginal” (Statistics Canada 2007). Among the latter, 200 identified as “visible minorities,” including Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, and Arab. Iqaluit also has a strong minority of Francophone residents, who staff a volunteer Francophone Center; the French language school, the *Ecole des Trois Soleils*, is rumored to offer the best education in the city.

As the center of the Government of Nunavut, Iqaluit's urban landscape includes a number of office buildings in addition to the Legislative Assembly Building and the Court of Justice. It hosts the territorial “corrections” center complex, located right next to the Arctic College residence hall where I stayed, and the regional hospital where mothers from smaller hamlets, including Clyde River (located approximately 465 miles, or 750 kilometers, to the northwest), come to deliver their babies and where some specialized health care is offered. Unlike Clyde River, Iqaluit also has a number of shopping venues, restaurants,

hotels, gift shops, a cinema, indoor swimming pool, large games complex and hockey arena, an Inuit art museum, and a library and visitor's center, where visitors can rent bikes to make transportation easier during the short summer months. In general, for those without a vehicle, transportation depends on taxis, which cost \$6 per passenger regardless of your destination, and which function more like mini-buses, stopping to take on additional riders as they go along.

Iqaluit is also a place in which social inequality is more overt than in other settlements of Nunavut. As I found in my conversations with Clyde River residents and as anthropologist Ned Searles (2010) has described, Inuit from smaller settlements often equate Iqaluit with higher rates of crime, alcohol, and drug use. In addition to the Baffin Corrections Center, Iqaluit has a homeless shelter, food bank, and a territory-wide shelter for women escaping from domestic violence. Within Iqaluit, as described to me in interviews and informal conversations, tensions exist between Inuit who hold well-paying government jobs and those who are unemployed and make use of various social service and welfare options to make ends meet.

With a population of 6,699 people, according to the 2011 census, Iqaluit is hardly a "city" by southern standards. Still, relative to other settlements of Nunavut, Iqaluit is decidedly a city. A short story will illustrate this point. One day in Clyde River, I noticed that John,³ who served as the Coordinator for the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre, was holding a mug with the Clyde River logo, which featured the distinctive, craggy peaks of "Sawtooth" mountain.

"I like your mug, John," I said, "Do you like mine?" I turned the insulated coffee mug from Iqaluit that I had picked up at a conference so he could see the city's logo: two blue mountains, intersected by a meandering river that empties into a body of water where three large, blue fish swim.

He made a face: "No, not at all. Mine's better!" he replied. "I don't really like Iqaluit."

When I asked him why and he said, "Because people walk funny there," and gave a demonstration of a hurried pace. "You'll see - when you've been here

³ Pseudonym

a while and you go back. Here [in Clyde River] people are friendly, they wave at you in the street. There it's more like a big place.”

I recalled John's comment when I landed in Iqaluit for my first round of fieldwork after spending several months in Clyde. On the way up, and during my initial visit for a conference the summer before, Iqaluit had seemed provincial and tiny; you can walk from the airport into the center of town in about 10 minutes, as many do who are waiting to catch flights on to the smaller communities. But returning from Clyde River, the city felt impersonal and hard to penetrate. Unlike in Clyde River, where most people I visited with were Inuit residents, in Iqaluit my connections were scant, and those I had were largely with the community of *qallunaat* who had moved up from the South.

In total, I spent about 9 weeks in Iqaluit. My first visit was for a week-long conference on “Planning for Climate Change” in 2008. In 2009, I spent just under four weeks there, conducting a series of interviews with government workers to try to understand how climate change knowledge was used and prioritized within government departments. Like others who conduct research in policy and government contexts, I found issues of access much more difficult in the bureaucratic institutions of Iqaluit than in any other research site. This problem was partly due to the fact that government employees were not allowed to give interviews with researchers or journalists without permission from their deputy minister.

I returned to Iqaluit for a second period the following May, again for about four weeks of interviews. This time, in addition to following up with the different employees and departments working on climate change related issues, I also conducted a series of interviews with younger Inuit employees of the Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc., the organization that oversees the Nunavut Land Claim. These interviews offered me an understanding of how Inuit employees within these bureaucracies relate to the policy of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. Ultimately, by shifting my focus away from climate change and towards Inuit knowledge within the GN institutions, I felt that I was able to

say more about the form and movement of knowledge than if I had focused on the highly political topic of “climate change” alone.

In total, I interviewed 22 people who were based in Iqaluit, some more than once. Not all of these interviews were conducted in Iqaluit. I interviewed one individual in Clyde River, and another at an international conference; two more interviews were conducted by phone, and I also made a number of follow-up phone calls. Of these interviews, seven were conducted with the intention of using them for the longer, personal profiles of government and NTI workers included in the second half of Chapter 5.

I initially planned to spend longer in Iqaluit, to try to build friendships and participate in life in the city. As I explain further in my discussion of multi-sited ethnography, these plans fell through largely because this field site did not offer the same richness of personal experience that Clyde River did for me, in part, because the nature of bureaucracy is to be impersonal. Regardless of how generous people working in GN were with their time and their stories, in the end I found conducting research in Iqaluit isolating. Still, the time I spent in Iqaluit yielded a range of interviews that ultimately allowed me, I believe, to discuss Inuit knowledge in the context of bureaucratic institutions. The fieldwork site therefore served the purpose I needed it to in elucidating links and blockages between the local experience and wider contexts of governance and decision-making.

0.2.3 The Inuit Circumpolar Council, Ottawa, Ontario (and elsewhere)

My third and final research “site” was with the Inuit Circumpolar Council-Canada (ICC). ICC is, as the organization’s website states: “a major international non-government organization representing approximately 150,000 Inuit of Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka (Russia)” (ICC n.d.). ICC has offices and staff – paid and volunteer – in all four countries, with a chair position that rotates among the countries every four years on the occasion of ICC’s General Assembly

gathering.⁴ In Canada, ICC's office is in Ottawa, in a nondescript office building located just blocks from Parliament. Upstairs in the same building, the much larger national Canadian Inuit organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, has its offices, making it easier for the two organizations, which share the same board, to coordinate.

ICC's history as an institution is rooted in the period of politicization of the 1970s and 1980s, when Inuit were struggling to gain greater autonomy within their own national contexts. Eben Hopson, the former Mayor of the North Slope Borough of Alaska, convened the first gathering of Inuit from Alaska, Canada and Greenland in Barrow in 1977, where the Inuit Circumpolar Conference was established.⁵ (Russian Inuit from Chukotka joined ICC as voting members in 1992 after the fall of the Soviet Union). Motivated by concerns about offshore oil and gas development in the Beaufort Sea of Alaska and Canada, Hopson articulated a vision of an integrated approach to cross-border environmental stewardship and a central role for Inuit in decision-making:

There is only one Beaufort Sea. It is a single ecological system shared by the North Slope Borough, and the Northwest Territories. We Inupiat are a single Beaufort community living under two national flags... For this reason, we have undertaken to create a circumpolar Inupiat Assembly with which to work with the multinational oil industry to develop a single set of rules for the industry to follow for safe and responsible circumpolar Arctic gas and oil development (Hopson 1976).

From its inception, ICC has therefore prioritized issues of environmental stewardship while also supporting a much wider set of causes and issues common to Inuit across the circumpolar world. These include language, political rights, hunting rights and the right to “sustainable use” of animal and other resources, and economic development.

⁴ During my research period, ICC Alaska was finishing its chairmanship (2006-2010); at the ICC General Assembly in Nuuk in July of 2010, Aqqaluk Lyngé of ICC Greenland was announced as Chair for 2010-2014.

⁵ ICC officially changed its name from the Inuit Circumpolar Conference to the Inuit Circumpolar Council in 2006.

Through its approach to international Inuit organization, ICC helped to bring about a cohesive Inuit polity. As Jessica Shadian has argued (2006), while Inuit shared a common language (with regional dialects) and relied on similar technologies and subsistence practices focused primarily on marine mammal hunting – even, as one ICC leader told me, shared “the same sense of humor” – the concept of being a unified “people” arose out of the political work largely concentrated in ICC’s practices and advocacy efforts. The way that Inuit identity was brought into being through concerted political engagement mirrored the global phenomenon in which indigenous peoples became a unified category largely through collective organizing within the United Nations and other multilateral bodies (Niezen 2003b).

Over the years, ICC coordinated a number of campaigns that led to the development of new international protocols and institutions that have supported Inuit and other indigenous peoples’ rights. For example, in the 1980s, they successfully lobbied the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) to recognize and protect indigenous subsistence uses in its revised World Conservation Strategy, and they collaborated with other indigenous groups to help establish the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2000 as a special United Nations forum dedicated to indigenous rights.

Beginning in the early 1980s, ICC worked to develop a succession of conservation strategies and policies that would safeguard the Arctic environment and protect Inuit hunting rights (Shadian 2006). These initiatives helped build support on the part of the Arctic states for cross-border cooperation, eventually leading to the development of the Arctic Council, a unique intergovernmental forum that includes 8 member states and incorporates six indigenous groups as “Permanent Participants,” ICC among them (Wilson 2007; Shadian 2006).⁶ ICC’s engagements in the Arctic Council strengthened their networks of collaboration with other Arctic and sub-Arctic indigenous groups, perhaps most

⁶ The Arctic Council also recognizes a number of non-Arctic states, NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations as “observers.”

notably the Sami Council and Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) (Plaut 2012).

Beginning in the late 1990s, following successful lobbying in support of the Stockholm Convention, which bans the use of persistent organic pollutants such as DDT, ICC began to focus significant energy on the issue of climate change. Under the leadership of Sheila Watt-Cloutier, who served as Chair of ICC from 2002 – 2006, the organization led a coalition effort to integrate indigenous knowledge into the Arctic Council’s Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA 2005), a major scientific review of state-of-the-art science. The incorporation of indigenous knowledge as a chapter of the report was a significant achievement in ICC’s ongoing efforts to advocate for the value of Inuit knowledge as a “way of knowing” that was complementary to science.

Under Watt-Cloutier’s leadership, drawing on the ACIA report as well as first-hand testimonies from 63 Inuit Arctic residents, ICC developed the climate change petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights that I introduced above. This petition drew ICC into the international spotlight, yet its strategy of linking human rights and climate change was not a universally agreed upon among ICC leadership. Some board members were concerned that framing climate change as a human rights issue would put them in an awkward position in relation to oil and gas development because the public would perceive a contradiction if Inuit simultaneously suffered and benefitted from the creation of greenhouse gases. This is a topic I take up in Chapter 5. When Watt-Cloutier’s term as Chair was over, she continued to work on the petition separately from the institution of ICC.

Patricia Cochran of ICC-Alaska, who served as ICC Chair from 2006 – 2009, continued to focus significantly on climate change. In April 2009, ICC hosted a major gathering of indigenous peoples in Anchorage, Alaska, “The Global Indigenous Peoples’ Summit on Climate Change.” The summit was convened to prepare a united indigenous peoples’ position on climate change in advance of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 15th “Conference of Parties” meeting, held in Copenhagen in

December 2009. For reasons I describe in Chapter 5, this attempt at global indigenous organizing was not entirely successful.

This brief summary of ICC's history offers some background to my own work with the organization. I first met with ICC-Canada staff at their offices in Ottawa in May of 2008, where I spoke at length with Stephanie Meakin, who serves as a science advisor for ICC, about their environmental advocacy work. In 2009, I attended the Global Indigenous Peoples' Summit in Anchorage as a summit volunteer, reconnecting with some of the staff members. After the summit, I contacted ICC-Canada and offered my services as a volunteer on climate change policy. As it happened, their climate change staff person was planning to start a maternity leave in the fall of 2009, before the Copenhagen meetings, and they needed someone to help fill in for her when she left. This allowed me to volunteer with the organization from September 2009 through the UNFCCC meetings in early December, with the agreement that I would also be able to write about ICC as part of my dissertation research.

Note on the use of pseudonyms: For the most part, I use pseudonyms in writing about individuals in Clyde River and Iqaluit in Chapters 1 – 3. There are a few exceptions. In the community history that opens Chapter 1, I reference elders by their real names because the history supports a wider effort to document elder's experiences; the individuals gave permission to be identified by name. I also identify Shari and Jake Gearheard by name; their work and position as *qallunaat* living in the community makes them readily identifiable to anyone involved in research with Nunavut communities. Finally, I identify individuals affiliated with "Healing the Land," including Roger Armbruster and Savenanca and Vuniani Nakauyaca by name; they are visibly involved with proselytizing across Nunavut and beyond, so I saw no reason to disguise their identities.

In my discussion of public representatives of Inuit knowledge in Chapters 4 and 5, I use pseudonyms for those who I would refer to as "occasional representatives" – people who are representatives only for a single event, but who are not necessarily professionally employed to represent Inuit in an official

capacity. I give pseudonyms to the three individuals who serve as “knowledge spokespersons” in the first part of Chapter 4, for example, as well as to Casey in Chapter 5. I use the real names of those who serve as official spokespersons for Inuit in their employment or work-related positions, since their positions and statements are already largely a matter of public record.

0.3 On multi-sited ethnography

Mara Goldman and Matthew Turner (2011) have suggested that it is important to conceptualize environmental knowledge as being embedded in the “practices of multiple actors involved in the inseparable nexus of production, application, and circulation of environmental knowledge” (2011:5). They state that “to fully analyze environmental politics, political ecologists need to not see divergent knowledge claims as the starting point for politics but instead seek to understand how these knowledge claims are constructed and travel to places of interest” (2011:11). I agree, and I therefore designed my research based on a multi-sited approach that I hoped would enable me to follow knowledge from production through circulation to application.

Multi-sited ethnography was proposed by George Marcus (1995) as a way to study the “circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space” (Marcus 1995:86), or, phrased more prosaically, the globalized processes, ideas, and practices that span multiple scales and locations. Marcus suggested that the goal of such an approach was not the holistic representation of ethnographies of yore. Rather, this approach enabled the ethnographer to develop “de facto comparisons” based on the “fractured, discontinuous plane of movement and discovery among sites as one maps an object of study and needs to posit logics of *relationship, translation, and association* among these sites” (1995:102, emphasis added).

As Marcus himself pointed out, while the term may have been novel, the practice of gathering data in a variety of locations was hardly new to anthropology or ethnography. Still, he suggested that multi-sited ethnography

represented a way to respond to the crisis of representation in anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 1992) by turning the ethnographic lens on moving processes involving multiple actors, rather than focusing only on the subaltern and “local.” Marcus was relatively explicit about the methods of multi-sited research, which he suggested should be:

... designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography (Marcus 1995:105).

In practice, there are many methodological approaches that might be categorized as “multi-sited.” Marcus described these as “follow the people,” (as in migration studies) “follow the thing,” (as in commodity-chain analysis or the Actor-Network approach of Michel Callon and Bruno Latour); and “follow the metaphor,” among other tactical approaches (Marcus 1995:106-109).

My research proposal framed my project in the tradition of multi-sited research, suggesting that I would “follow” the production of climate knowledge from the local community of Clyde River, through the territorial government of Nunavut, to the federal/international context in which the Inuit Circumpolar Council, with its office in Ottawa, was situated. I imagined that I would loosely employ Marcus’ “follow the thing” model, drawing inspiration from Latour’s studies of the construction of scientific knowledge through Actor-Networks.

On paper at least, I followed this approach, paying attention to the way local knowledge was framed and understood and what difference it made within each of my research sites, with a particular attention to the movement (or lack thereof) of spokespersons for and material representations of knowledge *between* my research sites. So far, so good, I imagine Marcus might say. My multi-sited approach encountered or resulted in several limitations, however, some of which Marcus anticipated and others he did not.

One challenge of multi-sited ethnography relates to the development of an ethical consciousness on the part of the ethnographer. Anthropologists are situated in multiple social fields, each with its own ethical norms (Clarke 2010).

The Boasian tradition of cultural relativism was one of the major mechanisms anthropologists used, and still use, to accommodate these multiple ethical frameworks. More recently, some scholars have eschewed relativism, explicitly engaging with activist approaches in which they align their scholarship with a wider set of ethical commitments embodied in particular projects (Hale 2006; Johnston 2010; Scheper-Hughes 1995; Susser 2010). While these researchers define activism and engagement in a variety of ways, their scholarly practice involves aligning their work in some ways with the ethical commitments and visions embodied in often local activist projects.

In multi-sited ethnography, the development of an ethical consciousness is complicated by the fact that the ethnographer is constantly moving between sites in which different aspects of ethical practice are called into question or highlighted. As I describe in Chapter 1, this can lead to a sense of dissonance for the ethnographer that makes it hard to feel properly oriented. Marcus had the following words to offer multi-sited ethnographers struggling with this dilemma:

In conducting multi-sited research, one finds oneself with all sorts of cross-cutting and contradictory personal commitments. These conflicts are resolved, perhaps ambivalently, not by refuge in being a detached anthropological scholar, but in being a sort of ethnographer-activist, renegotiating identities in different sites as one learns more about a slice of the world system (1995:113).

In other words, Marcus suggested that the sense of disorientation or dissonance produced through multi-sited work can be addressed through engagement in activism or action, a topic I will address in a moment. In practice, I found that the “renegotiating” of identities across different sites that Marcus casually references here requires significant effort and time on the part of the ethnographer. Each site demands a separate set of introductions. In my case, I found myself describing my project differently depending on where and to whom I was describing it, leading me to question both the coherence of my research approach as well as the ethics of such reframing.

Another obvious weakness of a multi-sited approach is that it does not necessarily lead to the kinds of strong friendships and emic understandings that

produce the richest, most nuanced, most engaged and engaging ethnographic descriptions. When you are constantly moving from place to place, it is difficult to develop any enduring relationships. Marcus recognized this problem, and suggested that those who employ a multi-sited approach often take on “circumstantial commitments,” such as affiliation with activists who are also moving across one’s research sites. These individuals “are often surrogates for one’s ‘people’ of traditional research” (1995:114) and these circumstantial commitments, he suggested, “provide a kind of psychological substitute for the reassuring sense of ‘being there,’ of participant observation in traditional single-site fieldwork” (1995:114).

This was true in my case to a certain extent. When I worked with the Inuit Circumpolar Council, I was engaged in a kind of activist project that led to a sense of camaraderie; I travelled with the individuals I worked with to a number of different political meetings and encountered them in conference venues where I presented my research, such as ArcticNet and the International Polar Year. Although I enjoyed these friendships, they did not entirely provide the “psychological substitute” that Marcus suggested they might. This was partly because these individuals did not travel with me across all research sites, but rather were limited to those “national/global” sites of conferences, meetings in Ottawa, and international gatherings.

It is also true that the loneliness that a multi-sited approach engendered shaped my research project in significant ways. For one thing, the fact that I did not develop close friendships in Iqaluit meant that I was ultimately unwilling to linger there longer than necessary. This could be justified by the fact that the Government of Nunavut proved to be a particularly closed environment in which to observe or even interview people, as I discussed above. Marcus, too, offered a way out of this dilemma, suggesting that “...not all sites are treated by a uniform set of fieldwork practices of the same intensity. Multi-sited ethnographies inevitably are the product of knowledge bases of varying intensities and qualities” (1995:100).

This question of friendship, which I personally believe provides a foundation for almost all good ethnography, was more complicated in Clyde River due to a number of intersecting factors, among them the small size of the community and the fact that research relations are considerably politicized there, as I discuss in Chapter 1. During my second period of research in Clyde River, I was graciously hosted by Shari and Jake Gearheard in their home. Shari and Jake, who appear in Chapters 1 and 2, respectively, are a *qallunaat* couple that are respected both within Clyde River and in the wider community of Arctic researchers, government workers, and service providers, for their commitment to Clyde River and to the methodologies of research (Shari) and health and community development (Jake) that they have helped initiate and steward there. In many ways, Shari and Jake are to Arctic research as Paul Farmer, a medical doctor/anthropologist who founded the well-known global health organization, Partners in Health, is to anthropology for those interested in activist research; they set a standard of practice that others strive to live up to and rarely achieve, in no small part because unlike most researchers, they have made their long-term home in a Nunavut community.

Becoming friends with Shari and Jake provided more than good company; it also significantly shaped the way I understood my research site and project. They had access to a depth of knowledge that I would never hope to achieve in my short tenure in Clyde River, and I learned a great deal from our conversations. They also offered access to particular institutional approaches to working in the Arctic that became central to my research project. In other words, although I was not researching Shari and Jake explicitly, their work became part of the field of relations that interested me, and on which I ended up focusing.

And this, finally, brings me back to the multi-sited ethnography approach, because this is the point at which I believe my methods broke from it. For while multi-sited ethnography requires, I believe, establishing a relatively tight frame around the topic of research (such as “climate change knowledge”) in order to resist the potential to be overwhelmed by too much data, my experience in Clyde River caused me to loosen my proposed boundaries to explore knowledge

relations and the institutions that mediated them. In part, this was in response to the lack of enthusiasm for climate change research I observed among many Clyde River residents. Asking “why this resistance to climate change?” required exploring the production of knowledge relations in a much broader way than I otherwise might have if I had focused more squarely on climate knowledge. As a result, climate change is a loose thread that permeates and gives some coherence to my chapters, but is not the equal focus of every chapter. Like any ethnographer, my research was, in the end, shaped by the issues important to the communities in which I was immersed.

0.4 Institutional and event ethnography

While my project involved multiple sites, it also required attention to ethnographic modalities and methodological approaches beyond “multi-sited” ethnography, which tends to describe an approach in broad strokes without detailing specific methods for each site. Because my project involved a particular focus on institutions, institutional and event ethnography offered useful frameworks. Event ethnography is an emerging method to study events like the rather unwieldy gatherings convened through multilateral institutions, including the various assemblies of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (Chernala et al. 2010) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (Campbell and Brosius 2010). Event ethnography does not yet have a coherent set of methods, but a collaborative approach to research documentation and publication is a central strategy, adopted because it offers greater leverage to document these kinds of sprawling events that can span multiple rooms and buildings simultaneously. While Chapter 5 draws on my own engagement and analysis of the UNFCCC meetings, I did participate in a collaborative ethnographic account of COP 15 (Chernala et al. 2010). Moreover, in many less formal ways, my thinking was influenced by others and therefore represents a kind of collaborative process that reflects a wider trend in event ethnography.

Institutional ethnography is a loose term that includes approaches from business and applied anthropology, the anthropology of development, and legal anthropology. A sub-section of institutional ethnography has focused on multilateral institutions, including UNESCO (Brumann 2012), the UN World Conference on Women (Riles 2000), the World Bank (Sarfaty 2012), as well as more diffuse concepts that are institutionalized through multilateral agencies, such as “human rights” (Merry 2006a). This scholarship focuses on the networks of human actors, institutions, and documents, which often come together in the shared physical space of international meetings.

In this dissertation, I examine the mediating role that a variety of organizations play in producing and mobilizing Inuit knowledge. This involved observation not only in the context of meetings and official gatherings, but also in the more mundane, everyday terrains of these institutions, located at different scales and in both physical and virtual spaces. These include local organizations in Clyde River, territorial and federal government agencies, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and multilateral institutions like the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

My approach to institutional ethnography relied on participation in my “sites” of study as a mechanism to gain access. Through participation, I deepened my understanding of the social relations within institutions that would have been obscured through an approach that relied solely on discourse analysis and examination of documents (Smith 2005). I employed this approach to a limited extent in Clyde River, where my “participation” as a researcher interacting with Ittaq offered a lens through which to comment ethnographically on the mediating role of institutions in research relations. While I never had a formal “participant” role in working with Ilisaqsivik, and while the organization’s ethical approach required that all community members and visitors treat what they observed within Ilisaqsivik as confidential, I spent considerable time with people who were employed by Ilisaqsivik, at the library and community research center, interviewing staff or using the computer center, and, as I mentioned above, in

conversation with Jake Gearheard, the Executive Director. This shaped my description of the institution in both Chapters 1 and 2.

The clearest role I held as a participant in institutional ethnography was in my work with the Inuit Circumpolar Council. In this context, I believe my involvement went somewhat beyond Marcus' conception of the "ethnographer as circumstantial activist" (1995:113), since my involvement as a volunteer who was embedded in the activist projects of the organization was made explicit from the beginning of my research. At the same time, my engagement was motivated by my interest in eventually drawing on my experiences to engage in what Marcus terms "cultural critique." In a critique of Marcus' conception of activism, Charles Hale (2006) proposed that the primary distinction between activist research and cultural critique lay in methodology. He suggested that,

Scholars who practice activist research have dual loyalties – to academia and to a political struggle that often encompasses, but always reaches beyond, the university setting; proponents of cultural critique, by contrast, collapse these dual loyalties into one (Hale 2006:100).

In negotiating my volunteer role with ICC, there was an explicit acknowledgement that I was offering my services in exchange for the ability to use my experience to discuss and analyze the institution's work as a scholar. Working with the ICC entailed, for me, using my previous experience as an employee of non-profits and my skills as a writer and researcher, and applying them in the ways that ICC staff wanted me to in order to support their work on climate change within the UNFCCC and beyond.

This meant suspending the practice of critique to advance positions that the organization determined to be of interest; later, I took up the mantle of critique once again to analyze and discuss ICC in my dissertation, the focus of Chapter 5. In some cases, documents that I helped to draft later served as sources that I deconstructed through tools of critique. Through these various engagements, I oscillated between the role of activist and that of critic. While this multiple subject position is difficult to maintain, it is one employed increasingly by a wide range of actors, including indigenous groups and other activists, who understand

that activism entails making use of a set of strategies to promote an agenda that they do not necessarily accept as “truth” in a literal sense.

0.5 Chapter Summaries

In **Chapter 1**, “Socio-bureaucratic translation and knowledge production in Clyde River,” I explore current efforts to decolonize research practice in the Canadian Arctic by establishing protocols of consultation and payment for knowledge and implementing “participatory” projects of “capacity building” through research. In order to describe the increasing institutionalization of knowledge production in the Arctic, I examine two climate change research projects in Clyde River: a scientific research and planning process led by the federal agency, Natural Resources Canada, and an Inuit women’s berry picking retreat that was framed as an initiative to explore connections between climate change and health. Drawing on Jurgen Habermas’ conception of juridification (1987), an historical process that leads to an increased role for law in mediating the social relations of everyday life, I describe the disconnects between the goals of granting local communities greater control over research and the effects of attempting to achieve this through formal protocols and institutional mechanisms. Finally, I examine the role of institutions as socio-bureaucratic translators that help enact mediations between local understandings and priorities and those of external funders. In the context of climate change, which Inuit situate within a much wider field of social priorities, practices of grant writing and reporting are critical sites of translation through which these differently positioned actors can collaborate.

Chapter 2, “Land and Healing in Clyde River: Conceptions of Identity and Change,” explores the complex construction of Inuit identity as rooted in land-based knowledge and practice as manifested in two institutional initiatives, one religious and one secular, that equate “the land” with health and healing. This was prompted by the serendipitous nature of fieldwork: while I was in Clyde River, an evangelical group visited the community in order to “Heal the Land.” This group, which originated in Fiji, was organized around a restoration metaphor

that viewed environmental changes such as more flowering plants and more abundant animals as being evidence of God's grace and the healing of sin. A warming Arctic has resulted in earlier flowering of plants, northward migration of fish species and a northern movement of the tree line. This evangelical initiative interpreted these changes as miraculous blessings, a religious attribution that was echoed by statements from elders that climate change had been "predicted" in the Bible and by shamans in the time before Christianity.

While the religious interpretations of healing and environmental restoration through prayer might appear to displace human agency for creating and addressing climate change, I argue that *Healing the Land* appeals to some residents in Clyde River precisely because it emphasizes the role of local agency in addressing issues of importance, in particular an abundance of animals that Inuit like to hunt.

The Ilisqisvik Society, a community-based wellness and development organization, has also helped introduce the idea that the land is a space of healing. Ilisqisvik runs several land-based healing retreats and workshops throughout the year. These provide an important opportunity for community members to spend time on the land who might otherwise not be able to do so. It also reinforces a particular affective dimension of human-environment relations in which the land is understood to be a place for restoration of equanimity and harmony at the individual and collective levels.

Chapter 3, "*Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit*, Climate Change, and Bureaucratic Practice in the Government of Nunavut," introduces climate change policy within the territorial government. It explores the question of why, in spite of efforts to document Inuit knowledge of climate change, policy products still privilege scientific understandings. To answer this question, the chapter focuses on *Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit* (IQ), a concept that reflects efforts to bring Inuit knowledge into the practices of territorial governance. I describe the various forms through which IQ was symbolically established within the government, including through architectural symbols and practices of inscription by which IQ principles were

formalized. I argue that IQ has been mobilized in ways that create and perpetuate stereotypes about Inuit and *qallunaat* (non-Inuit).

The reduction of Inuit knowledge to a symbolic form reflects the Weberian understanding of how bureaucracies categorize, contain, and rework particular modes of being and thinking to accord with their own system of order and logic. For Weber, bureaucratic structures inevitably reorganized and dominated other mechanisms of social organization they encountered based on their efficiency and technical superiority in effecting control over populations. While many of these qualities of bureaucracy are evident in the GN's engagements with IQ, I argue that something more is at work in the longing for governance-through-difference that IQ policy represents. For many individuals that work in the Government of Nunavut, Inuit knowledge references and invokes the deeply meaningful, relational and affective dimensions of being on the land; these feelings cannot be entirely reduced or contained by the categorizing logic of bureaucracies. I explore the role that IQ plays as an animating and imaginative force for government and land claims employees, examining how individual subjectivities are shaped by bureaucratic governance and, alternately, how individuals resist encapsulation in bureaucratic modes of thought and relationship.

Chapter 4, "Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge: Translation, Mediation and Representation in Climate Change Projects" explores the strategies and technologies used to mobilize Inuit knowledge in non-local spaces such as scientific conferences and meetings. I understand these spaces to be sites of epistemological encounter in which Inuit knowledge can serve as both a source of information and a political commentary on the unequal power relations that shape scientific gatherings. To explore these dynamics, I draw on observation and interviews with individuals who have served as climate change spokespersons to examine how they relate to their work as representatives of Inuit knowledge. I describe how the political positioning of spokespersons, their past experience with representation, can shape the way they mobilize Inuit knowledge as a mechanism of critique. I also focus on the constraints that individuals face when they try to represent multiple experiences and perspectives, such as those of "elders and

youth” under a single, cohesive framework of “Inuit knowledge.” Finally, I examine how spaces of representation can serve as sites of learning through which scientific framings are brought back to local communities.

In the second part of the chapter, I turn my attention to the role of material representations and technologies in accomplishing translation and mobilization of local knowledge. I engage with Bruno Latour’s concept of “immutable mobiles” (1986), describing attempts to render Inuit knowledge immutable through specific technologies: a PowerPoint presentation, a film, and a legal petition. I describe these representations in the wider context of knowledge production and audience reception, bringing individual actors as spokespersons and specific technologies together under the same analytical gaze. I argue that when knowledge is a tool of cultural difference, the role of the knowledge spokesperson is particularly critical to effecting successful translations that can mobilize knowledge as both “fact” and political critique.

The threat of extinction animates the rhetorical strategies and symbolic representations that a wide variety of actors in global change politics use – from the World Wildlife Fund’s engagement of the polar bear as the “face” of Arctic change, to the small island developing states’ (SIDS) concerns that climate change may cause their countries to disappear, to the representations of Inuit and other indigenous actors who suggest that climate change poses a novel threat to persistence of cultural identities rooted on the land. In **Chapter 5**, “Transmutation and Endurance in Global Climate Change Politics,” I draw on the work of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to explore how tropes of extinction and endurance shape the political work of Inuit as they attempt to engage particular publics. I begin by examining the role of metaphor as a mechanism used by both ICC and the WWF to allow different kinds of entities to stand in for one another as representations of change, including Inuit, the Arctic, ice and snow, and polar bears. This strategy seeks to create the widest possible umbrella of “vulnerability” through which to enroll skeptical political leaders and over-saturated publics in particular political visions for action. The politics of creating

“coalitions of the vulnerable” carries risks, however, since the political agendas of the different actors involved vary considerably.

In the second part of Chapter 5, I describe an initiative, under the leadership of past ICC Chair Sheila Watt-Cloutier, to position climate change as a violation of human rights. The human rights frame was adopted as simultaneously a political, legal, and media strategy, aimed at building awareness of and support for Inuit within the context of global climate change action. This framing has drawbacks, however, since it interacts with expectations for particular narrative performances that situate Inuit as “witnesses” to change and reinscribe the land-based nature of Inuit identity. This, in turn, restricts opportunities for Inuit agency in the context of “adaptation,” conflicting with aspirations of some Inuit institutions, such as the government of Greenland, to develop natural resources made accessible by melting ice. In the final section of the chapter, I explore how the politics of identity is reflected in and shaped by the potential of oil and gas development in the Arctic. These politics reflect wider challenges in global climate governance to mediate among competing visions of what it means to endure and even thrive in the context of change.

The **Conclusion** offers final reflections on Inuit knowledge and climate change, suggesting that the ongoing interest in Inuit knowledge reflects its qualities of endurance, offering hope in the context of change. I describe the Nunavut Quest, a dog team race organized locally without significant external resources, as an example of what this kind of knowledge-as-endurance looks like when it is not specifically labeled “Inuit knowledge.”

Chapter 1: Socio-bureaucratic Translation and Knowledge Production in Clyde River

On September 10, 1943, four scientists under the employ of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, along with three carpenters, a cook, and 200 tons of freight, were dropped off by the R.M.S. *Nascopie*, the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship, on the beach at Clyde River near the Hudson's Bay Company trading post. The freight boxes contained:

...building material for construction of a laboratory, a dwelling, and a storage house, house furnishings, food, fuel, power equipment, ionospheric manual and automatic recording equipment, magnetic instruments, testing and calibrating instruments, repair material, and sundry material and supplies necessary for equipping and maintaining a laboratory and household in the Arctic (Hluchan 1945).¹

The group was part of the Carnegie Institution's Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, which was under contract with the US government to construct a series of new ionospheric observatories that would fill in gaps in the existing global network of observing stations. The Clyde River station would allow them to document fluctuations in geomagnetism in the polar regions, which they hoped would help improve radio communications, critical to the success of the Allied war effort (Vestine 1943). The research station therefore had both applied and scientific value to the researchers and the US government and its WWII allies, including Canada.

In spite of Canada's status as an ally, receiving permission to establish the station in Clyde River was a delicate process that involved numerous scientists and government personnel on both sides of the border. The Carnegie Institution was contracted by the Wave Propagation Committee, a US government

¹ Vestine and Hluchan's memos were made available to me courtesy of the Carnegie Institution of Washington Department of Terrestrial Magnetism Archives.

committee that included representatives from the Army, Navy, and National Bureau of Standards (Fleming 1946). For its part, the US government requested permission from the Dominion of Canada, who sought the opinion of the Dominion Astronomer as well as the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, among other individuals, before granting permission to proceed with the project (Fleming 1943). These layers of federal bureaucracy presented a challenge to Carnegie Institution staff, but also allowed them to establish connections with personnel within the Hudson's Bay Company who were able to provide crucial information and expertise about operating in the Arctic that enabled the project to proceed.

When the scientists and their materials were deposited on the beach at Clyde River, several Inuit families and two *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) individuals, the HBC manager and his wife, lived around the HBC post, with a population of around 145 Inuit living dispersed in a number of seasonal camps close by.² With the arrival of the *Nascopie* that year, the *qallunaat* population quadrupled; along with the four scientists, two weather observers employed by the U.S. Army Air Corps also arrived and established a weather station (Hluchan 1945; Wenzel 1999b).

While the HBC manager posted to Clyde River was expecting the group, the Inuit families congregating around the post to trade sealskins and pelts for flour, ammunition, and other goods most likely were not. Nevertheless, their help was enlisted in unloading the freight and carrying the boxes to the location where the ionospheric station was constructed, a process that according to one of the scientists' reports took three days to complete (Hluchan 1945). With their help, the carpenters were able to finish most of the construction of the station's six buildings and erect its two antenna masts in record time, allowing them to re-board the *Nascopie* on its way back down the coast three weeks after its initial stop. Five weeks after the ship's second departure, the scientists sent out their

² An internal memo of the Carnegie Institution lists the population of Clyde River at 142. For a detailed account of Inuit settlement patterns in the Clyde River area over time, see Wenzel (2008).

first ionospheric reports, and a daily report was sent thereafter.



(Photo 17559: "Eskimo women carrying lumber." Courtesy of the Carnegie Institution of Washington Department of Terrestrial Magnetism Archives).



(Photo 17572: "Raising of the main mast with help of Eskimos." Courtesy of the Carnegie Institution of Washington Department of Terrestrial Magnetism Archives).

A memo penned by one of the scientists, Stephen Hluchan, described the role of Inuit labor in setting up the station as follows:

The natives were particularly useful for bringing up material and for mixing concrete and executing minor construction jobs. Their dog teams were employed for hauling up large objects. A few of these natives displayed unusual mechanical aptitude and were used for splicing wire rope, cutting threads on water drain pipe, painting, and other similar semi-skilled jobs. Their enthusiasm and willingness for sustained routine labor had comparatively short time limits. Their labors were usually directed by pantomime and example (Hluchan 1945).

The Carnegie Institution's ionospheric research station collected data for only a short period; in 1945, authority for the station was transferred to the Canadian government and the buildings were repurposed for other things. By 1946, the information produced at the station was declassified and the data was collated with other ionospheric reports and prepared for publication in scientific journals (Fleming 1946). The records, reports, and photographs taken by the scientists were archived at the Institution's Geophysical Laboratory at the Center for Terrestrial Magnetism in Washington D.C.

In 1994, John A. Watson, a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Company who had designed the research station buildings for the Carnegie Institution in the 1940s, requested and received a copy of the reports archived in Washington. After reviewing them, he wrote a letter to the Geophysical Laboratory librarian in which he took issue with Hluchan's characterization of Inuit labor as "semi-skilled;" stating: "Without them [Inuit] it is quite possible the Ionospheric station at Clyde might not have been completed in time for the crew to board the *Nascope* for the return trip to Montreal" (Watson 1994).

Whether characterized as "semi-skilled" or "skilled," the labor of Inuit who assisted the Carnegie researchers with the physical infrastructure necessary to conduct their research was erased from the final scientific products. These included the daily ionospheric reports generated and sent back to Washington, as well as the scientific articles and reports generated by Carnegie researchers later

on. On one hand, this phenomenon of erasure reflects the ways in which the embodied work of science is rendered invisible in its final products, part of the Cartesian separation of mind and body (Delamont and Atkinson 2001; Ingold 2000; Latour 1993). On the other hand, it also reflects a vision of scientific expertise as external to the Arctic and the people who live there. This vision guided practices of Arctic research for many years, and continues to structure the material relations of knowledge production in significant ways, as I explore in this chapter.

By the time I began my research, more than 60 years after the ionospheric research station closed its doors, many practices of Arctic research had changed while others were remarkably similar. Like the Carnegie Institution personnel, I, too, was required to secure permission through a bureaucratic process prior to beginning my research. In the intervening years, however, the process of reviewing research had shifted from the federal government to the territorial and community levels. I therefore submitted my research application, written in English and translated into Inuktitut, to the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI), rather than the federal government; in it, I requested permission to conduct multi-sited research in Clyde River and Iqaluit on climate change and institutions. NRI is a government institution responsible for licensing and in some cases also promoting research that will address issues important to *Nunavummiut* (Nunavut residents). NRI forwarded my application to Clyde River, where a committee under the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre met to review it, offer comments, and determine whether or not Clyde River would recommend (to NRI) issuing a research license for my project.

A month or so after submitting my application, I received an email from a program manager at NRI who attached a response from Ittaq. The Ittaq committee questioned the necessity of my proposed research based on the fact that significant research on climate change had already been done in Clyde River. Concerned about avoiding repetition of research, they queried whether or not “the research is of interest and benefit to *Kangiqtuqaapingmiut*” (Clyde River residents). The committee concluded that they “did not have reason to decline the

application,” despite these concerns. They also emphasized that they would like a full report of the research findings if I did decide to pursue research in Clyde River.³

This exchange between myself and the Ittaq committee, mediated by NRI, reflects a number of ways in which research practices are being reconsidered and renegotiated in the (post) land claims era of Nunavut, and illuminates the increasing role of formal institutions in this process. The Ittaq committee’s response points to both practical and moral or ethical questions that animate the ways in which community members, government officials, and funders respond to particular research projects. What kinds of products should research result in, and who are the audiences for these products? What is the role of expertise in knowledge production? What kinds of interventions into the research process might result in making it more equitable and accountable to multiple interests, including and most particularly those of the people being researched?

As I argue in this chapter, in the Canadian Arctic, a focus on research practices and the relations between Inuit and *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) that mediate them is based on a genuine interest on the part of many researchers and funders in offering communities greater control of and benefit from research. This in turn reflects efforts to decolonize research practices that Inuit, along with other indigenous groups, have long experienced as colonial. These efforts have led to new legal norms and protocols through which, in the words of feminist poet Audre Lorde, Inuit have made use the “master’s tools” to take down the master’s house (Lorde 2007). Drawing on critiques of research articulated by native intellectuals in the Red Power movement of the 1970s and 1980s (i.e. Deloria 2003[1969]), Native American tribes and communities have similarly used ethics protocols to monitor and constrain the previously unlimited agency of white researchers (Starn 2011).

³ I responded by email, explaining how my research, with a focus on institutions, differed from past projects documenting Inuit knowledge, and stated that the fact that Clyde River had hosted previous projects made it a location of particular interest. NRI subsequently granted me a research license.

A related trend is the role of institutions, both local and non-local, in Inuit land-based knowledge production and transmission. At the community level, non-profits and other institutions play an increasing role in mediating between legal rules and frameworks and community-based practice and experience. This trend reflects wider changes that stem from the establishment of permanent settlements in the 1950s and 60s, and the subsequent, increasing integration of these settlements into regional, national, and global political and economic structures.

In this chapter, I draw on Habermas' conception of juridification (*Verrechtlichung*) (Habermas 1987) to explore how scientific and local knowledge production in Clyde River are shaped by the encroachment of legal and political institutions located outside the community, and how local institutions participate in this process. I focus in particular on the role that these various institutions play in mediating and translating between local interests and desires and those of federal and territorial funders and scientists in the context of several climate change related projects implemented in Clyde River.

Climate change in Nunavut has benefitted from disproportionate attention by both natural and social scientists over the past decade, fueled by an increase in funding through major national and international research coalitions including ArcticNet and the International Polar Year. As a result, I have found climate research conducted in communities to be a particularly fertile domain for thinking about the contemporary political economy of research practices.

In Clyde River, a wide range of projects related to climate change were implemented in the eight years or so prior to my own, including several projects documenting Inuit observations of climate change (Fox 2004; GN 2005b), a “community-based adaptation” planning project, local sea ice monitoring, the collection of testimony for a legal petition on climate change and human rights (Watt-Cloutier 2005), filming for a BBC production entitled ‘Frozen Planet,’ and a “Global Warming 101” expedition that involved Arctic explorer Will Stegar and the CEO of the Virgin Corporation, Sir Richard Branson.

While I was in Clyde River over two periods in 2010 (March - May and again in September), two different climate change research initiatives (besides my own) were being conducted, a significant number for a hamlet of only 1,000 residents. The first of these, the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership (NCCP), was initiated by the federal agency Natural Resources Canada (NRCan) in 2004. In addition to NRCan, several departments of the Government of Nunavut (GN) were involved in the project at various stages, as was the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP), a professional organization of city and regional planners from across Canada.

The project focused on climate change hazards in relation to the built environment Nunavut settlements. It aimed to integrate science and planning through local-scale research on climate change impacts that would provide information to local and territorial decision makers. Clyde River and Hall Beach, were the two “partner” communities in this pilot phase of the project, which later expanded to five additional communities. The Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre, an institution created to help promote community control over research, was the Clyde River liaison in this initiative.

The second climate change project was a women’s berry-picking retreat that was part of a larger research initiative focusing on Inuit women’s changing role in subsistence (Dowsley et al. 2010). I participated as a visiting research assistant in this initiative based on my acquaintance and growing friendship with the two *qallunaat* researchers who had put together the larger study. As I describe further below, the retreat was organized by the Ilisaqsivik Society, a local non-profit, and reflected an interest in supporting health by enabling community members to spend time together on the land; it was linked to Health Canada’s framing of climate change as a health issue through the technology of grant writing and reporting.

Both of these climate change projects were entangled in a variety of political commitments and agendas that shaped the way they unfolded. These agendas were not always clear to the researchers involved, but some became clearer through time as the projects went along. Both projects linked Clyde River

to institutional research and funding networks, but the specific linkages – including individuals and technologies of connection – differed between them. They therefore offer a lens through which to explore the role of institutions as mediators of knowledge production in Clyde River, illuminating some of the wider politics and practices of knowledge making in Canadian Arctic research and governance.

1.1 Clyde River institutions and the formalization of research

In 2005, a group of Clyde River residents established the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre (“Ittaq” for short). The name “Ittaq” was selected through a community-wide naming and logo contest; it means both “something from the old times” and “sealskin tent,” and reflects the heritage related mission of the organization. Ittaq aims to promote Inuit leadership of research and heritage activities through locally initiated and directed projects. The organization also works with visiting researchers, encouraging them to involve community members in research design and data collection and interpretation, and to report research findings back to the community. The Ittaq committee meets regularly to review and discuss research and heritage related activities and to review research proposals from outside groups. In the latter role, the committee tries to ensure that research projects will not harm people, animals, or the land; to advocate for local involvement in research; and encourage researchers to share information about their activities and findings with the community.

The establishment of Ittaq reflects a widespread concern in Clyde River and Nunavut more broadly with the colonial nature of research, which many Inuit feel fails to take their priorities and knowledge seriously. They point out that most research is conducted by *qallunaat* scholars affiliated with institutions of higher learning that are based in the South, that most researchers do not consult with communities in developing research projects and priorities, and that researchers, rather than Inuit, are the primary beneficiaries of research funding, enjoying other forms of professional advancement based on their engagements with Inuit

communities (Grimwood et al. 2012; Gearheard and Shirley 2007; Pearce et al. 2009).

These patterns were established over a long history through which explorers, government officials, and scientists encountered and documented various aspects of Inuit lives and experiences, sharing their accounts with a variety of non-local audiences. As far as I know, no one living in Clyde River when I did my research was present during the Carnegie scientists' tenure from 1943 – 1945.⁴ In Clyde River, the earliest memory that community members had of *qallunaat* researchers came from the mid-to-late 1940s. As James Jaypoody, who was 79 when I interviewed him in 2009, described this period of settlement history: “That was when there was no government. The HBC was settled here at the time.” Beginning in 1946, Jaypoody was employed by two teams of weather forecasters – first Americans and then Canadians – for five years.⁵ Ilkoo Angutikjuak, a respected elder, described the weather observers as the “first researchers” who came to Clyde River (personal interview, July 16, 2009).

His work for the weather observers consisted of maintaining the weather station buildings, filling the fuel tank on the stove and melting snow and ice retrieved by dog team for water to supply the weather balloon tank and kitchen activities. Like the unnamed Inuit workers who skillfully helped set up the ionospheric station equipment, Jaypoody assisted the weather station staff with essential technical skills, helping in particular with repairs to the generator, which periodically broke down. He recalled:

⁴ A Carnegie Institution memo mentions an Inuk named “Kidlapik,” who was employed at the station from October 1943 - June 1945, when he left “of his own accord.” His decision to leave was precipitated by the coming transfer of authority over the station from the US to the Canadian government; the Canadians had a policy not to employ Inuit on a full-time basis to discourage dependency (Hluchan 1945).

⁵ In 1945, the Canadian Department of Transportation took control of the ionospheric research station and the weather station as part of a sovereignty agreement negotiated with the US government. In 1946, however, Americans again took over the role of weather forecasting based on a request from the US military for better weather related information in relation to the emerging Cold War (Smith 2007).

The mechanic would come and he would take the machines apart and put them back together, so I learned from watching him how to fix it. After that, I would take it apart and fix the part and have it working again by the time the mechanic would arrive – he would come in the early springtime in March or April when there was no snow and the plane could land (Personal interview, July 7, 2009).

In exchange for his labor, Jaypoody received \$60 a month from the Americans, which he felt was a fair wage for that time, as well as some items like sugar, flour, canned goods, and cigarettes.

During this period, Inuit and *qallunaat* would occasionally socialize together. Jaypoody recalled sharing caribou meat with his employers and occasionally taking them out when he hunted for seal and caribou, although he explained: “They just tagged along, they didn’t try to hunt.” Iga Palluq remembered that children and young people in particular visited the weather observers’ houses. Angutikjuak recalled that during his visits as a young man, “Even though I didn’t understand English, because they fed us, I liked going there!” He recalled in particular how a friend took one of the *qallunaat* out hunting, and in return he received a jar of marmalade to spread on toast. “That’s good on its own!” he commented, adding, “they would also give us some gum and candy.”

In spite of these gifts and culinary novelties, remembered with some fondness, several people that I spoke with about that time recalled that the primary emotion associated with *qallunaat* was *ilirasuk* (a feeling of intimidation). This reflected the unequal power dynamic at work in which *qallunaat* could appear in the community without warning, conduct business without explaining it, and expect Inuit to work for them without respecting their creative and intellectual abilities.

One anecdote illustrates the way that *ilirasuk* shaped the Inuit experience of *qallunaat* authority at the time.⁶ Several elders told me that the weather station observers would put their trash on the ice in Clyde Inlet in the winter, including the oxygen tanks they used to blow up their weather balloons. After a while, the Inuit residents noticed that the size of the fish they were catching in the bay was getting smaller. When I asked whether they ever said anything to the weather observers

⁶ Thanks to Shari Gearheard for help with these translations.

about their concerns, one elder responded: “No, they just let it happen, they were scared of the white people at that time. At that time, Inuit were sort of like slaves. They just let them do whatever they wanted to them.”

These sentiments were not unique to Inuit relations with researchers, but also applied to other *qallunaat* who were present in the community and region, including HBC managers and missionaries. For example, one woman told me about how the missionaries in Pond Inlet used to punish her for laughing in church as a child by making her stand outside in the cold, and that the same missionaries used physical punishment such as “spanking people so much they couldn’t sit down.” This offers some context as to why *qallunaat* were experienced as intimidating and frightening through their *ilirasaaq* (bullying) behavior.

Tied explicitly to military goals related to World War II and the Cold War, the ionospheric and weather stations introduced infrastructures within the community that were not *for* the community. Rather, the information they produced was sent from the community to be used in national projects. The “first researchers” that Clyde River residents can personally recall interacting with therefore introduced a particular conception of scientific research as existing apart from local concerns and interests, although a few individual families did gain income as casual employees and laborers for these institutions.

A full history of research practice in Clyde River could be the subject for an entire dissertation. It is worth relaying these early experiences with research, however, because they introduced a pattern of knowledge practices that community members experienced as alienating and colonial in nature. My own research interactions in Clyde River were significantly shaped by the way individuals understood past actions of other researchers. I heard a number of complaints about researchers who had failed to share information or report back to the community about research results. Some of the people I approached for interviews asked me if I knew or worked with this or that researcher; in certain cases, their willingness to be interviewed depended on establishing my independence from the work of others. Several times, the amount I offered to pay as an honorarium for interviews – \$50 an

hour – was favorably or unfavorably compared to the rates that other researchers paid.

This dynamic, a sense that the presence of past researchers was haunting the unfolding of my own research, was further complicated during my first visit to Clyde River (June to August 2009) by the presence of another graduate student, Miriam, who like me was blond haired and blue eyed and came from McGill University. Since we shared accommodations and often accompanied one another on social visits to different households, it was unsurprising that we were often confused with one another. “Miriam?” small children would ask me as I walked past the Northern Store. “*Akka* (no), Noor,” I replied. “Noor?” They asked Miriam when she waved to them on the playground. “Miriam!” she responded. The fact that we were both doing separate research projects in a small community simultaneously during the busiest season for research – Arctic summer – is evidence of the sense that some Inuit have reflected of being under a microscope, unable to control or keep track of the different researchers who descend on their community for a brief period and then leave, often never to be seen or heard from again.

This concern, which mirrors those raised by other indigenous groups in North America and globally, is rooted in the legacies of past social science and medical research, the worst of which pathologized indigenous bodies, denigrated indigenous epistemologies and advocated social policies that caused social dislocation and trauma (Smith 1999). A song by Native American activist and film actor Floyd Westerman (1982) captures the essence of the concerns and critiques of research practice so clearly that it is worth quoting at length:

And the anthros still keep coming like death and taxes to our lands,
to study their feathered freaks with funded money in their hands.
Like a Sunday at the zoo, the cameras click away, taking notes and
tape recordings of all the animals at play.

... Then back they go to write their book and tell the world there's
more.
But there's nothing left to write, it's all been done before,
And not a cent of funded money, that the anthros get to spend,
Was ever given to their disappearing feathered friends
(Westerman 1982).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a leading indigenous scholar and critic of the way academic research perpetuates colonial relations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, has suggested that "indigenous peoples can be defined as the assembly of those who have witnessed, been excluded from, and have survived modernity and imperialism" (2008:114). Similarly, Audra Simpson has defined indigeneity as "the maintenance of culture, treaty, history, and self within the historical and ongoing context of settlement" (Simpson 2011:208). For Simpson, settlement is a crucial element of indigeneity because it points toward the way in which struggles to connect to culture and identity are continuously undermined through relations with state policies and non-indigenous notions of citizenship and belonging.

From this perspective, indigenous identity can be understood to be constituted in part by the field of relations shaped by exclusionary practices of research, through which European and Euro-American scholars represent indigenous peoples in their writings. Efforts to decolonize research are therefore very much part of an ongoing process of self-determination and the pursuit of sovereignty among "studied" communities the world over. Furthermore, as Simpson points out, anthropological research that focuses on these decolonizing efforts may therefore contribute to the much wider question of "the fundamental issue of consent in modern political orders" (Simpson 2011:208).

Ittaq was formed to disrupt the colonial patterns of research described above by giving community members a say in which projects were sanctioned locally and by offering an institutional framework through which community-researcher relations could be negotiated. Two individuals played a coordinating role in the creation of Ittaq: Shari Gearheard, a *qallunaat* faculty member of the National Snow and Ice Data Center at the University of Colorado-Boulder who moved to Clyde River along with her husband, Jakob, in 2004;⁷ and Nick Illauq, a native of Clyde River who was a member of the hamlet council at the time.⁸

⁷ Shari had conducted doctoral research in Clyde River starting in 2000, returning frequently to the community for the following three years. Shari and Jake moved to the community in 2004 when Jake, a community development specialist who

Working through Ittaq, Shari initiated a number of collaborative projects with significant involvement from hunters, elders and other interested parties in the community. For example, one project installed sea ice monitoring stations so that ice thickness could be tracked over time, involving community members in the station installation process and hiring a community resident to regularly collect measurements from the stations (Huntington et al. 2009; Mahoney and Gearheard 2008). The information generated was primarily used within the community; it was posted in public areas regularly throughout the sea ice hunting season to help inform decisions about when and where to travel. In another project, Shari and a committee of sea ice experts from Clyde River met regularly to document local knowledge of sea ice (*siku*) and then participated in a knowledge exchange with Inuit in Barrow, Alaska and Qaanaaq, Greenland (Gearheard et al. 2006; Krupnik et al. 2010). Shari has also collaborated with other scientists and community members to study changes in weather patterns, helping to document correlations between Inuit observations that the weather has become less predictable due to climate change (Krupnik and Jolly 2002) and the meteorological understanding of weather persistence, or how quickly weather patterns change (Weatherhead et al. 2010). This work has also established a small weather station network in the area that provides near-real time weather information for three locations identified by local weather experts and hunters as providing valuable weather information for hunting and travelling. The information is provided in both Inuktitut and English via a website⁹ and phone recording service.

I asked a number of individuals who served on the Ittaq committee or worked with the institution in other ways what role they felt Ittaq played in the community. Several responded by describing specific research or heritage projects supported by Ittaq that they felt were important, such as the *siku* project described

had previously worked in South America, was hired as the Executive Director of the Ilisaqsivik Society, a wellness and community development organization.

⁸ In Nunavut, a hamlet is a municipality; unlike cities, hamlets do not collect tax revenue but are given funding from the territorial government to run municipal services.

⁹ www.clyderiverweather.org

above. Of particular significance to community members was the fact that these projects engaged elders and focused on documenting Inuit knowledge. One individual told me that he particularly appreciated Ittaq's role in promoting Inuit knowledge in climate change research. "That's why we wanted to have Ittaq," he explained. "We wanted Inuit to be believed more, their voice heard, because they know about what's going on around here."

In addition to supporting locally initiated research, Ittaq also worked to facilitate better communication and understanding between visiting researchers and the community. As I discuss below, this mediating role included reviewing and providing feedback on proposals, monitoring researcher compliance with ethics protocols, ensuring that researchers filed reports about their research on a regular basis once their projects were concluded, and promoting financial benefits from research for Clyde River community members.

1.2 Ethics, institutions, and the juridification of research

All research conducted in Nunavut is subject to the protocols spelled out in the Scientists Act, a piece of legislation that Nunavut inherited from the Northwest Territories (Gearheard and Shirley 2007). For natural science research projects, the Nunavut Land Claims Act established additional pre-screening requirements for potential environmental and land use impacts by the Nunavut Impact Review Board, the Nunavut Planning Commission, and in some cases, the Nunavut Water Board. Projects conducted on Inuit lands must also be reviewed by the regional Inuit Associations,¹⁰ and projects on Crown Land – land owned by the federal government – must be reviewed by the Department Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada.¹¹ Research conducted in national parks must be

¹⁰ There are three regions of Nunavut (Kitikmeot, Kivalliq, and Qikiqtani), each with its own regional association that oversees issues related to land claims implementation and economic development.

¹¹ In Canada, "Crown Land" officially belongs to the Queen in Right of Canada; in effect, it is land owned by federal or territorial governments. Crown Land makes up 80 percent of Nunavut (GN n.d.) and is administered on behalf of the federal government by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Neimanis 2012).

reviewed by Parks Canada (Gearheard and Shirley 2007). In light of these various institutional review mechanisms, researchers working in Nunavut must often navigate four or more layers of bureaucracy in order to initiate a research project – for example, they interact with their own university’s ethics board, with the agency that administers their funding, with NTI and other territorial or federal review boards, and with the local community in which they would like to work.

Research practice in Nunavut is further informed by ethics principles and guidelines developed by Canadian funding agencies and Inuit organizations (Castleden, Morgan and Lamb 2012; Pearce et al. 2010). These documents attempt to create an ethical framework for research with indigenous and northern communities, emphasizing respect for local laws, language and traditions, local knowledge, confidentiality, and informed consent (Pearce et al. 2010). For example, the national Inuit organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, working with NRI, prepared two versions of a guide entitled “Negotiating Research Relationships,” one intended for communities, the other for researchers (ITK and NRI 1998; ITK and NRI 2007). The version for researchers tries to help them understand and anticipate some of the concerns and expectations that Inuit have about research, and describes processes to determine when and how to involve community members, how to pursue research licensing and permitting, and how to communicate results with communities (ITK and NRI 2007). The community version details the laws and frameworks protecting individual rights to privacy, including the Federal Privacy Act, and explains the requirement of informed consent. It also describes the collective Inuit rights guaranteed in land claims agreements, including the need for researchers to obtain permission from regional Inuit Associations in order to conduct research on Inuit owned lands (ITK and NRI 1998). Together, these documents attempt to engage both researchers and community members in thinking about ethical practices of research and encourage the use of formal protocols and procedures to mediate these relations.

Another example is the Government of Canada’s *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (CIHR, NSERC, and SSHRC 2010), which provides guidance for institutional research ethics

boards across Canada (Castleden, Morgan and Lamb 2012).¹² A chapter in this document entitled “Research Involving First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People of Canada,” describes the requirement of community engagement in research and encourages researchers to adopt a “collaborative” or “participatory” approach (CIHR, NSERC, and SSHRC 2010:123). It states that projects “should support capacity building through enhancement of the skills of community personnel in research methods, project management, and ethical review and oversight” (CIHR, NSERC, and SSHRC 2010:125). These ethics documents, like the laws and protocols spelled out in the Scientists Act and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, point towards the formalization of relations and practices between researchers and community members.

The formalization of research through ethics frameworks is a phenomenon that applies to university-based research across North America and Europe; it is not limited to research in indigenous contexts. As Marilyn Strathern (2000) and Peter Pels (2000) have noted, the rise of formal codes of ethics have impacted research practices across the academy, reflecting a wider trend that Strathern referred to as “audit cultures” (2000), the proliferation of practices and technologies of accountability associated with neoliberal ideology. Strathern suggests that the widespread engagement of so-called “new management” practices in public institutions has led to the adoption of what she terms “rituals of verification;” the extension of protocols of financial accountability into the art of government through the adoption of a variety of monitoring techniques. She states that “the accompanying rhetoric is likely to be that of helping (monitoring) people help (monitor) themselves” (Strathern 2000:5). From this perspective, the creation of formalized ethics protocols and research institutions within federal and territorial governments can be viewed as part of a wider drive towards “accountability” reflective of neoliberal government practices.

¹² For an historical overview of the different ethics documents created by Canadian government institutions starting in the 1980s, see Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb 2012.

In light of these government initiatives to monitor research, the creation of Ittaq in Clyde River can be seen as a local response to wider processes of formalization. During the period of my fieldwork, John¹³ was employed as the Ittaq coordinator; in this capacity, he was the primary point person involved in liaising with visiting researchers, assisting them with logistical requirements like identifying interpreters or finding equipment and housing, and also keeping an eye and ear out for problems from the community perspective relating to their research. A cheerful man in his early 30s who exuded an air of efficiency and competency, John was extremely helpful to me as I was getting started with my research. He made phone calls on my behalf to community members to see if they would be willing to be interviewed and pointed me towards available resources, including Ilisaqsvik's computer center and library.

John also took on the responsibility for ensuring that I was conducting myself ethically as a researcher. One day, as I sat in on a workshop at Ilisaqsvik on film and new media skills, I took out my camera to take a picture of some of the participants at work on their project. When he saw that I was about to take a picture, John came over. "Are you photographing these people?" he asked me sternly. "Because if you are, you will need to have them sign a permission form." As I prepared to leave the community after my initial visit, he also reminded me that I would need to turn in a report about my research, translated into Inuktitut, before my flight departed.

In these interactions, John was fulfilling one of the essential functions of his job as Ittaq Coordinator: to engage with researchers with an eye towards preventing problems that may arise due to miscommunications and addressing them when they occur. To offer another example, during the summer of 2010, someone raised a concern on the community radio about the use of sonar by a research team; he was worried that it would disturb marine mammals. John heard the comment on the radio and raised the question with the scientist, who was able to explain that the sonar device he was using would not harm or interfere with marine mammals. The

¹³ Pseudonym

scientist also presented written studies on the issue to provide more background information.

Prior to the existence of the official Ittaq Coordinator position, the researcher would have been unlikely to have heard about this community member's concern. John's job enabled him to approach the researcher on a professional basis with this individual's concern, and allowed the researcher to do his best to address it. The institutional mediation made the interaction less personal and therefore less potentially charged by creating a formal mechanism through which to handle concerns and issues. This reflects the impersonal, efficient managerial technology of bureaucratic institutions, which I describe at greater length in Chapter 3.

When I asked members of the Ittaq committee about the purpose of the organization, one of the primary things they emphasized was the need to control the way information was gathered, used, and shared with the community. One person, an experienced hunter and elder, told me that through Ittaq, he had realized that he was able "to know in advance which of the *qallunaat* will be coming." He described Ittaq's purpose in this way:

Some of the people that have come here to do interviews and research and stuff, sometimes they don't get a good understanding before they leave, so that's why we wanted to help. And sometimes they would interview the wrong people, and they would get the wrong impression of some of the Inuit. As long as we are aware of the researchers, we can direct them to the right people. Some of the information we get from the research is not accurate, because maybe they interviewed people that are too young who don't have as much experience as some of us might. Now Ittaq already knows about who is coming and it's better that way (Personal interview, 15 July 2009).

Another man in his 20s had a similar take on Ittaq's role in the community, which for him was:

To have a better understanding of why all researchers are coming into Clyde. The community has to be notified of what's going on. We can come on the radio and invite people to talk to researchers – if they know something about the subject matter. That way the community will know and won't be left out. We ask researchers to do a report – that way they are not just coming here and taking things away. We are trying to get the message out that people are

welcome to work with us, but we don't just want them to come and do whatever they want (Personal interview, 10 July 2009).

The desire expressed by these two men focused on having better information about research being done in the community and a greater sense of control over research products and outcomes. Other researchers writing about the research practices in Inuit communities have similarly emphasized the importance of communicating “early and often” through meetings with relevant community institutions, radio announcements and interviews, community presentations, and posters and reports written in accessible language (Pearce et al. 2010; Gearheard and Shirley 2007).

What is striking to me is the degree to which the evaluations of research practice on the part of individuals in Clyde River reflect the formal ethical frameworks introduced concomitantly by universities, funding agencies, the Nunavut Research Institute, and other institutions. This raises the question of whether critiques from local communities were the primary drivers leading to the development of these institutions and protocols, or whether the development of these institutions shaped the consciousness of community members and led to the local adoption of institutionalized forms of gate keeping. While popular wisdom points toward the former, I suspect that, in reality, both processes fed into one another, one top-down, the other bottom-up.

Max Weber suggested that “bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge,” (Weber 1978:225), which he understood to include both technical knowledge and knowledge that came out of experience with bureaucracy, itself. The ethical and legal frameworks that have been developed to guide research practice, and the government institutions like the Nunavut Research Institute created to oversee them reflect the proliferation of bureaucracy, supported by the Nunavut Land Claims Act and the creation of the Government of Nunavut. These institutions have increasingly focused on managing research, mediated by experts positioned both within and outside them.

As I have described, the institutions that govern research practice do so under the auspices of the Scientists Act, which specifies penalties for researchers who fail comply with its mandates by conducting unlicensed research or

breaching the terms of their license. These may include either a \$1,000 fine or a prison term of up to six months or both. As Shari Gearheard and Jamal Shirley (2007) have noted, however, these sanctions have never been applied.

The mediation of research by the Scientists Act, along with the ethics protocols developed by various state and non-state actors, reflect the processes of juridification, a term that “refers quite generally to the tendency toward an increase in formal (or positive, written) law that can be observed in modern society” (Habermas 1987:357). Habermas describes juridification as an historical process that evolved in relation to new forms of governance, including the democratic constitutional state, which guarantees individual freedoms through legal constitutions, and the welfare state, which protects citizens from the unbridled power of corporations or the economic system. These processes supported what Habermas refers to as the “expansion of law,” which he describes as “the legal regulation of new, hitherto informally regulated social matters” (1987:357). Ronald Niezen coined a related term, “legal substitution,” which refers to “the processes by which formal law is introduced to or becomes dominant in societies or communities that have previously relied more exclusively on informal, customary institutions and procedures” (Niezen 2010:219).

The neoliberal audit culture, whose emphasis on accountability I described above, may be adding a new dimension to the historical trend of juridification, a dimension that can be understood in relation to Foucault’s conception of governmentality (Foucault 1991). Audit technologies, as Cris Shore and Susan Wray suggest,

...are not simply innocuously neutral, legal-rational practices: rather, they are instruments for new forms of governance and power. They embody a new rationality and morality and are designed to engender amongst academic staff new norms of conduct and professional behavior. In short, they are agents for the creation of new kinds of subjectivity: self-managing individuals who render themselves auditable (Shore and Wright 2000:57).

In the context of new legal and rational norms that govern Arctic research, researchers are held accountable not by a fear of sanctions – the fine and prison terms that have never been applied – but rather by norms of conduct and

professional behavior that are patrolled by institutions and other researchers. There is no formal enforcement of these rules because researchers who work in the Arctic context quickly learn to take them on for themselves; that is, they adopt these as personal values and ethical orientations that then guide and shape the ways that they relate to communities and to research practice.

This is related to Nikolas Rose's conception of governance under what he referred to as "advanced" liberal democracies, which is achieved through "action at a distance" (Rose 1996:46). Rose lists a number of technologies employed by states to achieve and reproduce action at a distance, including "the utilization of laws, bureaucracies, funding regimes, and authoritative State agencies and agents" (1996:46). He elaborates that in addition to these technologies, action at a distance is achieved by according authority to "autonomous expert authorities" whose "autonomy is shaped through various forms of licensure, through professionalization and through bureaucratization" (1996:46).

The technologies that Rose describes as supporting "action at a distance" are visible in Arctic research, where licensing protocols sanction the authority of researchers, while education campaigns enroll community members in a shared understanding of research ethics. Shore and Wright (2000) thus refer to "neo-liberal governmentality" to describe the inculcation of norms and values, such as accountability, individualism, and free market principles, within the consciousness of individual actors. This can explain the extent to which the institutionalized models of research described above have been adopted, at least discursively if not always in practice, as the normative models of research in the Inuit Canadian Arctic, even though the legal sanctions for violating these norms have never been applied.

The increasing institutionalization of knowledge-making practices in Nunavut is therefore driven by processes that are neither "top down" nor "bottom up," but a complicated mix of the two. Habermas' conception of juridification and Niezen's description of legal substitution by local actors show the structural mechanisms of this phenomenon, while Strathern, Shore and Wright, and Rose, point toward the way that legal norms are internalized within individual

actors who then participate in promoting the mediating role of institutions in everyday life. This was visible in the way that John took on responsibility for ensuring ethical practice on the part of researchers in the community through his formal role as Ittaq coordinator.

As Charles Hale (2006) points out, there is a contradictory quality to the use of law to pursue local agendas. Such strategies express “the grain of radical, emancipating ideas... combined with a language of contention and strategies of struggle that partly reproduce the very systems of inequality that oppress them” (Hale 2006:109). The use of formalized ethics protocols to decolonize research can thus also be seen as a framework that structures the possibilities of relationship and the kind of benefits Inuit might expect from research practices. Sarah de Leeuw, Emilie Cameron, and Margo Greenwood raise a similar note of caution in their discussion of the “community-based participatory” research model that has emerged as a new kind of best practice model in research with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities in Canada. They state:

We have observed the emergence of a kind of institutional and disciplinary “common sense” over the past several years, whereby participatory forms of research have come to represent a “best practice” for research that relates to Indigenous communities, and a proliferation of projects of enormous variation have come to be framed in participatory language (de Leeuw, Cameron, and Greenwood 2012:186).

The authors go on to explain that they are less concerned with the variety of projects claiming to be participatory than they are with the notion that such research practices are always in the best interests of communities. I agree that these practices are worth a closer look. As I have discussed, Inuit in Clyde River are concerned about issues of participation and equity in research; efforts to reform research to address these concerns are therefore a welcome change from the unquestioned authority of *qallunaat* researchers and institutions of the past, which invoked a feeling of *ilirasuk* (intimidation) among community members. Today, the legal, institutional, and interpersonal terrain of Arctic research has changed considerably, and “participatory” models reflect an aspiration for research practice to shed its colonial baggage in support of emancipatory projects.

At the same time, left unexamined, the “new” frameworks of research risk either reproducing older patterns of inequity or, perhaps worse, introducing new ones. I therefore now turn to an examination of some of the micro politics of research in Clyde River, focusing in particular on the role of institutions in mediating and shaping these practices.

1.3 Research as economic development

Although no one that I interviewed about Ittaq said so directly, increasingly in Clyde River and other Nunavut communities, research is viewed as a mechanism for bringing money and jobs into the community (Gearheard and Shirley 2007). Billy Palluq, who was Economic Development Director for the Hamlet of Clyde River, explained that research “brings a little bit of income, but not too much. I wouldn’t want to spend too much time on that for my job, for example, compared to other things.” Yet in an economic context that lacks a substantial private sector base apart from mining, research can provide significant economic benefits for Inuit communities. One recent study examined the economic “spillover impact” of research in community economies in the three northern territories of Canada (Carr 2012).¹⁴ The researchers found that from 2000 – 2010, \$24.8 million entered northern community economies in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and Yukon Territory through research funding; of this, approximately one third was spent on professional, scientific, and technical services, including payments to community members for their knowledge or research support.

Clyde River’s Community Economic Development Plan for 2008 – 2012 included the development of Clyde River “as the community of choice in Nunavut for research and development of innovative technology” as one of its goals (Kangiqitugaapik 2008). The plan suggested promoting the region as a “unique arctic ecosystem which offers exceptional opportunities to conduct climate change, alternative energy, wildlife... culture and traditional knowledge research,” and

¹⁴ The researchers looked at expenditures of research funded through Canada’s “tri-council” (federal funding for health, physical and social sciences), as well as major Arctic research initiatives like ArcticNet and the International Polar Year.

designated Ittaq as the institutional lead on this part of the plan. Ittaq promotes this goal by helping train community members to participate in research in different ways and ensuring that their participation is compensated. Incorporating Ittaq into the plan was strategic; it allowed Ittaq to seek outside funding for its own development as an institution that would support economic as well as research projects.

For example, in the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership's pilot research in Clyde River, scientific researchers from Natural Resources Canada contracted Ittaq to manage many of the logistical elements of the work done in Clyde River, including renting a house for the scientists to stay in, picking up scientific equipment and greeting scientists at the airport, and finding ATVs, trucks, and boats to rent.¹⁵ They also hired community members to serve as research assistants, guides on the land, project coordinators, translators, and video producers. According to the NRCan project manager, over the course of four years, the partnership spent about \$88,000 in services and payments to 33 individuals (personal interview, March 5, 2010).

As with research reporting, offering compensation to community members for participating in research is partly a response to a long history of injustice and inequity in research practice that continues into the present. Several times in Clyde River, individuals voiced a sense of frustration, and in some cases anger, that academic researchers could make careers out of researching Inuit without paying them adequately for their contributions. For example, when I asked one elder about his involvement in research in the past, he told me about how he and his family had hosted four Americans at his outpost camp in the 1970s who had come to Clyde River "to get a better understanding of how Inuit lived." I asked what he thought about their research and their living with him at the time, and he responded: "I didn't mind them because we got along well with them and they learned about going out on the land for a few days in hunting trips." Then he added: "The thing was that we were never paid." I asked if he felt he should have

¹⁵ NRCan's contract was officially with Ilisaqsivik, the financial and administrative parent organization for Ittaq.

received payment and he said: “Yes, I think that they should have [paid us] because it might have benefitted them, what I taught them.”

Today, it is commonplace to offer compensation to community members for participating in research, although the amounts of compensation differ between communities and internally within communities depending on the research project. Average rates in Clyde River at the time of my research were around \$50 an hour for interviews, \$75 for a workshop of several hours, and \$250 for a full day workshop; these rates were negotiated individually between the researcher and each research participant, and were therefore not set in stone. In some cases, community members do not request compensation if the research project is important to them (Pearce et al. 2009), or if they are already being compensated professionally for their role in the project.

Inuit participate in research projects in a variety of ways, from John’s full-time employment as Ittaq coordinator, to the long-term involvement collaborators in the sea ice research project, to one-time interviews of elders and hunters focusing on land-based knowledge and expertise, to working as interpreters for interviews and community presentations. Paying Inuit to participate in research is intended to reflect a valuation of their time and expertise, similar to the way that *qallunaat* time and expertise is rewarded through salaries and research funding. One problem that arises from this formulation, however, is that *qallunaat* largely control the research goals as well as the allocation of money to particular Inuit experts within the community, usually elders and hunters who are sought after for their ecological and historical knowledge. Researchers then become the channels through which certain individuals are rewarded for expertise; this does not equalize knowledge relationships, but instead reinscribes a colonial hierarchy in which non-locals have the primary access to research resources, which they then distribute locally.¹⁶

¹⁶ An alternate to this model of externally-driven research is offered by Ittaq, which has organized its own projects that have focused on issues of cultural heritage and land use, including documenting family trees and mapping changing travel routes. (See www.ittaq.ca for more information). Nunavut departments such as Culture, Language, Elders and Youth will fund individual research and

One repercussion of this is that certain individuals, identified as local experts, are routinely interviewed and consulted, while others are not. This, of course, reflects the nature of expertise across all forms of knowledge; by definition, to have an “expert” in a particular domain requires also having “non-experts.” In Inuit communities, land-based knowledge is celebrated, and elders are given respect based on their experience living on the land and adapting to significant social and environmental change. At the same time, the pace of change and the fact that youth have much less land-based experience than older generations means that there is a large experiential gap between elders and youth.

These politics became apparent during my interview with Lucassie,¹⁷ an elder respected for his land-based knowledge and leadership in community politics. While we spoke, three of his adult sons, all in their late 20s and 30s, sat in the living room listening in, while I sit with him and his wife and our interpreter at the kitchen table. Lucassie commented that it would be a good idea to interview women “because men and women have different types of knowledge.” I asked him if there were particular women he thought would be good to speak with, and he suggested: “My wife, probably, if she wanted to. I don’t know about her expertise, but I know about mine.”

We spoke about a variety of subjects before I turned to my questions about environmental issues, asking Lucassie when he had first heard about climate change. Before he could respond, someone in the living room said: “There’s no such thing as climate change. It’s all pretending.”

Ignoring this, Lucassie answered my question: “Officially recently, but then I heard about it way before, maybe 1954. There used to be glaciers that went all the way to the shore line, but they're gone now.”

Then, again from the living room: “Global warming is like the earth is getting too many lice, and we're the lice.” The sons all laughed loudly, but Lucassie ignored them. A few minutes or so later, I asked about his involvement in the Ittaq Heritage and Research Committee. He responded:

heritage projects as well as those initiated by organizations like Ittaq.

¹⁷ Pseudonym

We wanted to be able to have people available for researchers because of climate change. We noticed that younger people, grown ups but younger than us, were saying that there is no climate change. It's not getting any warmer from global warming. But us older people have noticed that it's getting much warmer (Personal interview, 7 August 2009).

This encounter from my research illustrates the way that researchers reinforce a particular politics of expertise through the interviews we conduct in Inuit communities. The loss of land-based experience in the younger generation is an often-voiced concern in Inuit communities. Researchers concerned with how climate change is impacting Inuit culture emphasize the connection between sea ice loss and local knowledge. Under new environmental conditions, local knowledge becomes “unreliable;” ice that should hold a hunter breaks. This loss of certainty and the risk it engenders is compounded by the fact that younger generations spend less time on the land than older generations (Berkes and Armitage 2010; Ford and Smit 2004).

In this encounter, however, there was a sense of overt tension between the elder's knowledge and the skepticism of the younger men in the living room. The mood was not one of loss — rather, the younger men were openly defiant of the land-based knowledge that their father reported. Lucassie responded to his sons' interruptions by affirming the value of elders' knowledge to researchers. In a separate interview, quoted above in reference to the establishment of Ittaq, another male elder also shared a similar perspective, stating that it was important that researchers did not “interview the wrong people” or “get the wrong impression of some of the Inuit.” He elaborated: “Some of the information we get from the research is not accurate, because maybe they interviewed people that are too young who don't have as much experience as some of us might” (personal interview, July 15, 2009).

Similarly, although less overt in this particular enactment of knowledge politics, expertise is gendered in Inuit communities. Traditionally, men were primarily responsible for hunting, while women stayed closer to the camp, looking after children and preparing skin clothing, equipment, and food. In the

contemporary context, researchers and some Inuit that I spoke with have suggested that men carry more of the burden for maintaining land-based traditions and hunting practices, which are central to Inuit identity (Dowsley et al. 2010; Matthijsse 2010). One result is that men are consulted as experts on ecological matters, including on climate change, more often than women are (Dowsley et al 2010).

The tensions around expertise that I described in relation to youth and elders therefore also emerge in certain contexts in relation to men and women. This was subtly visible in my interview with Lucassie when he recommended that I should interview women and pointed me towards his wife as an expert on things he had no knowledge of. Later, after leaving their house, my interpreter commented that she suspected that this man and his wife had probably had a conflict about the interview, and that she may have been jealous that he was asked to participate in interviews so frequently. While this may or may not have been the case, it was clear that there were tensions in the room stemming from the politics of expertise, which is distributed unequally both within and between households.¹⁸

Today, Inuit knowledge is produced in the context of what has been called a “mixed” (Abele 2009; Wenzel 2009) or “vernacular” economy (Gombay 2010). Hunting and land-based knowledge remain materially and socially important within Inuit communities, providing nutritious food to resource-poor households and reinforcing networks of social relations tied to food sharing practices (Wenzel 2001; Collings 1997; Gombay 2010). The transmission of Inuit land skills is challenged, however, by the high cost of hunting equipment and fuel, including snowmobiles, boats, ATVs (“Hondas”), rifles, and ammunition. While in the past, hunters were able to support their work by selling seal skins, the collapse of the global market for seal skins due to a European ban on their purchase put an

¹⁸ In her dissertation on Inuit knowledge, health, and wellbeing in Arviat, Nunavut, Sherrie Blakney (2009) describes tensions around expertise that arose based on the perception that some members of the community were undertaking Inuit knowledge studies and documentation to gain access to employment rather than sharing this knowledge within the community.

end to this source of income (Wenzel 1991). As I describe below and in Chapter 2, increasingly hunting and land-based practices are tied to wage earning, welfare, and grant writing practices that enmesh families and communities in much wider economic and political networks.¹⁹

While Lucassie's sons voiced skepticism about climate change, their skepticism may in fact have reflected dissatisfaction with the local politics of knowledge production rather than disbelief that the climate is changing. Inuit cultural knowledge is valued for different reasons: as an important tool and skill for procuring country food; as a source of identity; and also as a source of income with the institutionalization of compensation for interviews. Inuit knowledge, therefore, is a commodity in the money economy as well as serving as a source of material and social "capital" (Putnam 2000) in the traditional subsistence economy. This dynamic becomes further complicated by the fact that money is now essential in order to participate in hunting and other land-based activities, because snowmobiles, ATVs, boats, and ammunition are all expensive. For younger people who lack access to land-based knowledge and/or money, skepticism is one way of expressing dissatisfaction with local inequities in knowledge and resource distribution.

Researchers are not the only ones that reinforce the value of local knowledge as a commodity; community institutions, too, pay elders and hunters for their land-based knowledge. For example, the Ilisaqsivik Society hires elders and hunters to pass on land skills and procure country food for programs and community feasts, and pays boat, skidoo, and ATV owners to transport Clyde River residents who lack access to such equipment as part of land-based programming. Other institutions operating in Clyde River, including the

¹⁹ Another challenge to knowledge transmission is demographic: As of 2010, Nunavut had the highest birth rate of any part of Canada, with a median age of 24.6 years, compared to a national average of 39.7 years; nearly a third of the population of Nunavut is age 14 or under (Nunatsiaq News 2011). Since land skills and hunting knowledge are traditionally transmitted from an experienced adult or elder to a younger, less experienced hunter in a one-on-one format, the disproportionate ratio of children to adults makes it harder to pass on land based skills and knowledge.

Canadian Rangers,²⁰ the *Piqqusilirivvik* cultural learning facility,²¹ and to a limited extent, sport hunters and tourists, also pay community members for their land-based knowledge. In a randomized survey I conducted with 60 Clyde River community members in 2010, more than half of respondents (n=35) reported having received payment for sharing land-based knowledge in the previous year.²²

The money paid for these activities, while not sufficient to support a full-time hunter, can provide a small income stream that contributes to a larger household strategy of balancing wage labor, government support, and subsistence hunting. In 2009, for example, Ilisaqsivik paid honoraria to a total of 67 Clyde River residents for sharing their expert knowledge in a variety of programs.²³ Hunters, boat drivers, and skidoo drivers received between \$3,000 and \$7000 in total wages over the course of the year, and elders received between \$4,000 and

²⁰ The Canadian Rangers is a sub-component of the Canadian Forces Reserve that engages community members in the Arctic and sub-Arctic on patrols for public safety and national security purposes, akin to the National Guard in the US. Participants are paid a stipend for their service. Exercises in Inuit communities incorporate Inuit knowledge about how to survive on the land (personal interviews; Lackenbauer 2006; Lackenbauer 2007).

²¹ *Piqqusilirivvik* is an institution that was established by the Government of Nunavut to teach land-based skills to students from across the territory. Clyde River successfully competed with other Nunavut communities to become the host of the facility, which was under construction when I did my research, opening its doors to students for the first time in 2011.

²² The survey asked respondents to identify whether they had been paid for: driving a skidoo or boat, bear monitoring, hunting or taking others out on the land, and teaching Inuit knowledge. Survey respondents were randomly selected by having house numbers drawn from a hat; they included equal numbers of men and women (30 each), across three age groups: 18-34 (20 total), 35 – 59 (20 total), 60+ (20 total).

²³ Not all honoraria went to land programs. One of the biggest sources of honoraria in 2009 was an innovative contract that Ilisaqsivik received to translate and provide voice-overs for a popular animated television show, *Wapos Bay*. The show, featuring a colorful cast of characters living in a modern First Nations community, had been developed in Cree and broadcast through the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network (APTN) to wide acclaim. Ilisaqsivik submitted a proposal to translate the show into Inuktitut for rebroadcast on APTN for Inuit audiences. Elders were hired to provide guidance about Inuktitut, and a casting call provided opportunities for Clyde residents of all ages to try out for the different roles. Honoraria provided to *Wapos Bay* talent ranged from \$2,000 to \$8,000 in 2009.

\$6,000;²⁴ the work was episodic, so these amounts reflect perhaps a total of several weeks of work for each individual. Ilisaqsivik is therefore among a growing number of institutions that translate between two value systems – capitalist wage labor and local kinship networks — helping support the continuation of the latter in the context of the growing influence of the former in Inuit communities.

In his discussion of juridification in the context of the welfare state, Habermas suggests that safety nets established through state-led public welfare policies had a cost to the social worlds of those who benefitted from them. He describes the cost in terms of the “restructuring interventions in the lifeworlds” of welfare recipients, which resulted from “bureaucratic implementation and monetary redemption” of welfare policies (1987:362). In particular, he suggests that the establishment of welfare led to the decline of more generalized social protections – which in the context of Clyde River include food sharing and redistribution processes – found in “solidaristic communities” (1987:362).

Habermas’ understanding of juridification in the context of the welfare state posits that the introduction of cash payments as social support mechanisms transforms existing forms of solidarity, replacing them with legally defined conceptions of individual rights and welfare entitlements. I would suggest that a similar phenomenon is occurring in the context of paying Inuit community members to share their knowledge. Payment for knowledge has been developed as a mechanism for redressing inequities and decolonizing research, offering compensation for time and expertise to offset the way that research is structured to benefit outsiders rather than community members.

While paying hunters and elders for their knowledge offers a much needed revenue stream that assists with the continuation of these land-based practices, it also changes the way that these skills are perceived in the context of the capitalist, wage-based economy. When local knowledge is given a price in dollars, it

²⁴ Elders were paid both for land programs and also for projects that involved teaching knowledge or counseling in the community. They were hired to be “wise guides” during the afternoon programs for pregnant and nursing mothers, and also to go on the radio and tell stories on the weekend.

becomes a commodity. The making of commodities is part of the process that Karl Marx described as the alienation of the laborer from his or her labor (Marx 1887). As a commodity that can be bought and sold, knowledge begins to take on its meaning and value from external sources, rather than having value reflect the direct relationship between the knowledge holder and the social and environmental relations in which she is embedded. Payment for knowledge can thus be seen as a further intrusion of capitalist and state-driven values onto local experiences.

In the context of community institutions and the promotion of land skills, knowledge commodification helps solidify the role of outside institutions and funding bodies in local cultural practices. Under this system, knowledge exchange becomes a formalized process subject to a cycle of project development, grant writing, negotiations with funding bodies, and project management and financial accounting. The process creates value for the community; not only is cultural knowledge transmitted, but jobs are created and individuals receive payment, thus helping ensure a flow of funding for these activities. Yet something about the nature of knowledge transmission and the relationships engendered through the process is altered. The price of the value added is that it ties local knowledge production to extra-local institutions, creating new challenges for communities to maintain control over the continuity and transmission of land-based knowledge and skill.

As I have discussed, several trends have contributed to the packaging of local knowledge as a commodity in the context of research and institutional practice. These include an increasing interest in Inuit knowledge in the context of environmental change, an effort to decolonize research so that it benefits community members, and a lack of employment opportunities, making research funding a valuable asset that can contribute to community development.

Of course, not all research conducted in Nunavut is focused on or incorporates local knowledge; in some cases, community members may engage with research as paid research assistants. In these contexts, their participation is often framed as “capacity-building,” a concept that implies the enhancement of

local autonomy through teaching new skills that are viewed as enabling greater local control over scientific knowledge production. Below, I discuss the concept of capacity building in the context of the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership, describing the limitations of the term as it is widely used and suggesting some alternate ways of conceptualizing it.

1.4 Research as “capacity building”

As Shari Gearheard and Jamal Shirley have noted (2007), there is an increasing expectation that research projects in Nunavut will employ young Inuit, partly as a mechanism for creating jobs, but also to provide hands-on training in the hope that this will “foster their interest in long-term learning and encourage them to pursue careers in the sciences” (Gearheard and Shirley 2007:64). The employment-as-training model is also referred to as “capacity building,” a buzzword in Arctic research and in community development more broadly. The term was introduced during the turn towards participatory development of the 1980s (Labonte and Laverack 2001). Capacity building also has a more recent, neoliberal connotation in the sense that it can reflect government efforts to trim down social spending by placing larger burdens on community organizations and non-profits (Traverso-Yeppez et al. 2012; Mowbray 2005), with the expectation of greater professionalism on the part of local employees of these organizations (Shore and Write 2000; Stern and Hall 2010). Critics of the widespread deployment of “capacity building” have also pointed out that it positions communities and community residents as deficient in skills, knowledge, and experience, paving the way for the intervention of outside experts (Craig 2007; Mowbray 2005).

In the context of Arctic research, funding agencies and programs like ArcticNet increasingly include requirements that researchers incorporate plans for community outreach and training in their proposals. Although well intentioned, these requirements may remain unimplemented or under-implemented (Pearce et al. 2009). In part, this is a problem of commitment and the time it takes to

develop ongoing relationships of trust through which community members may start to feel that it is worth investing in research collaboration. A related issue is that many projects seek “partners” in communities after the initial concept has already been developed, rather than involving them from the beginning in the research design.

In the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership (coordinated by Natural Resources Canada), community members were hired as short-term research assistants to help with lake bathymetry surveys, watershed mapping, and to collect snow depth measurements. The stated goal of local involvement was to ensure that communities could collect the data, themselves, if they wanted to do so in the future. While the scientists and program manager from NRCan described the involvement of Clyde River residents in the collection of data as “capacity building,” they remained critical of the term and the way it structured relationships. Mike, the NCCP project coordinator, noted that scientists were often encouraged by funders to involve community members in data collection, and at face value, this was an important goal. However, Mike felt that this created unrealistic expectations that involvement in research would be a tool of “empowerment” for community members, and that community members were waiting eagerly to participate.

I would be bored to tears if I was in the South and someone said, [Mike], we want you to go out and collect a bunch of vegetation samples over the course of the summer, and this is not only going to be good for us, it’s going to empower you and build your capacity. It’s kind of this weird dynamic where everyone wants to build capacity of people (Personal interview, 5 March 2010).

Mike felt that community members’ motivation for wanting to work on a research project like this one was often more prosaic than what was laid out in research proposals that promised lofty ideals of “capacity building for scientific research”—they needed money, and the research collaboration provided an opportunity for short-term employment. While his statement may appear to dismiss the multiple motivations animating local involvement in research, it also counterbalances the moralizing tendency of “participatory” approaches to applaud

non-monetary motivations for involvement. These approaches ignore the fact that class related issues and access to income are a significant part of the power differentials in research that Inuit rightly object to.

Barry, the scientist who worked most closely with community members in collecting data, described his appreciation for Ittaq in helping facilitate logistics for the scientists, but he echoed Mike's skepticism about the lofty ideals of scientific employment as "capacity building." In particular, Barry explained that although the accurate collection of data such as snow depth measurement was not technically difficult, several local research assistants had measured snow depth incorrectly by failing to push the measuring rod all the way down to the bottom of the drift. Because of this, as Barry stated, "The data becomes suspect – I can't use it." So Barry found himself having to repeat some of the work he had paid community members to participate in. Barry explained:

Someone who is doing scientific research has had many years of training and apprenticeship. You can't suddenly come up North, have someone come into the community and say, well we will now make you the field assistant. And in a short period of time bring you up to the level that is required. There are some really simple things that just require experience and the time to do it. And it's got nothing to do with education level at all. It's a feeling, and it's a feeling that you get with experience (Personal interview, 15 March 2010).

While Barry claimed that mastery of scientific field technique has nothing to do with education level, as we spoke about these practices further, it became clear that, from his perspective, formal education does play an indirect role in making a good research assistant. This is because learning technical skills is part of a longer process of training in which the science student becomes personally invested in research. This investment has two dimensions — it includes both an embodied set of skills needed in order to practice science, as well as an internal desire to take part in scientific knowledge production. Both aspects are important for getting data collection right. When I asked Barry to clarify what skills were needed to be able to take accurate snow depth measurements, he responded by emphasizing the importance of motivation:

Someone has to want to do that and not just take it as a job that I'm being paid to do and that's that. You have to really want to double check and triple check this mundane, simple task you have just done to make sure you get it right. Most people – Inuit or white – are not like that. Scientists are different (Personal interview, 15 March 2010).

The difference, as he saw it, was one of motivation, and motivation came from a longer, personal trajectory of involvement. A good example of this was Sophie, the MA student who participated in the NCCP. Sophie was also considered a product of the project's "capacity building" work, since researchers are expected to train the next generation of scientists, often a requirement for obtaining research funds.²⁵ In contrast to the short-term community research assistants hired to participate in the NCCP, Sophie's training in data collection was part of her enrollment in the larger goal of "advancing scientific knowledge." The results would offer her a degree, a means to advance her career in science. This wider personal context motivates the student to "get the data right;" to troubleshoot when things go wrong, and to remain actively engaged in the process.

Personal motivation, then, is actually derived largely from the way that an individual is situated within wider structures of incentives and rewards for participation in research. When individuals who are not situated within these structures are offered the opportunity to work on research projects, the prospect of "building capacity" reflects an empty promise – because the problem is not so much a lack of capacity as it is a lack of access to these wider incentive structures.

A large part of the difference between the experience and orientation of a student from outside Clyde River and a community member employed as a research assistant is therefore contextual. The first has no long-term commitment to place, but does have a long-term commitment to learning the skills and techniques of science, as well as a sense of dedication to an immediate task that

²⁵ Unofficially, funders recognize two categories of people whose "capacity" should be built through research: one, Inuit community members, the other, graduate students who are often presumed to be non-Inuit, though building the capacity of Inuit graduate students would be an ideal research project outcome.

promises gratification at a later date. She therefore displays a work ethic that her supervisor recognizes as necessary to “get the science right.” Her work ethic, however, is situated within an economic and personal reward structure that is not available to most Clyde River residents. She expects to be rewarded for her efforts with degrees and career opportunities, and may be willing to sacrifice payment in the short-term for this sense of likely long-term personal benefit.

A community research assistant, on the other hand, is embedded in the place where research is being conducted, and may have other pulls and competing demands on his or her time and attention. Furthermore, and most significantly, because of the nature of research funding and the short term and episodic nature of most Arctic research, what she is being offered in terms of payment and motivation is situated squarely in the present. There is no guarantee that a job will be available in research next year; if one is, it may be an entirely different job with different researchers. Rather than being offered a chance at a career in science, as the rhetoric of “capacity building” often suggests, what these individuals are gaining is access to short-term employment.

From this perspective, the emphasis on “capacity-building” promoted by many research projects is mere jargon unless it can be reframed or realigned with a locally defined project or priority. In the NCCP’s work in Clyde River, Ittaq was able to play this role to a limited extent by helping the scientists connect with an emergent interest in film and media. James, the Media Coordinator at Ittaq, proposed to the NCCP scientists and project manager that they contract Ittaq to create a short, promotional film about the partnership’s work, which he then shot and edited using Ilisaksivik’s Mac computers and film editing software.

The resulting seven-minute film presented a brief overview of the scientists’ work in Clyde River, complete with scenes depicting their plane’s arrival at the small, snow-covered airstrip, and interacting and sharing information with community members at town hall events. The film was intended to serve as a vehicle for NRCan to promote their research approach outside the community. James hoped that in the future, other scientists might hire Ittaq to create films that would help them communicate their research to wider publics.

James' film offered a different vision of what capacity building might look like in scientific research or other kinds of collaboration involving Inuit communities and outside visitors. In this case, rather than presuming from the outset what kinds of skills community members might gain through collaboration, the film supported an interest that came directly from Ittaq. At the time, developing film production capacity was an area of significant interest for Ittaq and for a number of younger community members.

The development of the film as a collaborative product also represented a real exchange of value between community members and scientists. As federal scientists, the researchers were concerned with translating their research results into a variety of formats including posters, maps, and data files, that could be used by multiple audiences, particularly planners and decision-makers within Nunavut and at the community level. At the same time, they were also concerned with their public image and with marketing their work beyond the territorial level to ensure continued funding support within the federal government. Ittaq therefore provided a product that the scientists would otherwise not have had access to, which enabled them to communicate their work in a way that was more widely accessible than the standard scientific reports or even posters they developed as knowledge products. In exchange, Ittaq received a small amount of money and was able to pilot a product (or "capacity") they hoped to market more widely in the future.

1.5 Climate change planning as "building capacity"

Closely related to the rhetoric of capacity building through research is the notion of "participation." Like capacity building, the rhetoric of participation in research and development emerged in the context of international development and neoliberal government reforms. Starting in the 1980s, processes like Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) gained significant ground as alternative methodologies that promised to empower communities to shape the content and outcomes of development processes (Mosse

2001; Mosse 2003). Meanwhile, similar models of participation were adopted in the US, Europe, and Canada in the context of citizen involvement in processes such as land use and town planning (Umemoto 2001), and were mobilized in Nunavut in collaborative research projects (Kral and Idlout 2006).

In the NCCP, Clyde River residents were asked to participate in a community adaptation planning process, facilitated by two southern volunteers from the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP). The facilitators conducted a “Climate Change Planning: What Can We Do?” workshop, intended to draw on local knowledge to identify concerns about how climate change was affecting the community and create a strategy to respond. The workshop process was hindered, however, by the facilitators’ lack of experience in working in Inuit communities and the short-term nature of the project, which involved only two brief community visits.

As Linda, who led CIP’s involvement with NCCP, explained, the planners had “expected the communities to expect them, embrace them with open arms, and want them, because they had been told that these communities had volunteered to be the guinea pigs.” Instead, only Ittaq was expecting their arrival in advance. In addition, CIP, having no experience working with northern communities, did not understand the way that participation was solicited. Linda stated:

We hadn’t set funds aside for door prizes, paying elders, because we are not used to that. I didn’t know about it when we made the budget. We had to scramble, but everybody had to start accepting that what the elders have is their knowledge, and they want to sell it. We’re not working in a system where public participation in planning is generally understood and the community assigns value to it. There is no reason at the moment here, they saw no reason why they should think this is important to them (Personal interview, 10 March 2010).

In other words, “participation” had different sets of practices and expectations in Clyde River than in other parts of Canada, and the planners were unprepared for these differences. Linda recognized that the failure of the participatory model was based in part on an assumed universality of the idea of

public engagement that drives southern-based planning processes. At the same time, her statement implies that the reason that the process failed to broadly engage Clyde River residents was based on their expectations of material benefit from the process, itself. Her assessment therefore reflects a moral framing of participation as an expectation of citizenship, a discourse that sanctions a vision of national and territorial belonging that is not necessarily shared by community residents in the Arctic.

What Linda's interpretation of this planning process ignores is the fact that Clyde River residents held significantly greater knowledge about the political and governance processes through which planning is enacted in Nunavut than the volunteer planners did. Ironically, the "participatory" planning process that NCCP tried to engage community members in ignored the fact that the territorial government undertakes most planning work on behalf of communities. This reflects a particular understanding or framing of the "local" as the most appropriate scale for action and engagement, reflected in the wider turn toward participatory methods discussed above. J. Christopher Brown and Mark Purcell have described this uncritical devolution to the local scale as a "local trap" that "leads researchers to assume that the key to environmental sustainability, social justice, and democracy... is devolution of power to local-scale actor and organizations" (2005:608).

In contrast, the lack of enthusiasm for the planning process on the part of Clyde River residents reflected their understanding that a plan that is not tied to regional governance structures or implementation funding will in all likelihood end up in a government filing cabinet without resulting in any improvement to life in Clyde River. Based on past experiences with processes similar to this one, Clyde River residents have learned to be wary of planning and research activities led by southerners who solicit participation yet lack the material and political resources needed to mobilize these research products to help effect change.

It is also worth pointing out that for planners and researchers, working in northern communities enhances their professional expertise. For example, when I asked Linda why CIP was interested in working in Nunavut communities, she

initially responded that the planners' involvement was in response to the lack of capacity on the part of GN planning department to undertake climate change related work. She then added: "Also there was the idea that climate change was much more real here than elsewhere." She explained that the Nunavut work was part of a much wider effort on the part of CIP to "mainstream" climate change in the planning community. "Our policy is that climate change is a lens through which you have to look at all planning decisions," Linda explained. Linda felt that working in the Arctic had made it easier for CIP to be "more unequivocal that climate change is happening." As she explained:

We are lucky [in the South] – all we have to do is make sure not too many people die when it's a heat wave and plant more trees and not allow these enormous parking lots to get built. But the more dramatic push [within CIP] came from the Arctic connection (Personal interview, 10 March 2010).

One interpretation of CIP's involvement in the partnership, then, is that the project built capacity within their organization by offering legitimacy and enhanced credentials in their national-level engagements on climate change. A similar phenomenon was visible in the scientific work of the NCCP, which was part of a national climate change project within Natural Resources Canada. The project leader explained that NRCan's interest in expanding to work in Nunavut was prompted in part by a top-down prioritization of both "the North" and "climate change" as issues of importance within the federal government in general and NRCan in particular.²⁶

Unlike CIP's engagement of planners with no previous experience working in northern communities, the NRCan scientists involved with the project had significant expertise in working in the Arctic. Prior to their selection, each scientist submitted an individual proposal, and these were then drawn together into a collective "project" that enabled NRCan to justify its expansion in a region

²⁶ Prime Minister Stephen Harper has made the Canadian "North" a central thematic focus of his government. In particular, Harper has been concerned with defending Canadian "sovereignty" in the Arctic by protecting its claim to the Northwest Passage, and with opening up the Arctic for natural resource development (Government of Canada 2009).

that personnel understood to be politically challenging to work in. Based on its expansion to Nunavut, NRCan was able to meet the government's internal mandate that it address applied issues of national importance.

This reflects a particular use of the local – and in this case the regional space of the “North” – that underscores the degree to which “scale” is socially produced and deployed for political ends (Brenner 2001; Brown and Purcell 2005; Marston 2000; Wiber and Turner 2010). In this case, the community of Clyde River is afforded a moral quality of authenticity and political authority that is extended to the *qallunaat* who visit, even if only for a brief period. This political use of the local feeds community skepticism about the value of planning and research. It encourages short-term research engagements embedded in larger projects, the purpose and value of which often remain unclear to community members, even those who have been hired to assist, in one way or another, these visiting researchers.

1.6 A federal audit in an out-of-the-way place

In April, 2010, the NRCan scientists and Linda from CIP returned to Clyde River for their final report to the community. On this occasion, they were accompanied by employees of the Office of the Auditor General of Canada, which was conducting an audit of climate change adaptation initiatives and information sharing in the federal government.

Ostensibly, the purpose of the audit was to “examine the federal government's key role as a collector and disseminator of information to enable adaptation at a number of different levels, including the community or regional level where most climate impacts are felt and most adaptation actions are taken” as well as to enable adaptation within government departments (email to the author, April 4, 2010). The inclusion of the community and regional scale in the audit's mandate justified the community visit, which lasted several days and involved interviews with a range of community members, Hamlet and Ittaq employees, and NRCan scientists.

While the auditors' interviews with community members created an expectation that the report, too, would incorporate local views and perspectives, the final report, released to the public on the Auditor General's website, has little to say about climate adaptation in communities (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2010a). Instead, the majority of the report details the initiatives undertaken by federal departments at the national level. Clyde River is drawn into the report's Exhibit 3.7: "Helping Communities in Nunavut Adapt to Climate Change," which describes the Nunavut Climate Change partnership in 250 words, accompanied by a slightly blurry, black and white photo of the foundation of a house propped on a tilting wooden frame intended to depict slumping permafrost. The report describes "regular consultations" by scientists with community members, and applauds the scientists for using culturally appropriate mediums to communicate their research findings with the community, emphasizing the use of Inuktitut and visual formats like photos and maps. The box concludes by stating: "Scientists worked closely with local organizations and community members to build capacity within the community to generate and use the information required for adaptation decision making" (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2010a:21).

While the Auditor General's office represents itself as an "independent and reliable source of the objective, fact-based information" intended to "hold the federal government accountable for its stewardship of public funds" (Government of Canada 2011), its report reveals that its objectivity is derived from the extremely partial perspective of the federal government, itself. Community members from Clyde River who were interviewed by the auditors told me that they had shared various criticisms of the initiative and of federal funding processes for local climate adaptation work, yet none of these critiques were incorporated in the auditors' report. In other words, none of what the report included had necessitated the auditors' trip to Clyde River, since the information could have been gathered from promotional materials and reports generated by the NCCP project, itself.

As described previously, Shore and Write understand audit technologies to be instruments of neoliberal governmentality that “are designed to engender... new norms of conduct and professional behavior” (2000:57) that can contribute to the state’s achievement of its political objectives through “action at a distance” (2000:61). Since the Auditor General’s role is to hold the federal government accountable for its spending, it follows that this audit was a disciplining technology focusing on the scientists from Natural Resources Canada, the staff members of Health Canada that I discuss below, and other federal employees. Clyde River residents were drawn into the audit ritual through interviews with the auditors, but in general, the audit’s gaze rested on the federal employees.

Why, then, did the auditors feel the need to visit Clyde River in person as part of their audit? Further animating this question, of course, is the fact that the auditors’ visit represented a taxpayer expense, paltry perhaps in relation to the total amount spent by the government on climate change adaptation, but nonetheless quite costly on a per-word basis given the high cost of flights, food, and hotel rooms in Clyde.

The auditors justified the community visit based on their interest in evaluating the federal government’s dissemination of climate change information at the community level. Their interest in communities demonstrates the degree to which participatory rhetoric has infused governance at the national level in Canada. In this case, the model of “participation” resulted in a staging of the audit process at the local level, but the information gathered from citizens did not make its way substantively into the report, itself. This performance of participation disguises the fact that the government’s engagement with climate change planning, which the audit set out to assess, was controlled at all times by different employees of the government, who determined what kinds of questions were worth asking, how the projects would be run, and what kinds of collaboration would be sought with local communities.

Another way of thinking about the auditors’ visit was that it demonstrated the role that communities play as spaces of moral and ethical purity – spaces that exist apart from and in some ways authenticate the work of government. In a

similar way that the local community offered authenticity to the planners and the NRCan researchers, it also lent this same quality to the audit process, itself, staged in a setting where people were witnessing climate change first-hand.

While I have offered a critique of the “capacity building” and “participatory” models that guide research, planning, and even government audit practices, these models are not uniform. I focus in this chapter on the example of the NCCP, but other examples of research partnerships in the Canadian Arctic have aimed to engage community members from the outset, and have done so relatively successfully. My intention has been to raise some of the challenges that arose in these particular projects, which were compounded by the future-oriented, externally-prioritized nature of the “climate change” problem framing of the projects I have described.

While the process leading to the creation of the Clyde River Climate Change Adaptation Plan had significant flaws in terms of the planners’ facilitation and the degree of community input, the final climate change adaptation plan did offer something of value to the community, albeit somewhat indirectly. When Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) issued a call for community proposals to implement climate change adaptation projects, Ilisaqsivik and Ittaq were able to successfully apply for and obtain funding to run a sea ice education program for high school students based on the fact that the Clyde River adaptation plan had identified the need for better understanding about sea ice risks and safety. In this sense, the adaptation plan enhanced Ilisaqsivik’s capacity to meet the needs of funders for formalized, written plans and procedures, underlining the fact that building capacity often refers to enrolling localities in bureaucratic logics rather than enhancing their autonomy.

Critical to these processes is the role of written documents in enabling actors to negotiate different visions and understandings of change in the context of a particular climate change knowledge project. In the section below, I explore the translations effected by staff members of Ilisaqsivik and community-based researchers as they reframe community priorities for funders and decision-makers operating at regional, territorial, and national levels and, conversely, transform

funding provided from these institutions into programs that meet community needs and priorities.

1.7 Underwriting land skills through socio-bureaucratic translation

In September of 2010, I participated in a women's berry-picking retreat organized collaboratively by the Ilisaqsivik Society and two *qallunaat* researchers involved with a women and subsistence research project in Clyde River and Qikiqtarjuaq ("Qik"), the closest community to the south of Clyde River, about 400 km away. The trip was part of a social science research project on women's lives and their changing role in the subsistence economy in the context of wage labor.

The retreat was funded by a grant from Health Canada's "Climate Change and Health Adaptation for Northern First Nations and Inuit Communities" program. Health Canada staff described this program as supporting "community-based participatory research, where the research is led and carried out by community members who develop culturally appropriate and locally-based adaptation strategies to reduce the effects of climate change on their health" (McClymont Peace and Myers 2012:1). The goals of the berry-picking retreat as described in the proposal to Health Canada were to support women in enlarging and strengthening their support networks in the context of social and environmental change, and to document women's knowledge and observations of environmental change in an informal way while spending time on the land.

Staff members of Ilisaqsivik organized the retreat logistics and coordinated the schedule. As I describe in more detail in Chapter 2, Ilisaqsivik runs a variety of land-based programs to help address growing inequities in access to the land. These programs are expensive, costing anywhere from tens of to hundreds of thousands per program, depending on how many people are involved and how long they stay out on the land.²⁷ The women's berry picking retreat, for

²⁷ While Ilisaqsivik facilitates the greatest number of on-the-land programs, other institutions in Clyde River also incorporate workshops and programs to facilitate transmission of Inuit knowledge, including the Quluaq School, the Canadian Rangers, and the *Piqqusilirivik* Cultural Learning Facility.

example, cost upwards of \$100,000. Jake Gearheard, a *qallunaat* with a background in community development who has served as Ilisaqsivik's Executive Director since 2004, writes the majority of grant applications that raise two million dollars in funding annually to meet the organization's expenses.²⁸ This means that Jake's skills as a grant writer and administrator are a crucial link in the transmission of land-based knowledge and experience through Ilisaqsivik's programs. In this case, the funding proposal and reports for the women's retreat were written by the two *qallunaat* researchers in coordination with Ilisaqsivik.

Below, I describe a negotiation between Ilisaqsivik and Health Canada about the contents of a grant report to explore the different ways that community members and Health Canada employees prioritized and understood climate change. I suggest that the report document served as a technology through which Health Canada staff sought to stabilize their understanding of health as centrally related to climate change, as well as a site of resistance to this framing on the part of community members, negotiated by the translational work of the report writers. In contrast to Dan Trudeau and Luisa Veronis' conception of translation (2009), in which NGOs enact and make legible the neoliberal policies of states, I view translation as a process that involves both the funder and the NGO, as individuals at different levels of governance resist and accommodate neoliberal ideologies in various ways. Similarly, David Mosse and David Lewis have referred to the role of "brokerage" in international development, which they suggest involves mediating or translating between "different rationalities, interests, and meanings, so as to produce order, legitimacy, and 'success' and to maintain funding flows" (2006:16). I refer to this process of moving between local priorities and goals and the norms of bureaucratic government bodies responsible for administering grant money as "socio-bureaucratic translation."

The retreat began on a sunny day in early September, when participants gathered on the pier in Clyde River, surrounded by food, tents, sleeping bags, personal equipment, and many plastic buckets to store berries in. With assistance from hired helpers, we loaded our gear onto boats, whose drivers transported us to

²⁸ As of 2010.

“Kiglapait,” an inlet located 40 kilometers up Clyde Inlet (the nearest fjord) from Clyde River.

It was the perfect time to harvest crowberries and the small, Arctic blueberries that cover the landscape in the long days of late summer, when the sun rises around five and sets around eight. These were serious berry pickers, working in groups of two, three, or four, returning periodically to drop off a bucket of berries and pick up an empty one. Unaccustomed to the work and without an extended family eagerly awaiting a delivery of berries later in the week, my own meager Tupperware container was never more than half full.

Every morning and evening we met as a group for an hour or so, and the researchers and community facilitators led the group in discussions prompted by open-ended questions like: “What do you feel it means to be a good woman or a good person?” or “What kinds of things do you think it is important to teach younger women to help prepare them to lead a good life?” The women talked from morning to night – in our large group discussions, as we picked berries, as we cooked our food, in our tents at night, sharing stories about past trips on the land, where berries were most plentiful, hardships associated with life on the land, and hardships they associated with life in the settlement. They talked about their lives and struggles with spouses, their worries and hopes for their children, the pain they felt about addiction and suicide in the community, the difficulties they had finding money to feed their families, the increasing desire of younger children for material things, and many other issues. They talked about how the lives of women had changed from when they, or their mothers or grandmothers, were young, and they talked about what had stayed the same. All of them expressed their deep gratitude to be on the land together. The trip reinforced existing connections between friends and family members and also forged new ties between women from the two communities.

After the retreat, in accordance with standard funding protocols and the requirements of the grant, Ilisaqsivik submitted a final report on the project outcomes to Health Canada. The report explained in detail all the activities of the retreat, including the range of topics that the women had chosen to discuss. The

report emphasized that the majority of discussion focused on social change and changes women experience as they move through different stages of their lives rather than environmental change. The report stated:

One might not think that ‘being a good person’ would fit within a climate change centered project, but it is precisely by being a good, healthy person, in a healthy community, that we will be able to deal with any change that comes our way. It was this core belief that created the foundation for the women’s design of the retreat (Ilisaqsivik 2010).

The *qallunaat* researchers and report writers involved with the project shared with the Inuit participants an understanding of Inuit knowledge as inherently social and relational. These qualities of knowledge resisted the imposition of content-specific interests such as “health” and “climate change.” The project marshaled outside resources to make an event possible that would otherwise not have occurred. That the funding came through a “climate change” framing did not necessarily mean very much to the women involved. What was of value to them was being on the land with each other and picking berries that they could bring back to share with their families, values that resonated with the meaning and value of Inuit knowledge traditionally.

A Health Canada staff member responded to the final report with a request for more specific information linking climate change and health, asking: “Could you share the data that was collected? What was the role of researchers while out on the land? What are the changes being observed by the women?” and concluding: “There are a lot of details missing, and I cannot approve the final activity report at this time.”

A revised report was prepared and submitted that included more details about women’s perceptions of change drawn primarily from a follow-up survey conducted after the retreat. It also emphasized more strongly the integrated vision of change that emerged from the retreat, explaining that the participants had redirected questions that focused specifically on “climate change and health” to focus more on social changes, stating:

What did not work as well [as the methodology of the retreat as a whole] was assuming that what women wanted to talk about

regarding climate change was observations of change. Rather, women wanted to talk about change in general, in particular social change, and how to deal with that change. Women took a very holistic approach to climate change and responding to that change means being a strong woman, having strong families, and joining together as a community. Those discussions are what dominated the retreat and what women felt was important (Ilisaqsivik 2011).

The revised report was accepted by the Health Canada staff. They congratulated the researchers and women from the community on their “excellent work,” stating:

Gathering women together to share their stories in a safe place allows voices to be heard and healing to occur. Healing creates strong families which means strong communities who are able to better adapt to a variety of changes whether it be environmental or social. Thank you for the valuable and meaningful work that you do (Email correspondence with retreat organizers).

What made the second report more palatable than the first for Health Canada staff? To answer this question requires understanding how Health Canada is situated within wider systems of accountability, and how these systems shape the way the agency understands Inuit knowledge in relation to federal governance practices. Health Canada is part of a government bureaucracy and therefore has specific accountabilities that structure its relations with local communities. These accountabilities create boundaries around the kinds of community visions the agency can support, notwithstanding its commitment to community-based research.

After interviewing the Health Canada program manager, I came to understand that in spite of staff requests for “data” about observed changes, the primary goal of the initiative was not to document Inuit knowledge of climate change. Rather, the project aimed to impact the way that people across different levels of governance – from Inuit community members to government officials and bureaucrats – understood the relationship between health and climate change. As the program manager explained, the concern was largely future-oriented: “We are concerned about looking to the future to make sure we are prepared for climate change. The healthier we can ensure the population are the better they

can respond to changes in climate” (personal interview, 23 June 2011). In particular, they required that communities identify climate change as a health issue relating to physical health, transportation, and/or cultural and mental health, and articulate the relationship between the two in their funding proposal and in subsequent reports.

To ensure that communities could make these connections, Health Canada held a series of “capacity building” workshops in which community participants were taken through different exercises designed to help them see and articulate the relationship between health and climate change. A description of the workshops by Health Canada staff shows the clear progression that was used to encourage community members to properly render health and climate change as mutually intertwined processes, and to connect these to specific local projects:

During the workshops, participants were invited to share their perceptions on what kind of changes they were experiencing and their concerns about these observed changes. It was then jointly determined which of the changes they mentioned were linked to climate effects and in turn how these could affect the health and well-being of affected communities. As participants became more familiar with climate change and health, they were invited to think about what kinds of projects they could undertake to reduce these effects (McClymont Peace and Myers 2012:3).

Once climate change was framed properly in relation to health, communities would be considered for funding, leading to the second aspect of capacity building as understood by Health Canada: to help communities articulate this newly understood relationship and the projects it engendered in the form of a funding proposal and budget “that would meet the requirements of the funding agreements” (McClymont Peace and Myers 2012:3). A funding proposal template was shared, and workshop participants developed mock proposals that included all the trappings of bureaucratic grant writing, including:

... a cover page, plain language summary, community background, introduction, project description (background, objectives, rationale, methodology, activities/ outcomes, partners, capacity building, and traditional knowledge), work plan and timelines, budget, project evaluation, communication and/or results, reporting plan, background information on team members, consent forms etc., and

letter(s) of support by a mandated authority (McClymont Peace and Myers 2012:3).

“Capacity building” in this formulation, then, included three essential ingredients: 1) understanding “health” and “climate change” as interrelated; 2) offering supporting evidence to substantiate this relationship by providing local examples that would offer the “health and climate” framing weight and credibility; and 3) learning to render these examples in the form of a funding proposal and, later, in the form of a report.

The role that Ilisaqsivik and the two researchers played in translating between community and federal institutions is a role that has been recognized more widely in literature on non-profits and neoliberal governance. Dan Trudeau and Luisa Veronis, for example, see non-profits as “translation mechanisms” that “connect state policies to people’s everyday lives” (2009:1117). They adopt Nikolas Rose’s understanding that translation “links the general to the particular, links one place to another, shifts a way of thinking from a political centre... to a multitude of workplaces” (Rose 1999:51).

The examples in this section demonstrate the centrality of these translations in the context of climate change, where local priorities and understandings may differ from the risk framings of federal agencies. In these contexts, grants become the central technology through which local institutions like Ilisaqsivik filter and channel federal funding for climate adaptation. Unlike the representations of knowledge that will be discussed in Chapter 4, which have as their target particular or general publics, these documents – the grant and report – are intended for an audience of only a few. They are not public documents, but instead represent the negotiations that occur between government bureaucracies and local organizations.

In a review of anthropological writing on documents and bureaucracy, Matthew Hull suggests that bureaucratic documents have two broad capacities: “administrative control and the construction of subjects, objects, and socialities” (forthcoming). In the context of state governance, Hull proposes that “the document has remained the very image of formal organizational practice, the

central semiotic technology for the coordination and control of organizations, and the terrains on which they operate” (forthcoming).

This perspective reflects Weber’s instrumental understanding of documents as stabilizing and materializing social facts in such a way that they can be effectively controlled by bureaucratic regimes (Weber 1978, cited in Hull forthcoming). In contrast, more recent engagements with documents have emphasized the role they can play in constructing identities and social forms, a topic I take up at greater length in Chapter 4. As Hull points out, the function of control and the generative capacity of documents are often interlinked.

The example of the grant report described in this section shows the central role that documents play in mediating between different visions and understandings of climate change. The report can be seen as a bureaucratic mechanism to control knowledge relations through practices of accounting and “capacity-building” detailed above. It was also, however, a site for creative translational work that resisted the logic of “health and climate change” that Health Canada sought to impose, substituting it with an understanding of change rooted in the social worlds of Inuit women.

1.8 Proposal politics

To conclude my discussion of the bureaucratic technologies and skills needed to implement this local climate change project, I will briefly consider how the funding report enabled a subtle critique of Health Canada’s capacity-building agenda. Funding reports generally must demonstrate two things: 1) that the money allocated was spent in the way that it was intended, or that funds were not misused; 2) that the money had impact – that it made a difference in some way. In the case of the berry picking retreat, the intended difference – what the funding guidelines asked of communities – was the development of “relevant information and tools/materials” that would help with decision-making related to climate change and health.

Because the Health Canada program employed a community-based research approach, however, ethical protocols protecting local knowledge prevented the funder from requiring that communities share the information or tools developed. As the program manager explained, “We don’t need to see all of this local knowledge, we just need to know that it exists. For example, if there is a video produced, we just need a one-page summary of the highlights to satisfy financial requirements” (Personal interview, 23 June 2011). When I asked her about how she translated results from the projects into a format that could be shared, she replied “We don’t so much translate as summarize.”

In other words, Inuit knowledge had to be present in the report, but only in a highly generalized form that would lend legitimacy to the program’s “health and climate change” framework and to its “community-based research” approach. The abstracted way that Inuit knowledge was reported reinforced a perception on the part of Health Canada staff that these projects were not primarily generating *new* information about climate change. As the program manager explained, “There had been quite a bit of work done beforehand [on Inuit observations of climate change]. I haven’t seen much that’s been that different” coming out of the funded projects.

The generalized descriptions of local knowledge produced in project reports were then further abstracted or “summarized” by Health Canada staff in their presentations to federal and territorial agencies. For example, in a PowerPoint presentation delivered at a conference for public health professionals, five slides present broad descriptions of how climate change and health are related, including generalities such as:

...shifting migration of animals; changing availability of certain species for hunting; warming weather leading to spoilage of cached meat; unpredictable weather patterns making travel on the land more difficult and increasing time indoors leading to spread of communicable disease, etc. (Myers & McClymont Peace 2010: slides 15-18).

In presentations like this one, Health Canada staff saw themselves as fulfilling a second goal of the project: to convince government personnel and

health practitioners of the value of community-based research methods and, as with communities, of the connection between health and climate change. For example, after a presentation to the chief medical officers of the three northern territories, McClymont Peace said that one of the officers approached her and “said he had never made a connection between climate change and health before.”

In some cases, the abstracted rendering of local knowledge required by Health Canada in its reports gave communities more control over the trajectory of these projects, reflecting Matthew Hull’s suggestion that “documents can... be effective precisely because they are *not* used to produce... factual certainty” (Hull forthcoming). In the berry picking retreat, for example, there was room for community members to enact a vision of health in the context of change that was meaningful on their own terms. While the funder’s concerns about climate change and health lay largely in the future, the women’s interests were in connecting the past and future through building strong relationships in the present. The discrepancies between the funder’s and the community members’ visions for the project resulted in a moment of tension in writing the final report, which had to be negotiated. What was hopeful to me about this negotiation was that in spite of different values and valuations of Inuit knowledge, ultimately, the locally based, relational version persisted. This was accomplished through the skillful translation by Ilisaqsivik and the two women researchers, who helped transform outside resources into local materialities – tents, cameras, food, stoves, boats, bear monitors – needed to enable 22 women to spend 6 days together on the land.

These translations are not always so successful. An earlier proposal, submitted by Shari Gearheard on behalf of Ittaq to Health Canada, was part of a collaborative effort of seven Nunavut communities that proposed to develop a network of community-based sea ice monitoring projects. Although initially Health Canada staff appeared enthusiastic about the project, after receiving individual proposals from each of the seven communities that linked together into their larger, shared project, program staff asked them to cut the project budget by 60 percent. At that point, as Shari explained, the project dissolved because “most communities don’t have the capacity to keep revising grant proposals.”

Shari was referring to demands placed on small organizations by the bureaucratic process of grant writing. Increasingly across Canada, community organizations have to submit grant after grant and file report after report just to keep their doors open and meet staff payroll. In part, this reflects neoliberal government restructuring that eliminated core funding to non-profits, replacing it with project specific funds that cap the amount of administrative costs they will support (Stern and Hall 2010; Trudeau and Veronis 2009; Baines 2010). In the Nunavut context, where practices of grant writing reflect a professionalized skill set that is distributed unevenly and not always present in communities, the impact of these kinds of reforms is that smaller community organizations are not always able to successfully compete for funding.

1.9 Confessions of a climate change spokesperson

Like the researchers and staff members involved with the women's retreat, I, too, am a grant writer. My research on climate change in Clyde River was funded through a Canadian government grant that rewarded my interest in making "climate change" a central framing through which to relate to local realities. A review of the claims in my proposal to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) shows the balancing act I tried to strike between the critical distance of anthropological scholarship and the invocation of contemporary policy relevance that SSHRC explicitly requests of their applicants. I began that proposal walking precisely this line. "My research," I said...

...will investigate the way that Inuit engagement in climate change is situated within broader scientific and policy responses at local and global levels of governance, and will trace Inuit involvement with climate change policy historically.

In this, my opening sentence, I positioned myself as an expert through my ability to conceptualize issues across scale. A few sentences later, after describing my multi-sited approach, I explained what the focus of my work in Clyde River would be: "My research in Clyde River, an Inuit community on northern Baffin Island, will focus on the role of institutions in mediating participation in climate

science and policy at the local level.” Here, I was far more specific, and in fact I articulated a research focus that encompasses many of the issues I have discussed in this chapter.

As requested by the particular fellowship program I applied to, my summary also included a statement of policy relevance in which I used climate change for precisely the political purposes I have attributed to other researchers in this chapter:

In the context of a rapidly changing social, economic, and ecological environment, my research promises to contribute insights that will support the development of equitable climate change policy in northern Canada and in institutions of global environmental governance.

In this sentence, I harnessed the widely perceived social relevance of climate change, as well as the Canadian government’s interest in the Arctic, to advance my own career as a scholar by claiming that my research will have an impact – socially as well as politically. These are just the sorts of claims that make Inuit wary of research – created in the sterile environment of university research centers, removed from and, in my own case, largely ignorant of the projects that people in places like Clyde River would be most interested in.

The committee that reviewed my proposal found it convincing, and I was awarded one of the inaugural Canada Vanier Research Fellowships, which offered the tremendously generous amount of \$50,000 a year to support my research and development as a doctoral student. Furthermore, and to my personal embarrassment, SSHRC invited me to be a spokesperson for the Vanier Fellowship, inviting me to speak at the program’s official media launch event in Ottawa, at a special “Hill Day” event on science for members of parliament, at a press breakfast on climate change research at the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, and at a special event organized for the Canadian Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences entitled “How do we build resilient communities in the face of climate change?” McGill University also requested that I act as a spokesperson, taking out a half-page ad in the *Globe and Mail* congratulating its Vanier Award winners that featured a large, close-up

photo of me, the face of the Vanier program.

The Vanier fellowship opened a door into one of my research sites, offering a credential that helped convince the Inuit Circumpolar Council to allow me to work with them as a researcher and volunteer, and making my work visible to a number of consultants, scholars, and government employees who had useful connections into the world of Canadian Arctic research. As I became drawn further into the community of Arctic researchers, however, my familiarity with the ethical norms and protocols that I have described in this chapter grew. This led to an increasing sense of dissonance, compounded by my role as a spokesperson at SSHRC events, between what I felt my research represented and what I gradually came to understand that research with Inuit communities *ought* to represent when properly designed through collaborative, community-based processes. The juxtaposition of the enthusiasm that my research project generated among funders and southern audiences, and the lukewarm response of the Ittaq Committee to my proposed research that I described at the start of this chapter, is a good illustration of the very different expectations of research that social scientists working in the Arctic navigate and respond to in a variety of ways.

While I was embarrassed and somewhat chagrined by the situation I found myself in, I was also complicit with it. I understood that these opportunities would advance my career by positioning me as an expert, which is after all the main political project of doctoral training. I therefore accepted the invitations that came my way and tried to view my role in these contexts as simultaneously political and academic. In other words, I represented to the best of my ability the ethical and institutional norms of community-based research, and I also tried to introduce what I felt was a more holistic view of the social worlds being invoked in these abstract discussions of “Arctic climate change.” This meant naming and describing bureaucratic practices like grant writing, the challenges of diminishing core funding for local organizations, and other matters not stereotypically discussed in these representational settings.

Somewhat ironically, these events reinforced my role as an emerging “expert” on Arctic climate change, a position at odds with the way my own

research evolved in relation to what I encountered in the field. There, I became increasingly interested in the technologies of bureaucratic and institutional administration that linked communities like Clyde River to wider practices of government and structured the experiences that Inuit had of the land and of each other. While I believe that documenting these institutional effects has a role to play in understanding the way that climate change projects are carried out, clearly the practices I focus on here pertain to many more processes and things than just “climate change,” and could have been studied through any number of rubrics linked to technologies of social control and negotiated between local, territorial, and national institutions. Health and justice are two such topics that immediately come to mind.²⁹

As a result of the breadth of the processes I became interested in, I spent at least eight months after I returned from my fieldwork *not* writing about climate change. I wrote about many other things, most of which made their way into my dissertation—local institutions, grant writing and audit practices, and dog teaming among them. It took an explicit effort on my part to then reinscribe climate change as a central thematic concern of my dissertation, and to organize these various categories of things, people, and practices accordingly. I felt compelled to do so in part because a dissertation clearly needs a framework, and I was already committed to the climate change frame, a commitment reinforced by interactions prior to, during, and after my fieldwork in which I described my research as being about “Inuit knowledge and climate change.”

My point in including this confessional is not so much to relieve any lingering sense of discomfort I may feel about my own uses of climate change funding, but rather to emphasize the difficulty of escaping from the ethical and institutional orderings of knowledge-making that I have described in this chapter. I would recall here Weber’s suggestion that “bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge,” (Weber 1978:225), which he understood to include both technical knowledge and knowledge that came out of

²⁹ For a discussion of health, subjectivity, and governmentality in Nunavut, see Gold (2007).

experience with bureaucracy, itself. To a significant degree, knowledge-making in the Arctic reflects both the dimensions Weber describes. While all researchers have a commitment to gathering a particular kind of technical knowledge, a significant part of the education and socialization of Arctic researchers also involves developing a repertoire of knowledge about how to deal with the bureaucratic institutions and legal frameworks that increasingly structure knowledge relations.

As Marilyn Strathern suggested in her discussion of audit cultures:

“Where anthropological models of society and culture once provided a cue to the conduct of encounters, now such encounters are to be governed by professional protocols which create altogether different kinds of interacting subjects” (2000b:280). The creation of subjects, of course, cannot be accomplished through laws and rules alone; it involves something more personal, an internalization of the ethical norms these institutions were designed to introduce and uphold. My own experience with Arctic community research resulted in a dissonance between the ways I had to perform my own expertise in order to arrive in Clyde River, and the failure of my research approach to meet the standards of participatory and community-based research while I was there (many of which were described in this chapter). I would suggest that this sense of dissonance is not unique in my case, but is somehow central to the kinds of subjects produced through encounters that are mediated by the professional protocols that Strathern has described.

Those looking for a resolution to the tensions I have described here will be disappointed, and in fact, to try to resolve them is largely miss the point. To a certain extent, these issues and dilemmas of ethical practice in research – of who is doing the researching and who is being researched, of the political quandaries inherent in the act of representation – are all built into anthropological practice in the 21st century. That these politics are perhaps more overt in the Inuit Arctic context than in other places means that the ethnographer cannot dismiss or easily escape them, opening up both new possibilities for creative engagement with community members and institutions (“activism”), and new topics for ethnographic description and analysis (“critique”) through what Julie Giabiconi (2012) refers to as the “heuristic productivity of disquiet.”

Through my relatively short period of dwelling in the field of Arctic research, I have come to believe that both activism and critique are necessary in the complex and globalizing world we inhabit. On one hand, the colonial conditions of knowledge production must be dismantled, and this requires a willingness to step outside the conventional boundaries of “research” to support projects and initiatives that are meaningful locally and personally. These supportive projects can be taken up within the research project or outside of it. At the same time, “partnership” with community members that fails to analyze the politics and consequences of engagement can influence the conditions of local knowledge production in ways that are not always desired. While critiquing the very practices of research that we are engaged in as anthropologists and social and natural scientists is uncomfortable and sometimes involves implicating oneself in less-than-glittering politics, ultimately, discomfort can lead to new insight in personal, political, and academic realms.

Chapter 2: Land and Healing in Clyde River: Conceptions of Identity and Environmental Change

On a Wednesday evening in July 2009, a special church service was held in Clyde River. Usually, services are held on Sundays, but this week the church community was welcoming a group of visitors from Fiji, who were returning to Clyde River for the third time in as many years. Through descriptions relayed to me of past visits, I knew that they practiced an evangelical form of worship with song and dance, which contrasted with the relatively formal Anglican services that were normally held in the church. And so when a friend invited me to accompany her to the service, I tagged along, curious to see what all the fuss was about.

The pews of the small, plain church hall were filled that evening. As we waited for the service to begin, children ran up and down the aisles shouting and laughing, and women sat talking, their babies hidden inside their *amautiit*.¹ After welcome speeches from the *Inuk* (singular of Inuit) church minister and the mayor, a large *qallunaat* (non-Inuk or white) man in neatly ironed slacks and a button-down shirt went to the podium. He introduced himself as Roger Armbruster from Canada Awakening Ministries in Niverville, Manitoba.

“I’m so pleased to be back in Clyde River,” he said. “When I got off the plane, I was greeted by the sight of tall, green grass and flowers. There was a great light reflected from the ground. I can see that the Lord’s work is alive and well in Clyde River and that all the hard work you have been doing to heal the land and to heal yourselves has been working.”

Roger was accompanying two men from Fiji, Vuniani Nakauyaca and his son, Savenanca, or “Savi.” When Savi, a heavy-set man in his 30s, came to the podium to preach and testify, he shared more Good News with the congregation. They had just come from the nearby hamlet of Pangnirtung, he reported, where

¹ An *amauti* (plural: *amautiit*) is a traditional parka worn by women that features a large hood in the back used to carry infants and toddlers.

community members had been experiencing many changes through the power of prayer and healing.²

“In Pangnirtung, they told me that there are two new species of fish they have never fished before that they are now able to catch. And in addition to new fish, Pangnirtung is now mining diamonds and gold,” Savi said.

This was my introduction to Healing the Land (HTL), a gospel-based movement founded by Vuniani Nakauyaca in Fiji that spread through evangelical networks from Fiji to Papua New Guinea to the Canadian Arctic to Thailand and beyond. Many of the observations of change that the group attributed to prayer, such as more grass and flowers and new species of fish, were also changes that had been observed in the Arctic by scientists researching the impacts of climate change. In contrast to sentiments of skepticism about the value of climate change research I had encountered in the community, there was clearly something very compelling about HTL’s vision of change, which had attracted more than 100 individuals to attend the service that evening. Many in attendance come forward and testified to the power of the movement and its impacts, sharing personal observations of changes that they related to the prayer and healing work.³

The narrative of change introduced in this church service interested me in part because it reflected an explanation of change that I had encountered as I spoke with older Clyde River residents. In these interviews and conversations, religious narratives of change co-mingled with observations of natural cycles, Western scientific understandings, and first-hand observations that individuals shared. Although Inuit observations of climate change have been well documented (Fox 2004; GN 2005a; GN2005b; Krupnik 2002; Nickels et al. 2006), I had not encountered a discussion of the impact of Christianity on Inuit conceptions of change in the social science literature, and the recurrence of these

² Pangnirtung is located north of Iqaluit and southeast of Clyde River on Baffin Island.

³ Although its worship service was well attended and featured testimony from residents of different ages, this could partly be explained by the fact that people found the lively worship style entertaining. On a Wednesday night with little else happening in Clyde River, many people may have attended out of curiosity rather than conviction.

narratives in my discussions with elders surprised me. This prompted me to consider what religious explanations might offer those who shared them with me that distinguished them from other change narratives, such as those introduced by media or scientific researchers.

In this chapter, I compare the narratives of environmental change offered by HTL with other perspectives on change, including scientific and Inuit knowledge. Inuit understandings of environmental dynamics are based on careful observation and extensive engagement over time. They are also rooted in a social cosmology that views human and animal agency as interconnected. As I argue, the evangelical tradition of HTL breaks from the rationalism of Western science by introducing a discourse of human and non-human agency as a means of environmental restoration. This narrative appeals to some residents of Clyde River precisely because, in contrast to scientific climate change narratives, it offers a mechanism through which people believe they can effect change locally.

Over the past century, the numerous *qallunaat* institutions introduced to the Canadian Arctic have altered Inuit engagements with the environment and with one another. These dynamics have shaped the construction of Inuit identity, creating a strong correlation between health, well-being, and land-based skills and practices, which are viewed as a means to address and heal from the impacts of colonial governance, even as the land is becoming less accessible for younger generations. In this chapter, I suggest that the reception of HTL's land-as-healing narrative was also shaped by the institutional practices of the Ilisaqsivik society, which organizes cultural, healing, and wellness programs to help address inequities in the transmission of land-based skill and knowledge.

2.1 Over-articulated knowledge: Competing conceptions of environmental change

Over the past decades, scholars in anthropology and the social sciences more broadly have focused attention on the way that scientific framings of risk and crisis often depart from the experiences and understandings of lay people and their knowledges (Checker 2007; Corburn 2005; Fairhead and Leach 1996;

Wynne 1996; Wynne 2005). In this tradition, recent explorations of climate change have asked how climate crisis narratives differ from local conceptions of risk or opportunity in relation to environmental change (Forbes & Stammer 2009; Hulme 2010; Jasanoff 2010; Wenzel 2009). When I encountered Healing the Land's environmental change narrative at the church service in Clyde River, I was struck by the movement's positive interpretation of environmental change. This vision lay in stark contrast to the crisis narratives that inform both media reports and social science approaches to climate change.

Michael Bravo (2009) points out that in spite of the wide circulation of Arctic climate change narratives in global media outlets, the voices and perspectives of northerners are often missing from these reports. He asks: "Whom do climate change crisis narratives serve? The diversity of Inuit voices, and the absence of any uniform public opinion in the Arctic about climate change, calls into question the accuracy of macro-scale narratives" (Bravo 2009:257).

In her critique of the literature on "vulnerability and adaptation" to climate change in the Canadian Arctic (Ford et al. 2010; Ford et al. 2007; Ford et al. 2008; Ford and Smit 2004; Laidler et al. 2008; Pearce et al. 2010), Emilie Cameron (2012) also critiques climate crisis narratives, though she does not refer to them as such. Cameron takes issue with the way that this literature brackets and localizes Inuit experience to focus only on traditional, land-based skills and knowledge. This way of framing climate change, she suggests, ignores the wider political and economic impacts of climate change on issues of significant importance to Inuit, such as oil and gas development and shipping, and thus limits the venues in which Inuit agency is deemed possible and important. She suggests that one of the reasons that this literature fails to adequately address risks related to climate change is that it ignores past and present experiences of colonialism, and how these experiences shape possibilities for action or "adaptation" to change.

Similarly, Frank Sejersen (2009) has critiqued the tendency of social science approaches to Arctic climate change to enact "down-scaled studies with a local focus" (Sejersen 2009:232) that position Inuit merely as "stakeholders."

This approach ignores the wider political and institutional context of land claims through which Inuit are also *rights holders* with legitimate interests beyond local hunting and traditional knowledge. These critiques offer specific examples that reflect Mike Hulme's statement of concern about the impact of climate catastrophe narratives, which position climate change as "the greatest problem facing humanity" (2009:xxxiii). Such reporting "diminishes the many other ways of thinking, feeling and knowing about climate change which are also essential elements in personal and collective decision making" (Hulme 2009:xxxiii).

George Wenzel (2009) also critiqued the assumptions that underlie research approaches based on a climate crisis narrative in the Canadian Arctic. Like "vulnerability and adaptation" scholars, Wenzel focuses on the potential impacts of climate change on Inuit subsistence culture, which as he points out is not merely hunting, but rather involves "how the food hunters produce is transferred to those who need it" (2009:90). His article opens with a quote from a Clyde River hunter, Jamasee Qillaq, who on observing a pod of narwhal in open water at a very early date in mid-July (when usually the area was still covered in sea ice) remarked: "If this is global warming, we'll love it!" (2009:89).

Wenzel therefore breaks from the "vulnerability" framework by unsettling the idea that climate change is *necessarily* a crisis for Inuit, pointing out that Inuit and their ancestors have adapted to significant environmental and climatic change in the past. What is different for Inuit about anthropogenic warming, he suggests, is not so much the speed or pace of change, but rather that the ability of Inuit to adapt to change is now constrained by institutional factors such as hunting quotas that are beyond the control of local people. Others have also articulated the need to be attentive to institutions and governance dynamics in considering vulnerability to climate change (Keskitalo 2009; Nuttall 2008).

These critiques imply that there is a distinction to be made between acknowledging that climate change is happening, and believing that it represents an urgent problem that can be solved through local action. In Clyde River, I designed a short survey intended to study environmental learning and attitudes towards different environmental hazards and risks. In response to the question

“Do you believe that climate change is happening?” the vast majority of survey respondents across all age groups (83%) answered “yes.” To the follow up question – “Why?” – many respondents who had answered affirmatively (40/54) described local observations of change, such as “snow melts fast in the spring,” “the ice is more dangerous,” “it’s [only] minus 6 today and it’s not even spring!” and “it’s windier than in the past.” In contrast to the climate crisis narratives described above, however, only 10 survey respondents out of 59 indicated that they were “very” concerned about climate change; the rest were either “somewhat” concerned (27/59) or “not” concerned (22/59).

Reflecting this variation in concern, I encountered a number of reactions to the concept of “climate change” that I would categorize as enactments of skepticism – not of whether or not the climate was changing, but of the particular politics that the constructions of climate change described above has produced. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Clyde River has been the site of a number of studies and projects focusing on climate change, which in turn have led some residents to wonder what tangible benefits this research has to offer. This was made particularly clear in an exchange I had within a few weeks of arriving in the community for my first research visit. I had stopped to speak with a woman named Rebecca in the small store that she owned. After a few minutes, her husband, a monolingual Inuktitut speaker, came in and said something to Rebecca.

She translated: “He wants to know what you’re doing here.” I explained about my research on climate change, with Rebecca translating again.

He then responded: “Is anyone going to do anything about climate change?”

And then Rebecca, without her husband’s prompting, clarified: “He is wondering if it’s just a way to get money from the government, or if anyone is actually going to do anything about it.”

“It seems like a problem that is impossible to solve,” her husband added.

I experienced a similar questioning of climate change research in other interactions. Initially I worked with John, the coordinator at the Ittaq Heritage

and Research Center, to help identify individuals to interview and to set up some interviews with monolingual Inuktitut speakers. John was aware that my research included a focus on climate change, and although I explained that my interviews with elders would focus on the history of the settled community, at one point he forgot and mentioned to an elder that I would like to speak with him about climate change. Hanging up the phone, he shook his head and said that this elder did not want to be interviewed.

I asked if John knew why he had chosen not to be interviewed, and he said he wasn't sure. Then, overhearing our conversation, another staff member said to me: "People are tired of talking about climate change." Later, I asked her if she could tell me more about this, and she responded:

Researchers - they ask questions about climate change from the elders, and when they leave, they [elders] have nothing. "This I what we've done here – look at it"... nothing! There have been LOTS of people interested. So it's like: same old, same old. And maybe like: I already said that. What more do you want? (Personal interview, 13 August 2009).

In a discussion of the construction of environmental expertise in Hong Kong, Timothy Choy (2005; 2011) examines the circulation of particular forms of knowledge, including "local" and "scientific" knowledge. He suggests that rather than assuming that these constructions of knowledge reflect an innate quality of the actors and the knowledge content that they represent, a better approach is to think about the way that these constructions are wielded strategically by different actors seeking to collaborate in environmental projects. He points to a particular moment in his research when an individual refused to share his knowledge because of uncertainties generated by the politics of expertise, suggesting that this was an instance of "unarticulated knowledge." He states, "Moments of unarticulated knowledge... can be understood as moments in which subjects recognized the limited power of what they knew" (2005:14).

Drawing on Choy's conception of unarticulated knowledge, I would suggest that climate change in Clyde River can be seen as an example of *over-articulated* knowledge, knowledge that loses its power to move or persuade

because it over saturates a particular space or field without any visible result. This elder's refusal to articulate what he knew to me, another climate change researcher, exemplified his refusal to continue to participate in producing knowledge that failed to result in any kind of perceived action or change. Later, my interpreter approached the same individual on my behalf, but explained that I wanted to speak with him about the history of the community; this time, he agreed to be interviewed without hesitation.

In addition to these encounters with skepticism, my interviews and interactions also prompted descriptions of local conceptions of change, rooted in longstanding environmental observation. A number of individuals that I spoke with in Clyde River observed in conversations that environmental change is often cyclical, and questioned whether or not the scientific construction of anthropogenic climate change represented something qualitatively different than changes that had been observed in the past. For example, when I asked one individual, a woman in her 60s, what had caused climate change, she replied:

It was meant to happen. Nothing is to blame. Just like our life is changing - it was not too long ago that we had no technology, and now we have all kinds of technology and our life is more convenient. It's the same way with the environment — our life destiny is the destiny of the earth. But it fluctuates - what happened in the past is bound to happen again. For example, if it was warm a few years ago, we'll have another warm year again (Personal interview, August 3, 2009).

Her comments reflect a complex embedding of social and environmental processes, as well as the cyclical and fluctuating nature of change that Inuit have observed in the Arctic environment over time. This speaks to the distinction that Elizabeth Marino and Peter Schweitzer (2009) made between local change and global change in their work with Inupiat communities in Alaska.⁴ While scientists may read locally observable changes as a reflection of anthropogenic change resulting from concentrated greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, Inupiat do not always do so. Indeed, they suggested that naming and labeling the

⁴ Inupiat are Eskimos who live in northern Alaska and are culturally, linguistically, and ethnically related to the Inuit of northern Canada.

phenomenon “climate change” may result in less robust observations from local research informants. In my encounters in Clyde River, however, I noted an additional dimension to this: that some individuals used this local understanding of change to frame a political critique of scientific constructions. For example, one young woman in her early 20s told me:

I don't believe in climate change because I think it's just a cycle that goes on every 50 to 100 years or something. I feel they can use money elsewhere, not about climate change where they can't do anything about it. We can't control the weather. Airfare and meals and meetings are expensive to do, and they do that a lot regarding climate change. I think I heard about the cycle from my stepfather (Personal interview, 17 April 2010).

This individual used the concept of cycles to introduce her critique of the political economy of research and knowledge production, which she suggested has focused disproportionately on climate change. Interestingly, a similar critique was made by scientists at the territorial level, as reported by a former employee of the Government of Nunavut who had worked on climate change:

I get so many reactions to the term “climate change.” Even from scientists. There is one caribou biologist I was talking to, and I asked him how caribou were being affected by climate change. He said “What's climate change?” He felt that there was no way to tell if caribou were being affected by climate change – that changes in their numbers happen as part of a natural cycle. You get that from community members, too (Personal interview, 26 August 2009).

Reflecting on the ways that community members across Nunavut conceptualized climate change, she continued:

There are three different responses I've seen: 1) people believe it doesn't exist, and that this is just a natural cycle that we are seeing; 2) People say: “Oh yes, 20 years ago things were this way and now they are this other way” [observations]; 3) People say: “Yes, climate change is an issue. What can we do? What can the government do to help us?” (Personal interview, 26 August 2009).

These positions were evident in the interviews and reactions I encountered to climate change in Clyde River. In addition to describing the cyclical nature of change, another common response from elders was that climate change was “predicted” or “written in the Bible.” In the survey that I described earlier, half of

women age 60 and above reported in a write-in category – since I had not thought to include “religion” among the pre-given options – that they had learned about climate change in the Bible or at church. This was the only group that pointed toward religious sources, apart from one 22-year-old woman, who also indicated that climate change was “written in the Bible.” This is consistent with the fact that elders tend to be more religious than younger community members; some younger adults shared with me their discomfort with the way that Christianity established itself by denigrating traditional Inuit beliefs and told me they were against formal religion.

For the older generations of Inuit alive today, the church played a central role in introducing “*qallunaat*” or “white” culture to Inuit. Many elders in Clyde River, particularly women, are very religious, attending church regularly and reading from the Bible daily, where as they reported, they found descriptions of environmental change. The Book of Revelation in particular contains prophecies that link major social and environmental upheaval to the Second Coming. From reading of the Bible on a regular basis, then, some elders had come to associate descriptions of environmental change with what they were observing and hearing described as “climate change.”

Another religious interpretation of climate change that I encountered in two interviews, one with a male elder in his 70s and another with a woman in her mid-60s, was that shamans had predicted climate change. Prior to the introduction of Christianity, shamans or *angakkuit* served as intermediaries between the human world and the world of nonhuman beings, assisted by *tuurngait* or helping spirits. They played an important role as healers of physical illness and they used their powers to help address transgressions that caused fissures in human-environment relations (Laugrand and Oosten 2010; Rasing 1994).

Anglican missionaries first introduced Christianity to the eastern Arctic at the end of the 19th century (Laugrand and Oosten 2010). Inuit played an active role in the spread of Christianity, sharing hymns and stories from the Bible as they travelled. Inuit in some areas had already converted to Christianity by the

time a missionary arrived (Oosten and Laugrand 1999). The woman who referenced shamanism in reference to climate change in Clyde River explained that although her late grandfather was a shaman, he had converted to Christianity and sent away his spirit helpers before she knew him (see also Laugrand and Oosten 2008; Oosten and Laugrand 1999; Rasing 1994), so she had not learned about climate change from him directly. Nevertheless, she told me that shamans had been very knowledgeable and had predicted many changes, including the fact that Inuit would one day “live like *qallunaat* and that the climate would change.”

In a separate interview, a male elder in his 70s told me that Inuit first heard of climate change a long time ago before they started noticing and observing changes for themselves. When I asked who they had heard about climate change from, he responded:

They used to have shamans. Because there was no way of communicating, they were able to travel in spirit and get news, even travel to the future or the past or the present. The shaman probably was the people who told about these predictions (Personal interview, 16 July 2009).

While I encountered two different religious explanations for change, the Biblical explanation was more predominant, reflecting the fact that shamanism and traditional beliefs were taboo subjects for many years, and therefore most people in Clyde River did not know very much about shamans or their practices. In contrast, Christianity is widely practiced and plays a central role in the beliefs of older residents of Clyde River in particular.

While Clyde River’s only church was Anglican, beginning in the 1950s, evangelical churches began to get a foothold in the eastern Canadian Arctic.⁵ They grew more formalized over time through support from funding networks tied to southern Canadian and American missionaries. Roger Armbruster has been a central figure in promoting evangelism in the region since the late 1970s, helping connect local religious figures to funding and resources from southern

⁵ Although Clyde River did not have an official evangelical or Pentecostal congregation, a number of people told me that informal services were held in private homes, and that some community members participated in regional evangelical events and gatherings.

Canada and the United States (Laugrand & Oosten 2010). Roger worked with Nunavut political leader Tagak Curley to introduce Healing the Land (HTL) to Nunavut communities, organizing a regional Bible workshop in Pangnirtung in 2006, which several church leaders from Clyde River attended. In 2007, Roger and a group from Fiji arrived in Clyde River to share the Good News, returning the following two summers.

From this brief history of Christianity in the Eastern Arctic, and from the diverse perspectives on climate change shared by Clyde River residents in interviews and surveys, it becomes clear that multiple understandings of change exist within the community, and can be referenced by the same individual. Christian discourses attributed a causative explanation for climate change, but did not necessarily contradict Inuit or scientific observations of change in the present. In the next section, I consider more specifically the explanations of change introduced to Clyde River through HTL's theology and ritual practice.

2.2 “Healing the Land”: Theology and rituals of stewardship

When I shut up the heavens so that there is no rain, or command locusts to devour the land or send a plague among my people, if my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and will heal their land (2 Chronicles 7:13-14, NIV).

After attending Healing the Land's (HTL) public worship service, I decided to take Roger and Savi up on their open invitation, announced at the service, to visit them at the house where they were staying. When I arrived, they were eating lunch – a meal of pork chops cooked by their host's wife – but they courteously invited me to sit with them in the living room, where they answered my questions about HTL's theology.

“You should read Leviticus 26,” Savi advised me. “It explains how God cursed the land because of the sins of the people.” Armbruster offered me a copy of *A Manual for Healing the Land* (Nakauyaca and Ani 2007) (hereafter referred

to as the Manual), a guide that outlined a series of teachings drawn from the scriptures.

The ethic of stewardship in the Manual centered on several key points. The earth and all its creatures were viewed as “belonging to God” who is the Creator (Psalm 24:1). Stemming from this principle, the Manual described the responsibility of stewardship: “Those to whom land has been entrusted are responsible to be good stewards, for one day they will be held accountable” (Matthew 25: 14-30). HTL’s vision of stewardship was based on avoidance of sin since “the sinner defiles the ground” (Leviticus 18: 20-28). Sin also caused animals to suffer (e.g., Jeremiah 14: 5-7). Since environmental degradation was understood to result from sin, the basic responsibility of stewardship was therefore to receive the Gospel and repent.

According to Savi, there were four major sins that defiled the land: bloodshed (murder); adultery or immorality; breaking the covenant; and idolatry. The Manual defined immorality as including fornication, prostitution, pornography, homosexuality, abuse and bestiality (2007:31). “Breaking the covenant” referred to divorce (2007:33), although Roger also used the term to refer to broken treaties between the government of Canada and Inuit and First Nations communities. The Manual explained that idolatry, which is related to witchcraft and “demonic oppression,” included “worshipping... anyone or anything else other than God” (2007:29). According to this theology, Inuit were guilty of idolatry before they converted to Christianity, although this was never explicitly stated in the interviews I conducted with HTL leaders or in church services.

“There were some good shamans and some that worked with the devil,” Roger explained. “The good shamans,” he continued, “were the ones who paved the way for the arrival of Christianity. But the bad ones, those who refused to convert, used their powers for evil” and were implicated in the sin of idolatry.⁶

⁶ The two community members who raised the topic of shamanism in interviews also made a distinction between “good” and “bad” shamans, although they did not always associate good shamans with Christianity. Good shamans used their

By recognizing both “good” and “bad” shamans, Roger tried to strike a balance between condemning idolatry while also respecting Inuit traditions.

One of the central tenets of HTL was that defilement from sin was transmitted from one generation to the next until it was “healed.” As Savi declared from the pulpit during the worship service: “The sins of the forefathers can cause a curse upon the land that will last until the third or fourth generation.” In order to “heal” intergenerational sins and restore proper communal relations, these sins had to be identified and named publicly.

The ritual process of this work was clearly delineated in the Manual. First, sins were identified through conducting outreach and household visits, and particularly by talking with elders who had a longer memory of past events. Specific locations on the land were then chosen for healing rituals based on their association with past events. In Clyde River, for example, a healing ritual was conducted across the inlet where the community was located before the government moved it to its current site in the 1960s. One Clyde River community member described the ritual:

First they [the HTL team] had to be invited, and then the person who invited them was supposed to reveal where the problem is coming from. We were [at the location where the community used to be], and the elders were supposed to go in the middle, and once they got in the middle they were supposed to mention all the problems they had, all the sins that were committed, all the inappropriate behaviors that they had when they lived over there – they were supposed to say them out loud. The elders were very quiet. So I said about me and so and so had a fight, and it was not even about ourselves that we were fighting, it was for our grandparents. He said that [my grandfather’s] descendants are very bold and say and do whatever they want to. I felt defensive, so I said to him [his grandparent’s] descendants, they all like sex. We were offending each other. After I said that, lots of elders started telling about the problems they had and all the inappropriate things that happened (Personal interview, 3 August, 2009).

powers to heal and assist people in times of need, while bad shamans used their powers to inflict harm.

During the ritual in Clyde River, community members recounted events and behavior that they associated with the former community location and considered to be defiling or sinful; participants then asked for forgiveness from the individuals and families who had been affected. Once the parties involved had repented, the facilitator made a statement rededicating the land to God. An anointing salve made up of oil, salt and water was poured on the ground. As Roger explained, at this point, the sin that defiled the land was “transformed and released.”

In summary, then, the HTL process involves several distinct elements, including: prayer; the public naming of a negative or “sinful” action from the past or present, asking for and/or offering forgiveness; and pouring an anointing salve on the earth. These activities required the intermediating practice of intercession, in which the group as a whole prayed to God on behalf of those who had sinned. Intercession was central to Christian missionary work and practices of conversion, but it also had its parallels in pre-Christian practices in the eastern Arctic. Transgression of social norms and taboos resulted in acts of retaliation by the non-human world, which could only be healed through confession. It was the role of the shaman to seek out or even force confessions that were not forthcoming and to then conduct the proper rituals to restore balance (Laugrand and Oosten 2010; Rasing 1994). The rituals of HTL, while particular to the evangelical Christian context through which they were introduced, also had parallels in pre-Christian practice.

2.3 God’s miracles: Agricultural metaphors and ecological relations

In Clyde River, scientific, Christian, and Inuit conceptions of human-environment relations intersected and diverged in complex ways. Historically, agricultural metaphors supported interventions into Inuit lives and livelihoods on the part of both Christian missionaries and government biologists. These metaphors continued to shape the rhetoric of HTL leaders, even as they voiced their support for Inuit hunting practices. Meanwhile, HTL’s perspectives on environmental

change both responded to and contradicted scientific narratives. These diverse framings became apparent in HTL's description of miracles as a sign of God's grace.

According to HTL theology, miracles were the visible manifestation of communal prayer and healing, taking different forms in different places. They included both social and environmental transformations. In 2009, for example, the former mayor of Clyde River spoke about how, since HTL had come to the community, the hamlet's past financial difficulties had been reversed. In particular, however, HTL leaders claimed to specialize in miracles associated with the environment. Savi told me, for example, that: "In my own village, after the healing work we did, a river that was heavily polluted, that the scientists said we shouldn't drink from, became restored overnight."

Roger shared an example from Fiji about coral reef destruction from bleaching, which is the process of warm water temperatures causing coral to expel the symbiotic algae that gave them their color (Kaufman 2004). Substantial bleaching had occurred in 2000 and 2002, yet some reefs had apparently grown new algae and come to support life again. "Scientists can't explain it," Roger said. From his perspective, these reefs were restored through the HTL process.

While Roger's theory of causation was faith based, he adopted the scientific community's interpretation of coral bleaching as ecosystem decline and regrowth as ecosystem renewal. His engagement with scientific narratives points toward the complex ways that individual actors engage with multiple frames to make sense of environmental change. While evangelical leaders may reject science in certain contexts, they also reference scientific knowledge at other times, reinterpreting it to fit into faith-based understandings.

In the Arctic, HTL's restoration narrative directly contradicted scientific interpretations of environmental change indicators, particularly those relating to plant abundance and the northward shift of the tree line. The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, a well-respected, comprehensive study assessing the impacts of climate change on the Arctic, stated that "arctic [plant] diversity is very likely to respond strongly and rapidly to high-latitude temperature change" (2005:257).

Scientists have described how rapid warming and the early onset of the spring ice melt had resulted in a longer growing season (Hudson and Henry 2009), with plants flowering up to 20 days earlier (Høye, et al. 2007; Post, et al. 2009). Ranges of low Arctic trees and shrubs have extended northward (Post et al. 2009), and a climate modeling study predicted that up to 40% of Canada's northern tundra may be replaced by shrubs and boreal forest by the end of the century (Feng, et al. 2012). Scientists therefore viewed plant growth as an indication of larger, systemic change that they predicted would be detrimental to ecosystem stability and would add stressors to certain species, including marine and terrestrial mammals that Inuit hunt.

In contrast, HTL leaders interpreted plant growth as an indicator of restoration and renewal attributed to their healing work in Arctic communities. When the HTL team arrived in Clyde River in late July, Arctic Cotton (*Eriophorum*), a type of sedge grass with a white, cottony head, was blooming so profusely that some areas around town looked like they were carpeted in a soft, white blanket. In his opening remarks for the worship service, Roger referred to the plentiful Arctic Cotton as a "great light reflected from the ground," evidence of God's grace and forgiveness. He expanded further on his vision of environmental restoration on the Canada Awakening Ministries website:

I am told that now in some places, even in the High Arctic, edible berries are beginning to grow... There has never been a berry season in the High Arctic - only desolate wilderness... trees are now starting to appear above the ground... Could it be that the treeless Arctic tundra was once covered with trees, and was once like a garden, and that it will once again be covered with trees, and become like a garden once again? (in Laugrand and Oosten 2007:248).

In this example, Roger evoked an Edenic metaphor to emphasize his claim that abundance of plants and even trees on the tundra were evidence of restoration to a past state of glory, despite the fact that the Arctic tundra was never suitable for agricultural production.

The metaphor of agriculture is profoundly engrained in the Western consciousness, both in Christian missionary activities and in the language and

metaphors of science (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). In the New World, missionaries equated cultivation of the human spirit with cultivation of the land, often incorporating instruction in agriculture and gardening as a first step towards converting native peoples (Scott 2005). This belief in the civilizing force of agriculture was so strong that missionaries sought to apply it even in northern Canadian contexts where, as Jamie Scott noted, “the discourse of cultivation seems almost to displace the realities of physical geography” (2005:28). For example, in the late 1800s, Anglican missionary William Carpenter Bompas promoted instruction in agriculture for the native peoples of the Mackenzie River region of the subarctic, suggesting that it would “give them a sense of property, and of lasting possession, instead of the uncertain hopes of the chase, and the fugitive produce of the uncultivated woods” (Bompas 1888, cited in Scott 2005: 28).

Agricultural thinking also influenced the development of scientific approaches to wildlife management. As Paul Nadasdy (2011) described in the context of the Kluane First Nation of Canada’s Yukon Territory, agricultural metaphors structured the way that wildlife managers related to animals, as for example, through adoption of the terms “yield” and “harvest.” These agricultural terms reflected the perspective that animals could be managed through scientific study and the establishment of hunting quotas or other policies. In a few noteworthy cases, the Canadian government actually introduced agricultural schemes based on the domestication of northern animals, including an effort to introduce domesticated reindeer to the Inuvialuit region of the Mackenzie Delta in the 1930s (Piper and Sandlos 2007). This initiative to transform the Inuit economy from hunting to herding ultimately failed, but it did restructure social, economic, and environmental relations within its local context over a period of several decades.⁷ It reflects the widespread belief that agriculture and animal husbandry are preferable modes of production to hunting and gathering, which as

⁷ As Liza Piper and John Sandlos document (2007), over a period of more than 40 years, over a million kilos of reindeer meat from this initiative were distributed through informal sales and the Hudson’s Bay Company.

I discussed above, is reflected in both Christian theology and in scientific wildlife management.

In contrast, Inuit and other First Nations people have traditionally viewed animals as part of an extended network of sociality. While these views vary across different communities and households and may be changing somewhat in younger generations, conversations I had with Clyde River residents reflected a widespread belief in and respect for animal intelligence, which has also been documented in social science literature in Clyde River and other Inuit communities (Gombay 2010; Rasing 1994; Stairs and Wenzel 1993). From their perspective, wildlife management initiatives were often a mechanism to control and manage people rather than animals, since animals could manage themselves perfectly well without human interference (Gombay 2010; Nadasdy 2011).

In order to connect with the important role of animals in maintaining social and subsistence ties for Inuit, HTL leaders transformed the Edenic metaphors of plants, trees, and flowers described above into an emphasis on animal health and well-being. Thus the HTL miracles that featured most prominently in Clyde River testimonies were those relating to “abundance of animals.” HTL participants testified that they had caught more ptarmigan (small game birds), seals, narwhal and polar bear. One woman described the transformation of fish in a particular lake from skinny and healthy to fat and healthy. In another church testimonial a male hunter explained:

When I was a child, there used to be a lot of animals around like ptarmigan. But for a long time, we never had them around very much anymore. And then after the workshop, you noticed more people bringing you ptarmigan or saying they had got enough ptarmigan so if anybody wants some, just come around.

During the Clyde River prayer service, Roger shared another dramatic example of animal abundance that he related to healing work in the nearby community of Pond Inlet. In late November of 2008, a pod of narwhal became trapped in an area of open sea near the community when the winter sea ice closed in over them. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada and the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board agreed with the Pond Inlet Hunters and Trappers

Organization (HTO) that the community should be allowed to harvest the animals, since they would likely have died from being trapped under the ice. Initially, hunters believed the pod to number around 200, but more than 600 were harvested by the end of the cull (CBC 2008).

“After the harvest, the head of the HTO came to church and gave thanks to God for the blessings,” Roger told the worshippers. “He said he could not only feel the presence of Christ but could also smell the aroma of Christ.”

In this way, HTL related its ethic of stewardship to the specificities of Inuit subsistence and animal harvesting. This was an adaptation of the movement’s emphasis on the connection between human communities and the environments they dwell in, an emphasis that helped them connect in particular with indigenous groups.⁸ When I asked Savi about whether he felt there were similarities between Fijians and Inuit, he hesitated before stating he guessed that they were the same in their “commitment to the land.”

“Yes, commitment to the land and to abundance of wildlife,” Roger concurred. “They don’t have the same separation that we do in our culture between people and the earth.” His statement and the ritual practice of HTL reflected an understanding of the holistic and socially embedded ways that Inuit traditionally understood and related to the land and animals. By such transformations, which addressed Inuit hunters’ desire for animal abundance, HTL leaders were able to downplay their faith’s agricultural heritage and appeal to Inuit in ways that scientific narratives could not.

2.4 Inuit, HTL, and scientific interpretations of environmental change

Healing the Land’s focus on environmental “restoration” through repentance of sin ran counter to Western science in ways that seemingly resonated with concerns that Inuit had about the hegemony of science-based policy making and wildlife management. This appeared to be an important part of HTL’s success in

⁸ Healing the Land has active groups in Fiji and Papua New Guinea and is affiliated with initiatives in Guatemala and Thailand.

Clyde River, even though its understanding of “sin” denigrated some traditional beliefs and practices.

Inuit traditional knowledge and Western scientific knowledge have conflicted over stewardship practices, conservation, and the foundations of belief about the relationship between humans and animals. One source of the conflict between Inuit knowledge and Western science lay in different beliefs about stewardship practices. One way to “care” for animals in a scientific management context was to place quotas on hunting and human use of animals. In contrast, Inuit hunters traditionally believed that animal souls were reincarnated, and that the best way to ensure abundant animals was to hunt them (Gombay 2010; Campbell 2004). During an interview I conducted with an active hunter, a man in his sixties who had spent his childhood and early adulthood living on the land, he shared this understanding of animals with me:

With the natural way of the world, if people catch something, if more people try to catch fish, the fish will become more abundant. They won't be dying off. [At a local fishing lake], when not many people used to fish there, the fish were small. And now lots of people fish there and there are big fish now. Even the fish that are going up the river there, they used to say there is tiny fish, but now they are fat fish. Whenever you try to catch more of some type of animal, the population of them will grow.⁹ (Personal interview, July 15, 2009).

The different beliefs about animal behavior and stewardship held by Inuit and government scientists have led to disagreements about the resilience and health of animal populations, including large marine mammals, such as beluga and narwhal, as well as caribou and polar bear (Armitage 2005; Collings 1997; Dowsley 2007; Suluk and Blakney 2009). Biologists who study wildlife dispersed across the vast Arctic tundra often rely on aerial and boat surveys to make their population estimates. Inuit have maintained that this is an unreliable way of tracking populations, suggesting that their longstanding knowledge of animals offers a more accurate basis for understanding population numbers. Inuit

⁹ Ann Fienup-Riordan (1998) documents a similar understanding by Yup'ik Eskimo in Alaska about the dynamics involved with harvesting geese and goose eggs.

have also been concerned about some of the practices that wildlife managers use to study animals, suggesting that helicopter surveying and the use of tranquilizers and radio collars can be harmful (Kunuk and Mauro 2010).

While Inuit and scientific knowledge about animals has sometimes conflicted, Inuit and scientists agreed that caribou numbers had been declining in recent years on Baffin Island and across Nunavut as a whole (CBC 2010). Studies of wild reindeer and caribou have pointed toward a worldwide decrease in population by 33% since their most recent peak in the early 2000s, suggesting that climate change may be making it harder for caribou populations to recover after a decline (Gunn et al. 2009).

Caribou has historically been an important and popular seasonal food for Inuit. Clyde River residents were concerned about declining numbers of caribou and hoped to see them return to the region in the near future. It was therefore probably not a coincidence that the Arctic HTL miracle that Roger cited most often was a story of caribou herds returning to Resolute, a community located on Cornwallis Island, one of the two northernmost communities in Canada. Promotional videos for HTL showed herds of caribou running across the tundra, while a narrator described how after prayer and healing work, “tens of thousands of caribou returned to Resolute.” Armbruster explained that caribou had “circled the spot where they had prayed and where the healing took place. It was as if they knew that something had happened there. And it was enough to convince even the non-believers.”

Through these stories, HTL emphasized a spiritual connection between human emotional wellness and the well-being of animals, which resonated with traditional Inuit conceptions of human-animal relations (Stairs and Wenzel 1993). As one HTL participant described, since HTL, “the animals even seem happier. If we are not at peace, then we could contaminate the land and the animals. But if we become at peace with ourselves and the land, the animals are more at peace, too.” These narratives contrasted with Western scientific and medical conceptions of human and animal health, which limit their focus to the biological

organism and its physical environment. Social ties between humans and animals are not part of the biomedical or scientific models of health (Wenzel 1981).

HTL's conception of defilement of the land as a form of pollution also contradicted Western scientific perspectives and may have resonated to a certain extent with traditional beliefs about the power of particular places in the landscape and the proper way of relating to these places. As discussed previously, HTL defines stewardship as avoidance of sin, based on the belief that sin defiles the land. A Clyde River resident who had been involved with HTL rituals reframed this theological tenet through the language of traditional belief, stating: "Inuit have a belief that if you do bad things on the land, bad things will happen to you." She told me that there was a lake near Clyde River where a young woman had been crushed by an iceberg and killed. "This was due to the negativity that was left on that land."

"What happened in that place?" I asked.

"Have you seen the film *Atanarjuat* (the Fast Runner)?¹⁰ That's the same lake where it happened, on the ice there, where the people were killed."

"How is *Atanarjuat* related to that woman being killed by an iceberg?" I asked her, confused.

"Because of the negativity people had towards it, because people had not forgiven that part of the land, so negativity is put on the land." She explained that HTL involved forgiving and releasing grudges held against the land that form because of negative associations, such as the death of a loved one, or the experience of hunger in a certain place.¹¹

"How do you heal those things?" I asked.

¹⁰ *Inuk* director Zacharias Kunuk (2001) directed this film based on an Inuit legend. *Atanarjuat* is a young man who must overcome a curse that caused an evil spirit to wreck havoc in his community. The film won the Camera d'Or for best first feature at the Cannes film festival. Although *Atanarjuat* was filmed in Igloolik, elders in Clyde River claim the nearby landscape as the place where the events recorded in legend actually happened.

¹¹ This story has some synergy with Julie Cruikshank's (2005) description of the Tlingit of British Columbia's belief in the agency of glaciers.

“We have to apologize and pray at the same time, like forgiving the land. You don’t even actually have to go there, you can just talk to another human being about it and then pray together.”

While this individual’s description reflected her involvement in HTL, it also referenced the Inuit tradition of identifying particular places on the land that required special respect or care. These places were understood to be inhabited by spirits or invisible beings with the capacity to harm humans and were to be avoided or approached very carefully. Burial places were respected as the home of spirits, and these places were governed by particular rules about how humans should approach them and how they should act. Awareness of space and place included knowledge of which how to respect and respond to these beings (Laugrand and Oosten 2010). Thus while HTL and traditional Inuit beliefs both identify particular places in the landscape as holding power to harm Inuit, HTL describes these as places of human sin mediated by God, rather than the more diffuse conception of non-human spiritual agency reflected in traditional Inuit beliefs.

In spite of the synergies between HTL and traditional Inuit ways of relating to land and animals, the movement also disrupted these relationships. As Joel Robbins has noted, scholars tend to explain the global appeal of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity by emphasizing the similarities between the “enchanted and ecstatic” rituals of these Christian traditions and indigenous beliefs and rituals (Robbins 2004:126). He notes that this position often fails to take into account the ways in which these Christian forms “accept local enchanted cosmologies only to attack them, thus profoundly altering the way they are understood” (2004:127). This was certainly the case with HTL, as illustrated by testimony offered by a hunter during one of the prayer services in Clyde River:

One time, I came upon a polar bear, and it ran away when it saw me. When it was gone, I saw it had killed a baby seal and left it there – it hadn’t eaten it. When I took it back to camp, my wife asked me if I had thanked the polar bear, and I said no, and we agreed that all thanks and praise should go to God for everything.

This hunter's statement that "all thanks should go to God" reflects the influence of Christian beliefs on local understandings, including HTL's preaching against idolatry. In the HTL worship services, Vuniani emphasized the sin of idolatry, stating emphatically: "It would be a sin to worship the whales!" While Inuit belief in the intelligence of animals might suggest that the bear had left the seal under its own agency, the Christian version emphasized God's complete and total authority. The direct relationship between the hunter and the animals he hunted was thus redirected in this evangelical Christian framework, with God now positioned as the provider and mediator of all relations.¹²

2.5 Inuit identity, *qallunaat* institutions, and land-based knowledge

Roger Armbruster's description of the integral relation between people and the earth reflects a wider construction of Inuit identity as tied to land-based skills and hunting practices (Rasing 1999; Searles 2006; Searles 2010; Stevenson 2006). Based on his work in Iqaluit, Ned Searles (2008) suggests that Inuit use a range of criteria, including "tests of knowledge, skills, and values" to identify who is or is not Inuit (Searles 2008:240). These tests include how much time individuals spend on the land or engage in hunting activities, as well as whether or not they enjoy eating country foods and raw meat. Inuit identity therefore has both skill and place based markers, which Jean Briggs (1997) refers to as "emblems" that include eating country food, speaking Inuktitut, and learning traditional survival skills such as sewing skins, camping, igloo building, hunting, and butchering and preserving meat.

Searles suggests that the association of the land with Inuit identity reflects a use of place as a boundary marker "to demarcate where indigenous identity is threatened or undermined by non-indigenous cultural influences" (2010:152). Searles conducted his research in and around Iqaluit, the largest settlement in Nunavut, and the home of many *qallunaat* and bureaucratic institutions. Searles

¹² This discourse about God as mediator between humans and animals was also present in Anglican Christianity (Laugrand and Oosten 2007).

used the analogy “*qallunaat* is to town as Inuit is to land” (Searles 2010:157) to describe the way that Inuit identity is generally framed in opposition to the city environment of Iqaluit.

Clyde River is much smaller than Iqaluit, with relatively few *qallunaat* residents, and is considered to be one of the more “traditional” communities in Nunavut based on the strong use of Inuktitut language and the cultural heritage and land-based knowledge projects that have been initiated there. In spite of this association of Clyde River with “tradition,” however, in my own encounters with Clyde River residents and in the concerns about tradition relayed to me in interviews, I found a similar spatialization and association of identity based on land-based experience, as I describe further below.

For Canadian Inuit, the association of identity with land-based skills and knowledge was shaped by contact with *qallunaat*, who know relatively little about how to survive in the Arctic environment. In contrast, settled communities were spaces organized by *qallunaat* logic. As Inuit were drawn into these spaces of governance, first through settlement policies and then eventually through the creation of Nunavut, the articulation of Inuit identity became increasingly important (Searles 2008; Stevenson 2006). This echoes a wider definition of indigenous identity and sovereignty as relational and emergent in the context of colonial relations and in efforts to decolonize these relations (Cattelino 2008; Coulthard 2007; Smith 2008; Smith 1999). In Nunavut, this process has a long and complex history that is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace, but several major stages in this history have been critical, and I outline them briefly below.

The establishment of permanent settlements in the 1950s and 60s resulted in significant changes to Inuit economic and social relations, including hunting and subsistence practices (Damas 2002; Wenzel 1991; Wenzel 2009). George Wenzel (2009) describes how these settlements were established without regard to their proximity to or distance from the areas where Inuit liked to hunt and where animals could be found. This resulted in significantly farther travel times and the concentration of more hunters in smaller areas, a circumstance that was “only eased when the snow-mobile achieved widespread acceptance” (2009:92).

Settlements also brought more wage labor opportunities and enabled the easy dispersal of government welfare payments, which also altered the subsistence practices of Inuit by providing more ways to make a living. The result is what scholars have termed a “mixed” (Abele 2009; Brody 1991[1975]; Natcher 2009; Pearce et al. 2011; Wenzel 2009) or “vernacular” (Gombay 2010) economy, in which Inuit draw on multiple strategies at the individual and household levels to make ends meet.

The period of settlement also ushered in significant changes to Inuit hunting practices. With sedentarization, domestic policies to restrict hunting of certain species that were established in the 1950s could be monitored more carefully by government representatives (Usher 2004). Another major change came as a result of the European seal skin ban of the 1980s, which caused a collapse in the market for Inuit seal skins and led to significant challenges for hunters to find the resources they needed to support their hunting (Wenzel 1991).

Today, hunting of narwhal, beluga, bowhead, and polar bear, as well as particular populations of musk ox and caribou, are restricted through quotas in Nunavut. These quotas have restricted local Inuit agency and transformed hunting practices in certain contexts.¹³ For example, in Quaqtaq, Nunavik, beluga hunting used to be staged from camps outside the settlement, but because of quotas, most hunting now takes place from town over a period of just a few days. The “mad rush to the shoreline” prompted by pressure to be part of the smaller harvest has made it difficult for youth, who lack the knowledge and skill of more experienced hunters, to get involved (Tyrell 2008).

Quotas are set by the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB), a co-management entity created through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. The NWMB has a pyramidal structure, coordinating with the regional wildlife organizations (RWOs) and the local hunters and trappers organizations (HTOs)

¹³ Wildlife monitoring and hunting restrictions in Canada was introduced as part of the new “scientific management” regimes of the inter-war period, part of the rise of high modernist government as described by James Scott (1998). For discussions of the impact of these early initiatives on native hunting, see Campbell (2004), Damas (1993), Kulchyski and Tester (2007), and Usher (2004).

(Rodon 1998). With the exception of some community-based management initiatives, decision-making follows a hierarchical structure; quotas are set by the NWMB and HTOs determine the allocation of these quotas. In order to receive funding from the NWMB, HTOs had to restructure and adopt certain by-laws, a process that has formalized these organizations and integrated them into a bureaucratic, state-initiated structure (Armitage 2005; Rodon 1998).

While some recognize the value and importance of quotas, many experience them as an unwelcome source of non-local control and surveillance and question the role of wildlife biologists and the scientific management approaches that inform how quotas are set (Armitage 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1998; Suluk and Blakney 2008; Tyrrell 2008; Usher 2000). In many cases, Inuit believe that biologists working for federal agencies do not adequately respect their knowledge of wildlife. The sealskin ban of the 1980s has also led to a belief that animal rights groups have a strong influence over government regulations, and in some cases quotas on hunting of certain species are perceived as evidence of this alliance (Tyrrell 2008; Wenzel 1991).

Another source of disruption to Inuit life came from the government schools that were constructed in northern communities in the 1960s and 70s, and the residential schools run by the federal government and by Anglican and Catholic nuns and priests. Formal schooling was conducted in English and subjects and curricula reflected national education standards and the cultural context of southern-based schools (Brody 1991[1975]; Kral 2009; McGregor 2010). Inuit therefore experienced these institutions as colonial enterprises designed to remove them from their own sources of culture, knowledge, and community and assimilate them into *qallunaat* culture.

Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which focused on healing the traumatic experiences brought about through the forced enrollment of First Nations and Inuit in residential schools, has shown that individuals have diverse associations with their educational experiences (TRCC 2012). On one hand, these institutions were responsible for educating the generation of Inuit political leaders who used their newfound *qallunaat* literacy to negotiate the land

claims treaties and bring about greater political sovereignty for Inuit. However, many who were sent away to schools suffered from homesickness, loss of cultural and familial support systems, loss of their language, and, in some cases, physical and sexual abuse at the hands of their teachers and mentors. This generation experienced a profound sense of separation from the land-based experience of their parents, and have had to work hard to reclaim these skills both for themselves and the generations that follow them.

Like residential schools, the C.D. Howe, the government ship that conducted an annual tuberculosis survey, also removed individuals diagnosed with TB from their families, placing them in sanatoriums in southern Canada, sometimes for years at a time. Many adult and elder community members in Clyde River have memories of going south on the C.D. Howe. The challenges they experienced were not limited to their period of exile, but continued when they returned to Clyde River after years away. Some had forgotten how to speak Inuktitut; others, in their absence, had failed to learn the all-important hunting skills that are a marker of Inuit cultural competency, and struggled to acquire them in an environment that had become unfamiliar. One individual I interviewed described the experience of returning after spending two years in a tuberculosis hospital as a toddler:

When I came back to Clyde River I was four or five. I remember it was very cold. There was a lot of snow, and there weren't any city lights. I can still hear the wind howling in our house. It was a very big change. I didn't understand the language anymore, and that was hard. And the culture, too. I had to learn again. The hardest was not understanding my family's language (Personal interview, 17 April 2010).

Because the introduction of *qallunaat* institutions to northern communities came in stages, generations have experienced the effects of colonial governance in different ways and to varying degrees, with implications for Inuit identity. The experience of the generation sent away to boarding schools is widely viewed as having ruptured the continuity of transmission of land-based skills and knowledge (Kral 2009; McGregor 2010). Although some individuals returned to their home communities and invested significant time and effort in relearning these practices,

others built careers in politics, and still others became trapped by personal experiences of trauma that resulted in use of alcohol and drugs (Brody 1991[1975]; Kral 2009). This, in turn, impacted their parenting and family relations, leading to an intergenerational effect of the residential school experience (Kral 2009; McGregor 2010).

Drawing in part on these generational differences, Inuit identity has been increasingly defined based on relative knowledge of land-based skills. Willem Rasing (1994) noted the emergence of generational identities in Igloolik, another Inuit community on Baffin Island, which included *Inummariit*, (“real” or “true” Inuit) and *Qallunaamiut*, (“the people of the white man”) (Rasing 1994:200). The *Inummariit* were those had been raised and lived on the land well into adulthood, and whose understanding of social order and the environment continued to be based on pre-settlement life. In contrast, *Qallunaamiut* had come of age during the period of settlement in the 1960s and had much more contact with Euro-Canadian culture. They continued to practice hunting and trapping and many spoke only Inuktitut, but their participation in the political institutions introduced during this period – community councils, health committees, etc. – made them “cultural middlemen” or “cultural brokers” (Rasing 1994:200). Rasing described the development of another cohort who came of age in the 1960s and 70s who “lacked the skills of hunting in which they (therefore) lost interest” but who also “had insufficient skills and expertise to participate in the wage employment world of the *Qallunaaq*” (Rasing 1994:201). This was the first age group to experience a strong sense of living “in limbo between two worlds” (Rasing 1994:201). These categories reflect the fast pace of change that has led to the development of age cohorts with distinct experiences, life expectations, and interests (Condon 1987; O’Neill 1986). Land-based experience in this context became a marker that referenced a variety of generational differences; those with more experience were defined as more authentically Inuit.

2.6 The Land and the Community in Clyde River

While checking email at the Ilisaksivik Society's library and public Internet access center one day, the adolescent boy sitting next to me struck up a conversation. He was perhaps 12 or 13 and sported the usual teenage getup of jeans, black hoodie, and baseball cap.

"Where are you from?" he asked me. I replied that I was from United States but I lived in Montreal in southern Canada.

"The US! Have you travelled to a lot of places? Where is the farthest place you've traveled?" he queried. I responded by explaining that I had studied in Tanzania in East Africa when I was in university.

"Did you see a lion?" he wanted to know.

"Yes, I saw a lion," I replied. More questions followed: Did you see an elephant? A Monkey? An alligator?

Then: "I'd like to go to Australia some day, he told me with enthusiasm.

"What places have you been?" I asked, curious about why he had picked Australia and what other travel experiences he might have had.

"Ottawa and Iqaluit. And out on the land. Those are the three cities – no *places* — I've been."

In this youth's statement, "on the land" was clustered among places that were "elsewhere," implying a sense of separation between the community and the land. Although both Ottawa and Iqaluit require plane travel, whereas "the land" is theoretically almost immediately accessible, in reality, spending time on the land depends on access to the right equipment, a basic fluency in how to prepare and respond to sudden weather changes, and a rifle with ammunition and knowledge of how to shoot it, among other things. For younger male residents, it also requires having a mentor – usually a father, uncle, or grandfather – who has the resources, interest, and patience needed to teach these skills. Given the scarcity of employment and the disruptions in transmission of land based knowledge discussed above, "the land" is truly becoming a place apart from everyday, lived experience for many Clyde residents.

In the interviews and conversations I had with youth and young adults in their late teens and 20s, most of them said they went on the land rarely—at most once or twice a year. This was usually because they were working, or lacked equipment and did not want to have to ask other people to take them, or because they had young children and no access to childcare. I did not systematically interview youth to address the question of land-based knowledge and experience, so to explore the extent to which these observations were representative, I incorporated the question of land accessibility into the survey I described previously.¹⁴ Sixty two percent of participants (n = 37) across all age groups said they either hadn't been on the land in the last year (n=18), or that they had only gone on the land a few times (n=19). When broken down by age group, only 15% of people under age 35 said they went on the land more frequently than a few times a year, compared to 40% of those age 35 – 59, and 60% of those age 60 and over. Also striking was the fact that nearly half (45%) of survey participants in the 35 – 59 age group said they had not been on the land in the last year.

I did not focus in particular on how gender structures relations with the land, and my survey sample size was too small to break down by both gender and age simultaneously.¹⁵ In general, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, men carry more of the burden of maintaining land skills than women do because of the centrality of the hunt and of eating country food in the construction of Inuit identity. In conversations and interviews with younger women in Clyde River, the traditional skill they expressed the most interest in learning was sewing skin clothing, a practice that can be done at home in the community. Young women do travel on the land with their families, but my survey indicated that they tend to stay on the land for only short periods of time – a day or a few days at most.

¹⁴ With the help of several research assistants, 60 Clyde residents distributed across three age groups (18 – 34; 35 – 59; 60 +) were asked a series of multiple choice or open-ended questions, either by phone or in person depending on their preference.

¹⁵ There are several research projects underway in Clyde River focusing on women in the changing economy; these projects will certainly have more to say about the gendered dynamics of land-based skills and experience. See Dowsley et al. (2010) for an early publication from one of these studies.

There were several weaknesses in my survey methodology that bear discussion. Due to funding constraints, I interviewed only 60 people in total. I selected participants based on their availability; those who were most active on the land were less likely to be at home when their participation was requested. I conducted my survey in late March, a time when a number of individuals were taking advantage of increasing light and good snow and ice to go out hunting. In order to get a true picture of access to the land, not only would my sample size need to be larger, but I would also need to return to Clyde River and run the same survey at different times of the year.

In spite of the problems with my survey technique, I choose to include these numbers here because I believe they are suggestive of a trend in which fewer people have access to the land than in the past. This is reflected not only in my imperfect attempt to demonstrate this “scientifically” (through the survey), but perhaps more critically, in the concerns that community members themselves conveyed about the transmission of land-based knowledge in the context of declining access and interest on the part of younger generations. In response to their concerns, community institutions like the Ilisaqsivik Society have taken steps to create and implement land-based programs and traditional knowledge workshops to give youth more opportunities to learn these skills.

2.7 Transmission of skill through land-based programs

If, as I suggested above, the understanding of Inuit identity as rooted in land-based skills has been constructed through sustained contact with *qallunaat* institutions, today, a variety of institutional forms continue to lend legitimacy to this construction. In Chapter 1, I described the critical role of local institutions in translating between bureaucratic and legalistic forms and local experience, including experience on the land. Here, I revisit this topic as it relates to the role of local institutions in connecting younger Inuit to the land. In particular, I focus on the role of on-the-land programs as a vehicle for transmitting land-based skills and knowledge and facilitating health and healing.

In Clyde River, the Ilisaqsivik Society, a wellness and community development organization, organizes four or more on-the-land trips per year. Their largest land program is a healing and cultural retreat that is held most summers; in 2010, 75 people attended. In the winter, the *Ataata—Irniq* (Father—Son) program pairs experienced hunters with male youth for a two-week trip to fish and hunt seal and caribou. Another program, *Qimmivut* (Our Dogs), brings youth on a two to three week dogsledding trip during which mentors teach them about the traditional role of sled dogs in Inuit culture through hands-on experience in caring for and working with them. Through these programs, Ilisaqsivik provides access to the land for community members whose access would otherwise be limited. Jakob Gearheard, Ilisaqsivik's Executive Director, who staff members refer to as "Jake," estimated that at least half of the participants in their land programs face restricted or no access outside these institutional opportunities.

While Ilisaqsivik's programs offer access to the land for those who lack the time, resources, or family connections to organize their own trips, they also offer a significantly different experience than trips with family and friends provide. One of the characteristics of land trips organized by institutions is their relative formality and structure. As one participant explained: "With family, there is no schedule, but when it's with Ilisaqsivik there are schedules to follow."

Another participant said:

Ilisaqsivik camps are usually more training, and for our family we go just for relaxing and to go on a holiday. For Ilisaqsivik they do hunting, surviving on the land, how to make clothing, and how to survive with just a few things. With my family, we usually just relax (Personal interview, April 17, 2010).

As Takako Takano (2005) has suggested that Igloolik, Nunavut, land-based programs reflect the widespread belief that becoming an *Inuk* requires learning survival skills, as well as to the continued importance and value of country food as a source of nutrition and identity. Spending time on the land is understood to be integral to the development of wisdom (*isuma*) and a central component of developing intelligence, patience, and ethical comportment (Searles

2010, Takano 2005). Inuk environmental activist and former ICC chair Sheila Watt-Cloutier described this correlation:

Hunting is, in reality, a powerful process where we prepare our young for the challenges and opportunities not only for survival on the land and ice but for life itself. The character skills learned on the hunt of patience, boldness, tenacity, focus, courage, sound judgment and wisdom are very transferable to the modern world that has come so quickly to the Arctic world. (Watt-Cloutier 2007).

On a physical and emotional level, land-based skills and practices are associated with healthy, active bodies and minds and with the procurement of country food, which both Inuit residents and government and academic experts suggest has greater nutritional value than most store-bought foods. The Nunavut Food Guide, for example, offers the succinct advice: “All country foods are healthy; choose healthy store-bought foods” (GN 2011). As one individual in Clyde River who worked in health service delivery in the community suggested during a community meeting on wellness: “I have a vision of Inuit getting their diet back. There are too many store-bought foods: illnesses like high cholesterol, diabetes. Getting back to our traditional diet: people will be healthier and happier.” These associations are not unique to Inuit. Naomi Adelson, for example, has described how Cree notions of *miyupimaatisiium*, or “being alive well,” center around the interrelationship of warmth, Cree food, and strength, which are all intimately connected to life on the land and hunting traditions (Adelson 2000).

Many but not all Clyde River residents continue to eat and enjoy a variety of country foods, including, among other things, *natsiq* (ringed seal), caribou, narwhal, polar bear, arctic char, ptarmigan, arctic hare, and several varieties of berries and seaweed. Access to these foods is limited based on a number of factors, including whether a close male relative is an active hunter, individual and household preferences for store-bought foods, declining populations of certain animals such as caribou, and seasonal access issues such as the difficulty of travel when sea ice is breaking up in spring or forming in winter, a phenomenon

compounded by climate change (Ford et al. 2009; Laidler, Dialla and Joamie 2008).

During my time in Clyde River, several individuals offered reflections on identity that reinforced the central role of the land and country foods. I had these conversations in English, so the terms used were English terms and not Inuktitut. In one case, a young man with a full-time job asked me if I had tried country food yet, and then proceeded to tell me that he hated country food. He then asked: “Do you know the difference between an Eskimo and an *Inuk*? Eskimos eat country food, and Inuit only eat store-bought food.” Later, this distinction was corroborated by several other comments about how Eskimos were those who used to live on the land, while Inuit lived in town.¹⁶ While I would not suggest based on these few comments that all *Kangiqtugaapingmiut* (Clyde River residents) understand identity in this way, I interpret this informal “identity talk” as referencing the central role of country food and land-based skill in contemporary conceptions of identity.

Many individuals I spoke with understood the relation between eating country food and health to be biological as well as cultural. So while some people described a desire for country food based on taste preferences, others told me that they needed country food to be healthy. A young man in his late teens who was an active hunter, for example, described his need for country food:

Noor: *What does it mean to you to be Inuk?*

R: Lots. There's a lot. Like there's different foods from South and Baffin. We eat lots of bloods in country foods. In South there's no bloods in like chickens. It's a lot different.

Noor: *Do you feel like you get to eat as much country food as you want to?*

¹⁶ “Eskimo” is a term that used to be used to refer to ethnically related groups in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. While the origins of the term “Eskimo” are unclear, it was not a word that came from the Inuktitut language, and was thus replaced in common usage during the land claims era by the term “Inuit,” which is Inuktitut for “the people.”

R: Yeah. If I don't eat like about a month from country food I would get sick.

Noor: How do you feel if you don't eat enough country food?

R: I would lose my energy, want to sleep all day. During fall it's harder to eat country food because water not staying the same – like more windy in fall time besides summer. It's harder to catch country food (Personal interview, 2 August 2009).

In another conversation, a young man in his early 20s who did not know how to hunt and worked a full-time job at the Northern Store stated:

I'd rather eat more traditional foods than store-bought meat. Because we've eaten that food for so long that we need it. Even me, I need a good serving of fresh seal meat once in a while, just to get my body chemistry right. I used to have that a lot, so once I have seal meat, I feel so much better (Personal interview, 12 August 2009).

This individual, who was supporting a younger family member, then explained that it was harder for him to have access to country foods now than in the past, since he did not have any immediate family members to provide him with meat, and since he did lack the skills and equipment necessary to hunt, himself. As a result, he struggled to get enough money to purchase store-bought foods, which were very expensive, and in his opinion, not as well suited to his biology as country foods were.

I had a conversation with one individual, Daniel,¹⁷ who described in very clear terms how he understood biology, religion, and climate change to be inter-related and connected to food consumption. Daniel was involved with HTL in Clyde River, though I met him at the hospital in Iqaluit, where we both happened to be visiting different friends from Clyde River. We began by talking about the weather, which had been rainy—good for berries, my friend commented. Daniel then described some of the environmental changes he had seen in Clyde River recently, including more plants, which he attributed to climate change. He told us he had been involved with climate change research, and that on a personal level,

¹⁷ Pseudonym

he was “researching” different religions, stating: “God knows about everything. Climate change, for example, is in the Bible.” I asked if he could explain, and he continued:

Well, God made all of creation. He made all plants and animals and even the little things that live in the water—bacteria. Inuit are special; we are different from all other people, because we know how to live up here on top of the world. Our bodies were adapted to eat country food, which is rich in vitamins. But then we started eating food from the South. In the South, they eat plants and animals. So our bodies have changed – now if we tried to just eat country food, our bodies might not be able to handle it. And if we go to the South and we eat country food, we will be too hot. So now we eat plants and country food, and our bodies are changing. The climate is changing too—now plants are starting to grow in Clyde River (Personal interview, 2 September 2009).

Daniel’s narrative shows a clear sense of cause and effect in which biological explanations of health and human adaptation are combined with climate change narratives and religious discourses. His suggestion implies that Inuit bodies are connected to the land and may be changing as both the environment and cultural practices change.

While the land and country foods support well-being, they can do so directly for those who participate in land-based practices, as well as indirectly for those who enjoy the benefits of hunting and gathering when country food is brought home by family members and close friends. The young man I spoke with who did not know how to hunt might still have had access to some of the health benefits of land skills if he had relatives who would provide him with meat. This relates to the traditional system of food distribution in the community, *ningiqtuq*, which George Wenzel suggests remains central to the local economy in Clyde River (Wenzel 2009). As Wenzel has stated: “Inuit subsistence in the past and today is not only about the production of food, but is equally about all of the Inuit behaviors that provide individuals with the security of a well-functioning economy” (2009:93). Similarly, Briggs views the association of country food with Inuit identity and health as deriving from the symbolic role of food prior to the arrival of qallunaat: “The giving and receiving of food was a sign that one

loved and was loved in return by one's family, and outside the closest circle, the offering of food represented affection and care for one's fellows, one of the most important of Inuit values" (Briggs 1997:229). This points toward the interrelated dimensions of health and well-being, which are tied to being with family, strong communication, and spending time on the land (Kral et al. 2011). In a study of happiness and well-being in Inuit communities, one young man gave voice to this multifaceted relationship by stating: "What makes me healthy is eating country food and healthy food. How do I get that? My family" (Kral et al. 2011:430).

This testimony about country food complicates the conception of Inuit identity as based in land experience and skill, instead centering the conception of wellness within the nexus of family and sharing country food. While Inuit families in Clyde River continue to share food among kin networks as well as more broadly in some situations, today, fewer hunters supply food for many more people than in the past; the testimony of individuals like the young man above who no longer have regular access to country food suggests that this system is under stress. The development of land-based programs thus reflects a sense of concern and anxiety that these skills may not be passed on.

Of course, institutionalized programs in themselves do not provide adequate time on the land to hone hunting skills. Rather, they offer the opportunity for some individuals to be introduced to hunting and they afford more experienced young hunters the chance to refine their skill and be recognized for their growing expertise. As Jake explained, "You couldn't become a hunter just through Ilisaqsivik; you have to go out a lot to really learn those skills. But with Ilisaqsivik, you can get out three or four times a year with really experienced hunters, and that will help." In 2009, for example, two young men in their late teens who had initially participated in Ilisaqsivik programs as students were hired as paid instructors and hunters.

Part of the rationale behind land-based programs is to instill a sense of identity in younger Inuit. And yet, while most of the youth and younger adults that I spoke with in Clyde River associated being Inuit with knowing how to survive on the land and with eating country foods, they were not uniformly

interested in these things. Some described their dislike of country foods, while others said they did not necessarily want to spend much time on the land beyond a short, overnight trip. Takano found a similar phenomenon in Igloolik, where youth participants in land-based programs “were willing to construct their identity around the land. However, this did not mean that they all liked constantly being on the land” (Takano 2004:9). While participants shared a sense of pride in connecting to heritage activities, they also agreed that “young Iglulingmiut in general preferred to stay in town and had little interest in associating with the land directly” (Takano 2004:9).

In Clyde River, individuals involved with Ilisaqsivik’s land programs shared a similar sense of youth participation. On one hand, as Jake explained, “To say you don’t want to go on the land is to say you’re not Inuk. If people say it, it’s almost like they are defiant or they are a rebel.” Still, not all youth like spending time on the land, partly because going on the land for a long period of time requires giving up access to things like pop (soda), candy, cigarettes, weed, television, and the Internet. A similar observation was offered by Joeline Sanguya, who along with his wife, Iga, was a board member and frequent participant and instructor for Ilisaqsivik’s land trips. They felt that the prevalence of junk food left youth ill prepared to spend long periods out on the land. “Lots of kinds are junk food eaters, which seems to have killed their system in their body,” Joeline suggested.

Iga added: “I tell kids: look, you are killing your system, your body.... I find that when we take kids on the land, they tire so easily. They haven’t done much of the physical work. Their body system doesn’t take much these days.”

2.8 Healing through land-based programs

In addition to teaching hunting and land skills, an additional dimension of on-the-land programs is their role in healing and recovery. Inuit health and well-being are closely correlated with spending time on the land, a dimension of identity that has been referred to as an “eco-centric” sense of self (Stairs and Wenzel 1992;

Kirmayer et al. 2009). As trans-cultural psychiatrist Lawrence Kirmayer and his research collaborators have suggested (Kirmayer et al. 2011), for indigenous populations, health is constituted in the complex interplay of historical and contemporary collective and individual experience, which includes the history of colonialism, the effects of residential schools, the experience of racism and continued marginalization, and the importance of land as a source of identity. They state: “These are not discrete or independent factors but interact in ways that reflect historical processes of colonization, marginalization, and oppression that have resulted in particular patterns of persistent inequality (Kirmayer et al. 2011:85).

For many indigenous communities, the current challenges they face with regard to health and well-being are therefore understood to have their roots in colonialism and the ongoing forms of social control of states over aboriginal peoples (Adelson 2000; Brady 2000; Warry 1998). The Cree, for example, see “whiteman” as “the greatest impediment to Cree well-being,” (Adelson 2000:100), the architects of ongoing forms of constraint over Cree freedom. Inuit, too, view *qallunaat* identity and culture to be the source of many constraints and mechanisms of control that limit personal agency. From this perspective, the association of settlements with *qallunaat* culture and the social ills that contact with colonial processes introduced to Inuit – alcohol, drugs, difficult relationships, and suicide among them – means that by contrast, the land is a space apart from these stresses and problems where healing and recovery can occur (Searles 2010). Like Inuit identity more broadly, then, the development of land-based programs as a mechanism for healing developed explicitly in conjunction with experiences of *qallunaat* society.

Another dimension to this, however, relates less to the politics of Inuit identity, and more to the affective feelings that emanate from the way social relations are enacted and shaped within particular places (Basso 1996). As Gregory Seigworth and Melissa Gregg suggest, affect is “the name we give to those forces – visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion – that can serve to drive

us toward movement... [or can] leave us overwhelmed by the world's apparent intractability" (2010:1). Recent scholarship has pointed out the ways that space, the environment, and material objects can contribute to affect (Navaro-Yashin 2009). Affect can be seen to saturate or permeate relations among humans and between humans and the broader environment, supporting or limiting particular possibilities of action.

Most of the houses and buildings in Clyde River are overcrowded. It is perhaps unsurprising that interpersonal conflicts, crime, and other social challenges arise in places where, to paraphrase Willem Rasing (1994), too many people are gathered. The land around Clyde River, in contrast, is experienced as a social environment in which people can spend relaxed, pleasurable time with friends and family, leaving the stressful relations and conflicts of the settlement behind. In Igloodik, individual narratives about spending time on the land reflected a notion of "well-being expressed as health, happiness, pleasure, freedom, beauty, and quietness" (Takano 2005:13). Similarly, residents of Arviat, Nunavut, associated health and well-being with a sense of calm and quiet that permeated their experience of the land (Blakney 2009). One resident described time on the land as:

...like a kind of meditation and it involves doing some physical movement of muscles, walking, but it rests you and calms the mind and spirit. [In the hamlet] it seems things are going out of control or someone dies. You are being fed harmful information perpetually... but if you are sort of insulated from those things, then it is possible to lead a non-stressful life (Louis Angalik, quoted in Blakney 2009:155).

In implementing this vision of the land as a space of healing, Ilisaqsivik's programs combined cultural skills and healing workshops, thus reinforcing the idea that health is multifaceted and connected to being on the land in relation to other people. Of course, the association between nature, health, and relaxation is not unique to the Inuit context; in fact, the correlation between nature and restoration from social ills was a central concept of the Romantic movement and later shaped the development of wilderness preservation (Cronan 1995; Demeritt 2002; White 1997; Williams 1975). For his part, Jake was aware of the fact that

the affective experience of the land as calming and restorative is not unique to the North or to Inuit; has he explained: “Everyone feels better outdoors.” Nevertheless, he suggested that the place-based construction of Inuit identity also shaped the experience of Clyde River residents in meaningful ways. “With Inuit you also have that layer of what people say Inuit are supposed to be like – the constructed rhetoric of what Inuit are like – and so living with that and connecting with that can also help make that real,” he explained.

2.9 Secular and evangelical approaches to land-based healing

The origin of the emphasis on “healing” in Ilisaqsivik’s work is opaque, but it appears to stem in part from the organization’s early affiliation with the Christian church. Ilisaqsivik was founded by community members who had a strong religious affiliation, and therefore prayer played a central role in the healing work that they facilitated. Jake described to me his feeling of surprise when he came to the community to interview for the position of Executive Director in 2004 and he sat in on a meeting that opened with the Lord’s Prayer and included a “traditional Inuit song” that turned out to be “Kumbaya” sung in Inuktitut.

Although most meetings and events still open with a Christian prayer – as practiced in other Clyde River organizations and institutions – over time, prayer has come to play a much less significant role in Ilisaqsivik’s healing work. This was partly the result of the introduction of formal counseling training programs that emphasized personal responsibility for enacting change. These models emphasized open communication and “culturally appropriate” therapy models in which people could talk about their experiences outside of a formal, office environment. As Jake explained:

I think that there is more of an understanding now that there can be counseling and there can be church religion, and they can work together or they can work apart. You can be the best of both. There used to be a feeling that I got when I came that if you had an issue, you just needed to pray about it. I think there is still some of that there, but there is also more of an understanding that if you have an issue, it doesn’t hurt to pray about it, but you also have to

take responsibility for that issue and change it (Personal interview, September 10, 2010).

As with prayer, Ilisaqsivik has gradually de-emphasized the rhetoric of “healing” in relation to their land programs, allowing them to engage people who might have been disinterested in prayer and formal counseling. Jake explained that board members had been increasingly interested in focusing on community development issues rather than healing, potentially signaling further change to come. In spite of this, Ilisaqsivik’s programs have established a practice in which “healing” has been routinely performed out on the land. Over time, this has helped establish the idea that healing occurs on the land away from the settled community.

Like different understandings of environmental change, then, health, “healing,” and well-being are concepts that are socially embedded and that change over time. In Clyde River, the Anglican Church, the evangelical “Healing the Land” movement, and the Ilisaqsivik society have all introduced distinct but overlapping ideas about healing and its relationship to tradition and to land-based practices. As I have described, in recent years, healing has been emphasized in the context of the Christian church community, where it is associated with public confession, prayer, repentance, and forgiveness. It has also been the focus of secular therapeutic work in which health and healing are associated with communication or talking openly about one’s problems and with spending time on the land.

2.10 Conclusion: Change and human agency

When Healing the Land was introduced to Clyde River in 2006, residents already associated the land with ritual practices of talking about problems in order to heal them. This may have led to a greater acceptance of the correlation between “healing” and indicators of environmental change that the evangelical movement introduced to the community. HTL has been introduced in a number of other Nunavut communities besides Clyde River, however, so this particular local

receptivity to their message does not entirely explain the movement's widespread influence and relatively positive reception.

Ilisaqsivik's counseling programs emphasized the need to take personal responsibility for change. This helped them decouple their counseling and therapeutic philosophy from the church's emphasis on prayer as a mechanism for healing. Spending time on the land was a way to reinforce this ethic of personal agency and action; learning new skills would enable survival in a challenging and changeable environment and would fulfill a particular conception of Inuit identity. In contrast, HTL's conception of human agency was more diffuse, based on a theology in which God was the mediator and ultimate provider of everything. At the same time, and in contrast to Ilisaqsivik's healing programs, HTL suggested that prayer and repentance would result in good things happening to the land and animals. These associations also contrasted with scientific narratives of climate change, which often leave local actors feeling that there is little they or others can do to counteract climate change.

Apart from these religious narratives, residents of Clyde River draw on Inuit and scientific ways of knowing in their everyday understandings of and engagements with the environment, including climate-related changes. Some community residents have collaborated with scientists to investigate environmental issues that concern them. My research suggests that the knowledge categories that are often viewed as separate from one another in a scientific or even religious context may be more fluid and dynamic than they appear on the surface. Agricultural metaphors have shaped both religious and scientific narratives; HTL leaders reference scientific understandings of change in some contexts even as they refute them in others; and Inuit in Clyde River use hybrid knowledge traditions to make sense of social and environmental change. They draw on the variety of worldviews and perspectives available to them, emphasizing those that support their ability to pursue agendas that they deem important.

Yet because of the history of conflict with biologists over animal populations, Inuit are at times skeptical when scientists claim expertise about the

Arctic environment, particularly when they do so in ways that diminish Inuit understandings and ways of knowing. Over the past decades, through negotiating land claims and establishing the Nunavut government, Inuit have become increasingly attuned to the ways that global networks can impact their lives at the local level. Inuit are concerned, for example, that research on polar bear populations and climate change, disseminated through academic journals and environmentalist networks, may result in reduced hunting quotas (Dowsley and Wenzel 2008). As a result, some community members can be skeptical of scientific research, since the power to decide what is researched and how the information is shared rests largely outside local control. Many Inuit feel that their knowledge is still treated as less valuable than scientific knowledge, in spite of the establishment of co-management boards and protocols for local input into wildlife management.¹⁸

Scientific researchers, attuned to processes of change that are global in nature, often arrive in northern communities with research agendas that do not correspond to local priorities. Situated far from the centers of decision-making and industrial production where emissions targets are set and the bulk of emissions are created, many Inuit feel that there is little they can do to address global climate change directly. From such a perspective, pursuing research on climate change is wasteful and rarely leads to concrete action.

HTL sets itself apart from these dynamics by offering a theory of agency that connects group engagement and action with local environmental impact. With its ritualized group healing ceremonies, Healing the Land may appeal to Clyde River residents because it offers an immediate way to take action, encouraging a sense of collective agency in navigating change. HTL presents an opportunity for community members to focus on the social challenges and traumas that have been part of a larger nexus of changes that have impacted their lives. Over the past century, Inuit have navigated many changes, including the

¹⁸ Co-management boards were established as part of the Nunavut Land Claims Act of 1993. For more on co-management, see references in footnote eight. For a discussion of how these institutions are likely to constrain Inuit adaptation to environmental change, see Wenzel (2009).

transition from a semi-nomadic life on the land to living in permanent settlements, which largely took place in the 1950s and 60s. They associate many social challenges of the present time, such as the struggle for healthy food, a lack of good housing, widespread drug and alcohol use, and a high rate of suicide, to the legacy of these changes, including the colonial practices that have guided government engagement with Inuit.

In this context, HTL's emphasis on local practices of prayer and healing offers a framework through which community members can directly engage with processes and outcomes of change. HTL's integrated vision links the social world with environmental resilience, offering a way for community members to engage with social issues while also, according to the movement's leaders, supporting the well-being of animals and healing the land. By doing so, participants also reframe environmental change as an issue that can be addressed through local agency.

Of course, many would argue that this sense of control is false. From a secular perspective, the idea that social and environmental problems can be healed through prayer is misguided or even delusional. HTL's conception of stewardship as avoidance and repentance of sin redirects action toward spiritual ideals and practices and away from addressing the political, economic, and social causes of environmental issues. To suggest that prayer will miraculously restore caribou populations, for example, sidelines the potential for Inuit and scientists to use their significant bodies of knowledge to cooperatively address this area of mutual concern. Finally, by labeling certain practices of the past – such as shamanism – as “sinful,” HTL reinforces a discourse that denigrates pre-Christian Inuit beliefs and implicitly suggests that Inuit identity is inferior to *qallunaat* identity.

Social and natural scientists and environmentalists concerned about global environmental change have much to learn from being attentive to the conditions and processes by which alternative narratives of change, such as HTL, gain persuasive power. In Clyde River, the appeal of HTL points simultaneously toward gaps in social policy as well as a sense of alienation from the norms and processes of Western science. Most noticeably, the dominant position of

scientific knowledge in national and international contexts means that local people rarely set the terms of engagement. Yet from the perspective of community members, what is most important is not so much the acquisition of scientific knowledge as it is being able to address the issues that they find most pressing in their own lives, such as the availability of game or the maintenance of social harmony.

Chapter 3: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Climate Change, and Bureaucratic Practice in the Government of Nunavut

3.1 An introduction to climate change policy in Nunavut

In 2003, the Government of Nunavut (GN) developed its first climate change strategy, pragmatically titled “The Nunavut Climate Change Strategy” (GN 2003), which was overseen jointly by the Minister of Sustainable Development and the Minister of Energy. The nascent government was only a few years old at the time, so it was a point of pride for those involved that Nunavut had articulated a policy on climate change before the majority of Canada’s provinces and territories. The strategy was widely encompassing, addressing both mitigation and adaptation needs. It discussed the “pressing need for economic development” (GN 2003:8) and acknowledged dependence on imported fossil fuels and a high population growth rate as factors that would inhibit the territory’s ability to control its greenhouse gas emissions, but also recognized that Nunavut had among the highest rates of emissions per capita of anywhere in the world. It thus identified sustainability as a major goal, along with environmental protection and meeting energy and development needs of *Nunavummiut* (Nunavut residents).

In the years following the climate change strategy’s release, the GN reorganized its operations. It dismantled the Department of Sustainable Development, placing responsibility for climate change adaptation with the Department of Environment, and eventually creating a new Energy Secretariat that was charged with mitigation policy, among other responsibilities. The latter department pursued energy efficiency by retrofitting government buildings and developing models for more efficient public housing. Their staff also explored alternative energy potential in Nunavut, with a particular interest in hydropower. When I spoke with a former employee of the department, however, he suggested that the Energy Secretariat was under resourced and that cutting back on oil use in Nunavut communities was unlikely to happen any time soon. He stated:

In Nunavut they do a lot of “climate change speak” but it’s only on the adaptation side, not on the level of mitigation. For the GN, climate change is adaptation. Greenhouse gas emissions are discussed only as a side benefit of a project.¹

Meanwhile, staff members working on climate change adaptation efforts within the Department of Environment (DoE) also faced institutional challenges related to high staff turnover and resistance of management to dedicating significant time to climate change. According to a former staff member, the DoE was reluctant to ascribe a cause to the environmental changes being observed across the territory. When I asked her what the GN’s position regarding climate change was, she responded:

We are trying to find out if the impacts that are affecting communities are due to climate change. Those are questions that come to us all the time – but we don't want to take a reactionary approach. We don't want to just react to outsiders that are saying “this is an issue. You should be alarmed – we're all going to die.” We are not going to say it's happening until we do our own research. Also, we're not going to say it's not a problem, either. What we are saying is, we see impacts in the communities, but we can't say for sure what is causing them.

This cautious engagement with climate change within the GN likely reflected an interest in avoiding issues that might be perceived as being dictated from outside the territory. The idea that “climate change” was a scientific framing imposed by *qallunaat* scientists was therefore not limited to the community level, as I described in Chapter 2, but also animated territorial responses. For a government pursuing devolution from federal jurisdiction, in which resource development will play an important role, reluctance to jump on the climate change bandwagon likely also had pragmatic political purposes. Other political factors such as contentious discussions about whether or not polar bears are “endangered” by climate change, which I discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5, may also have prompted caution. Not everyone within the GN held the same opinion, and the majority of people I spoke with accepted climate change as

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations in this chapter are from personal interviews.

a reality with serious impacts on life in the North. Still, the bureaucratic roadblocks to proactive engagement in developing a clear policy may have reflected these or other political factors.

As a result, territorial commitments focused on knowledge generation, including research and planning, rather than implementation of adaptation projects, which would require more committed resources. The major focus of the DoE's work on adaptation from 2006 – 2011 rested with the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership, introduced in Chapter 1. The process was intended to result in community adaptation plans for seven communities, overseen by volunteers supplied by the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP), which could become prototypes for other communities to use, as well as a territory-wide climate change plan, also supplied by CIP.

In 2009, CIP formally presented a draft adaptation plan to the DoE, based on a series of consultations they had held with Nunavut residents, as well as their local adaptation planning processes. The DoE, however, rejected the plan and hired their own outside consultant to come up with another one. One of the main authors of the CIP plan told me that it was “the first time I’ve been fired from a job,” and suggested that the reason it was rejected was because it was too specific. “They said it was not high level enough,” she said. “I think they were afraid to raise expectations in the hamlets because there is no money.” Another factor, she thought, was that the plan integrated elements of mitigation and energy efficiency, which the GN had delegated to the Energy Secretariat rather than the DoE.

3.2 Inuit knowledge in the GN's *Upagiatavut* climate change strategy

In 2011, the GN released a new climate change plan, *Upagiatavut - Setting the Course: Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation in Nunavut* (GN 2011). In the years prior to its release, I had asked DoE staff about the plan, but they informed me that it was top secret and they weren't allowed to talk about it before it was reviewed and made public. After such a long, closely guarded process, however,

Upagiatavut manages to say relatively little in terms of specific action steps and makes no new or significant conclusions or major policy suggestions.

Perhaps more surprising is the relatively sparse role of Inuit knowledge in informing the plan's content. *Upagiatavut* begins promisingly by suggests that the "input and expertise of well-respected elders throughout Nunavut" (GN 2011:8) informed the development of the plan. The introduction states:

Just as a hunter plans his course and packs his qamutiik with the necessary tools for the journey, *Upagiatavut* sets the course and identifies what is needed for Nunavut's future. It is built on a solid foundation that marries science and Inuit wisdom gained through a close relationship to an ever-changing landscape (GN 2011:8).

A closer look, however, revealed that Inuit knowledge was secondary to science as a source of information both within the report and in the climate change adaptation initiatives that it cited.

For example, Part I of the report, "Changes and Impacts," began with three pages summarizing scientific research on temperature, wind/weather, sea level, permafrost, ice conditions, and wildlife and vegetation. Several text boxes accompanied the text, introducing scientific terminology such as "active layer" (in reference to permafrost) and "isostatic rebound" (the way that the earth 'springs back' after an ice age, causing uplift of land relative to sea level) (GN 2011:10-13).

Inuit who are knowledgeable about the land have things to say about temperature, wind, weather, permafrost, ice conditions, and wildlife, too. Their observations were documented in a series of reports — one from each region of Nunavut — solicited by the GN and published in 2005 (GN 2005a, GN 2005b, GN 2005c). For several years, these reports sat in binders in a few offices of staff members in the DoE, inaccessible to the general public and other GN staff. As part of the DoE's effort to prepare a climate change strategy, the reports were made available on their website. Although they are cited in *Upagiatavut*, little of the content from them made its way into the document. Its discussion of *Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit* (Inuit knowledge – translation discussed below), situated below the sections on science, encompassed only half a page and an

accompanying text box of quotes from community members, such as an observation by Bobby Algona from the Kitikmeot region: “Never know how [the] weather is going to be. So unpredictable nowadays” (GN 2011:13).

Given that the government is supposed to value and be guided by Inuit knowledge, and given that Inuit knowledge of climate change has been so extensively documented, how did *Upagiaqtavut* end up reducing Inuit knowledge to such pithy sound bites? Clearly, this wasn’t just a function of generalizing knowledge for policy, since the science included in the document was more comprehensive.

To address this question requires a deeper look at the role of Inuit knowledge within the GN. Just as understanding how “climate change” was prioritized in Clyde River required examining issues and practices as diverse as religion to grant writing, here, I step outside the confines of “climate change” to examine more broadly how bureaucratic forms and Inuit knowledge and experience shape one another in practice.

This chapter draws on interviews and informal conversations with employees working for the Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc. (NTI), the organization charged with overseeing the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA). Both the GN and NTI have their headquarters in Iqaluit, although NTI works with several regional land claims organizations responsible for smaller sub-regions of Nunavut, and the GN is decentralized, which means that some of its offices are located in different communities across Nunavut. GN employees are not allowed to discuss their work with journalists or academics without express permission from the Deputy Minister of their department. Because of the nature of secrecy and hierarchy of the GN, I have disguised the identities of the employees I interviewed.

3.3 Building an Inuit bureaucracy through *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*

Nunavut’s political architects had hoped that establishing a new government located geographically closer to settlements in the eastern Arctic would enable

political leaders to design and enact policies that had greater relevance to Inuit lives and experiences. Along with delineating clear borders of the new, Inuit territory, gaining sovereignty for Inuit meant having an administrative government of their own. After decades of governance centered in Ottawa and then Yellowknife and led by *qallunaat* (non-Inuit or white) institutions and norms, Inuit residents hoped that Nunavut's government would support the economic and social goals of northerners and would incorporate Inuit language and culture.

But how to design such a government? For reasons of practicality and expedience, the new government adopted much of the form and character of the government of the Northwest Territories (which previously encompassed Nunavut), drawing on the Westminster Parliamentary model, establishing specific departments that would oversee discrete functions of government, and setting up a series of co-management boards that would involve Inuit and federal officials in overseeing decisions about land, water, and wildlife (Henderson 2007; Hicks and White 2000; White 2006b). A plebiscite determined that the Government of Nunavut (GN) would be a public government in which any resident, Inuit or non-Inuit, could vote or hold office. Since Inuit made up 85% of the population of the new territory, however, as Graham White stated: "It was an article of faith that the GN would have a strongly Inuit character" (White 2006a:11).²

In the years leading up to and immediately following the formal separation of Nunavut from the NWT on April 1, 1999, steps were taken to move beyond faith by articulating a more concrete role for Inuit knowledge within the government. During the period of transition, a series of workshops with elders and representatives of the transitional government were held to try to more clearly define the way that Inuit knowledge might be articulated within the workings of the everyday government infrastructure. These workshops yielded a series of

² The other 15% of the population were largely *qallunaat* or non-Inuit. In the 2006 census, the most recent for which aboriginal identity information is available, 83.6% of the population identified themselves as Inuit; 14.96% as non-aboriginal, and the remaining 0.78% as either First Nations or Metis (Statistics Canada 2006).

reports that contained detailed and highly nuanced descriptions of Inuit knowledge as both ethical and normative guidelines that shaped social relations, and as detailed observation and skill-sets that enabled survival and resilience in a harsh, unpredictable environment (Wenzel 2004).

Participants in these workshops were attentive to the ways that Inuit knowledge could be narrowed and ossified through encounters with scientific and political representation. In particular, concerns were raised about the ways that the term “Inuit traditional knowledge” was used in research settings to refer to issues related to wildlife and the environment. They suggested that a broader definition of Inuit knowledge, one that included Inuktitut language and human relationships with one another and the natural world, should be incorporated into the governing of Nunavut (Wenzel 2004). The term “*Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*” (IQ) emerged from one of these meetings, translated variously as “Inuit knowledge,” or “that which Inuit have long known.”

Jaypetee Arnakak, an Inuk intellectual who was significantly involved in the articulation of IQ within the government, warned that “separating IQ from the contemporary realities renders something that is profound, enriching and alive into something meaningless, sterile, and awkwardly exclusionary” (Arnakak 2000:1). Instead, he suggested that IQ should be viewed as a “living technology” rather than as something rooted in the static “tradition” of the past. He offered a definition of IQ as “healthy, sustainable communities regaining their rights to a say in the governance of their lives using principles and values they regard as integral to who and what they are” (Arnakak 2000:1). In a similar spirit, some commentators have suggested that instead of using the past tense (*qaujimajatuqangit*), perhaps the term should be set in the present (*qaujimajangit*), which would support a definition similar to one used by the Nunavut Social Development Council in 2000: “The Inuit way of doing things: the past, present, and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society” (NSDC 2000:26, cited in McGrath 2003:166).

One way to make IQ clearer and more legible to those employed by the GN was to write it down, reflecting a wider interest in written and inscribed forms

of expertise that are privileged in bureaucratic governing contexts. Through a series of consultations and workshops with elders, moral and ethical relations were identified and eventually approved by Cabinet as the “IQ Principles.” To avoid defining IQ as a set of practices rooted in the past, the IQ principles are based on relational qualities that can be applied in a variety of contexts. They include: 1) *Pijitsirniq* (serving a purpose or community and providing for family and/or community); 2) *Aqiiqatigiingniq* (decision-making based on comparing views, taking counsel, and using consensus); 3) *Pilimmaksarniq* (skills and knowledge acquisition through observation, doing, and practice); 4) *Piliriqatigiingniq* (collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose); 5) *Avatimik Kamattiarniq* (environmental stewardship); 6) *Qanuqtuurnarniq* (being resourceful to solve problems) (Arnakak 2000).

As I discuss further below, articulating IQ as relational qualities opens the possibility that Inuit knowledge can both contribute to and be shaped by governance practices. As the *Inuk* IQ Coordinator for CLEY pointed out to me, many different relational principles could potentially be derived from the body of practices referred to as IQ; these are just the ones that have been formally adopted by the government. Their inscription in policy documents, inclusion in the educational curricula for public schools and Arctic College training programs, and listing in hand outs and presentations within the GN, however, creates a logic through which these principles come to be understood as IQ, and through which IQ can be reduced to these principles.

Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten (2009) have suggested that the IQ principles both build on and break with Inuit traditions. In the past, elders and camp leaders would model and embody proper ways of relating, both in their own actions and in the form of stories and myths that warned about the perils of breaking particular norms of behavior. In contrast, under IQ, these relations are written and abstracted so as to make them accessible and translatable within the context of the government. They note: “This may be necessary in a system of governance modeled on Southern political systems and principles that tend to give precedence to general over specific experiences” (2009:126).

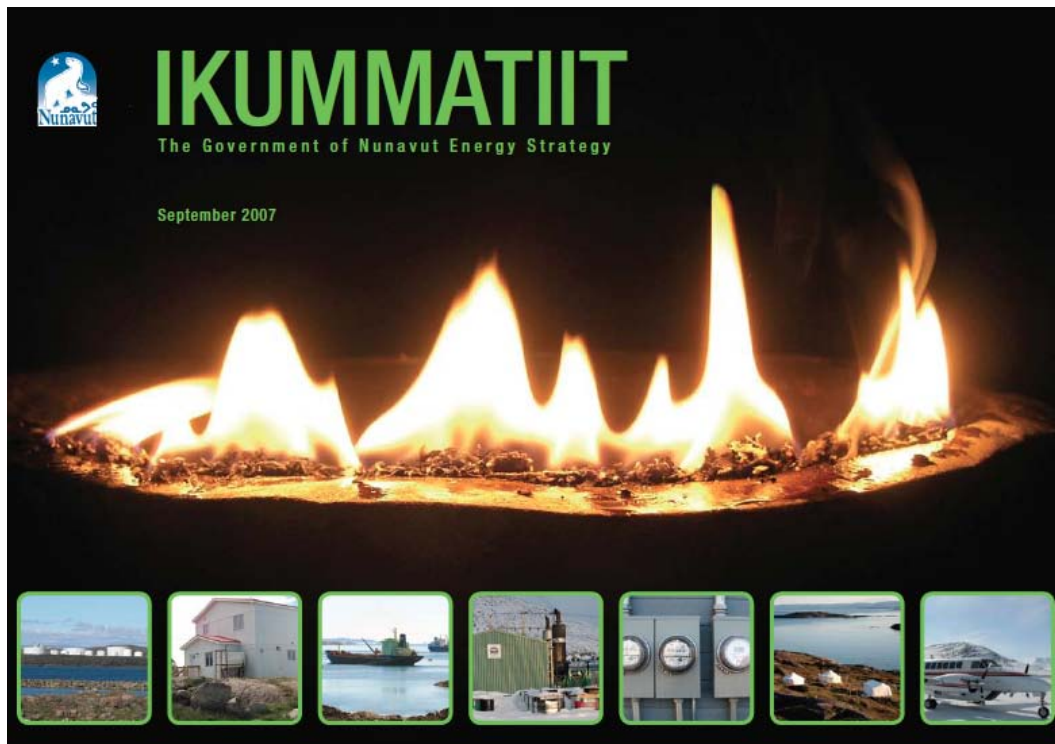
Inscribing IQ as a set of general principles thus reflects an attempt to ensure they would be accessible to all Inuit, including those who have relatively little connection with land-based traditions. Somewhat paradoxically, the abstract quality of the IQ principles renders them universal rather than particular to Inuit. As one *Inuk* employee in the GN stated: “I see IQ principles as government principles, not necessarily as Inuit principles. They are general and vague. That was *deliberate* – Inuit and elders were consulted in their creation, but the end product is a government product.” Another suggested that “they are principles that could really be accepted almost anywhere.” This does not, however, mean that non-Inuit employees of the GN are expected to be able to relate to IQ, an issue that will be discussed in more detail below.

The IQ principles reflect a larger tendency for bureaucracies to relate to ideas through writing. Matthew Hull, who has studied the relationship between bureaucracy and the material form of documents, identifies the “file” as “the central technology of bureaucracy” (2003:291). Files and written records are the materialization of bureaucratic organization. They can be seen as technologies that enable social organization and control and as material forms through which information and statistics can be aggregated and shared.

Within the GN, as one individual told me, “Everything has to be written - you need procedures and policies to be written down,” with the result that IQ becomes more bureaucratized than it needs to be. For example, in order to participate in an IQ Day – an officially sanctioned “day on the land” for GN employees, discussed further below – an employee needs to sign a waiver that absolves the government of responsibility if something bad should happen. He contrasted the government’s focus on formalities, its interest in abstraction, and its insistence on rules with his previous experience working at Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc. where when it was time to take an IQ day “We just *went*.” For this individual, the GN’s focus on writing, its insistence on rules, and the formal way it approached culture were all reflections of a similar bureaucratic approach that got in the way of engaging with IQ as a lived, organic practice.

The formalized inscription of Inuit knowledge in the IQ principles reflects a bureaucratic preoccupation with form and abstraction, and the interest of bureaucracies in materializing knowledge in the form of files. Because the GN is a bureaucracy, questions of culture are largely expressed in written form: in policy documents and school curricula, for example, that can be passed between staff members, from HR to department heads, or between Ministers and mid-level bureaucrats. Thus, while the IQ principles emphasize ways of relating and being, their inscription in written form reflects a wider government commitment to engaging with IQ through a bureaucratic logic rather than an emergent and relational one. This logic characterizes bureaucracies the world over, thus as I describe more fully below, the particularization attempted through the principles of IQ is largely aesthetic.

3.4 *Igloo, qulliq, qamutiik*: Cultural icons in government design



(Cover of the Government of Nunavut's Energy Strategy, © Government of Nunavut, 2007)

The attractive cover of the GN's *Ikummatiit Energy Strategy* (GN 2007) features a large photo of flames rising from an uneven stone surface, a *qulliq* or traditional stone lamp that was used to burn oil rendered from seals and other marine mammals – the most reliable fuel that Inuit had access to before the introduction of petroleum based products. Below this image, the cover also includes much smaller pictures of other material objects that also symbolize “energy” in a modern context: tanks used to store diesel, a house, a fuel ship, electricity meters, and an airplane, along with canvas tents used for summer camping on the land. The dominance of the *qulliq* on the Energy Strategy's cover belies the total absence of any reference to Inuit knowledge within the strategy, itself, which focuses on energy conservation and efficiency, alternative energy, improved management, and oil, gas, and uranium development. This is not to suggest that Inuit knowledge necessarily *should* have informed the Energy Strategy, but rather to point out that the use of the *qulliq* as a symbol on the cover manages to reference IQ without ultimately delivering it.

A similar aesthetic logic led to the use of a large photo of a *qamutiik* (sled) sitting stationary on a snowy landscape on the cover of the *Upagiatavut: Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation in Nunavut* (2011). In the latter case, as discussed above, Inuit knowledge and land-based skills and practices do inform the text, but the choice of a *qamutiik* to symbolize the adaptation strategy implies that Inuit knowledge is central to the goals of adaptation, while the text's prioritization of scientific perspectives suggests otherwise. Together, the imagery of these two documents reflects a larger tendency within the GN to use cultural icons as a means of symbolizing Inuit knowledge within government practice by inscribing it into the design of buildings and public documents.

The Legislative Assembly building of Nunavut, for example, was constructed in 1998-1999 to house the meetings of the elected assembly, which oversees the policies of the territory. Architecturally, the building is striking for its use of Inuit symbolism. In the middle of the building's exterior, a series of glass windows are set one above the other from the first through third stories, intersected by four long beams of wood running vertically that look a bit like the

runners of a *qamutiik* (sled). Inside, wooden benches are also designed to mimic the *qamutiik* shape, and in the foyer and entry areas, many objects of artistic and cultural significance are arranged that bridge the cultural spaces of Inuit traditional life and the governance system of Canada. Perhaps the most prominent is a unique mace displayed in a long glass case set atop a stone carved with an igloo shape.³ The mace is made from a narwhal tusk, embellished with a crown of silver loons in the form of a cross, representing respect for the British monarch. It is set with semi-precious stones and a two-and-a-half carat diamond from the Jericho diamond deposit in western Nunavut (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut n.d.).



(Legislative Assembly Building, Iqaluit. Photo: Noor Johnson, 2010)

Approaching the assembly room, one notices the striking door handles of the wooden and glass doors, which are carved from muskox horns. Inside, deluxe office chairs lined with mottled grey sealskin ring two, arcing meeting tables that form two sides of a circle, equipped with headset and translation monitors at each

³ A mace is a ceremonial symbol of authority traditionally used for military purposes and adopted in Britain to reflect political authority. In Canada, each legislature has a mace that is carried before the Speaker by a mace-bearer to symbolize the opening of the assembly meeting.

seat. On the far side of the circle, opposite the entrance doors, the Speaker's chair presides, throne like, with the Canadian flag to the Speaker's right and the Nunavut flag to his left. To the Speaker's right, a small wooden table embellished with Nunavut flag made of sealskin holds a wooden gavel, a copy of the Assembly Rules in English and Inuktitut, and a Holy Bible. In the center of the circle, a number of symbolic artifacts: a *qamutiik* stretched with a cleaned sealskin, on which a number of traditional tools have been laid. In front of the *qamutiik*, a statue of a drum dancer faces the entryway, while behind it, a *qulliq* sits atop a base made of stones.

The Assembly building is a literal container for governance, housing the meetings through which policies are debated and adopted (Latour 2005). Its physical form enables and shapes particular practices and limits others; for example, it enables translation between Inuktitut and English through the technological apparatuses of headsets and microphones, and constrains social contact within the Assembly hall to highly formalized and ritualized practices that are facilitated by the set structure of the chairs, the throne and gavel of the speaker, the rule book, etc. Collectively, the artifacts and the architecture of the Assembly building create a space that symbolizes the ideal of bridging the Inuit and Canadian governance worlds. While clearly a space for political assembly, the room and the building invoke Inuit experience and knowledge, though in a highly formalized way. Stepping into the Assembly room, it would be difficult to forget that you were in a representational environment governed by formal rules of procedure, and yet the room is also filled with symbolic reminders that this is an Inuit space, as well.

In his discussion of the symbolic roots of Western bureaucratic systems, Michael Herzfeld (1992) describes the powerful role of metaphor and symbol in enabling bureaucratic indifference. His interest is in the question of why bureaucracies, which are purported to be "rational" in their outlook and functioning, support indifference to the suffering of particular groups or populations. Herzfeld describes the way that symbols of blood and markers of race and tribal affiliation are central to the creation of categories of belonging in

the modern nation state, separating “citizens” from “foreigners.” He argues in particular that states draw on kinship metaphors of the body and the family, creating a “familial tone” even as they “treat the actual pursuit of familial or local interests as inimical to the nation’s best interests” (1992:74). One of the ways that states promote these metaphors is through the use of kin-based symbolism. “Because they are the least obviously arbitrary signs, being apparently based on reality and nature, visual and other material image are better equipped than abstract concepts to serve the needs of nationalist ideologies” (1992:75).

The use of symbols in the Legislative Assembly building and elsewhere in the material infrastructure of the Government of Nunavut – for example, in art work and design of other office buildings and logos of public and private entities – exemplify the kin-based symbolism put to work to solidify the creation of a particular “imagined community” (Anderson 1991). The articulation of a territorial identity is part and parcel of the establishment of Nunavut as a site for governance that claims some of the authority previously relegated to the nation-state—for example, the administration of justice and health care. The transition to a new government represented a stage of relative vulnerability for the fledgling bureaucracy. During this period, citizens of Nunavut formed opinions about the kind of administration they might expect from a government located (at least for those in the eastern part of the territory) literally and metaphorically closer to home. The use of symbols in the spaces of governance helped to capture the public’s imagination, enrolling residents in a collective construction of identity “predicated on similarity” and based on life on the land, with the *igloo*, *qulliq*, and *qamutiik* as primary symbols.⁴

As the example of the use of the *qamutiik* on the *Upagiaqtavut: Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation in Nunavut* document and the *qulliq* on the *Ikummatiit Energy Strategy* exemplify, however, these symbols can also be adopted as window dressing. In these cases, the symbols invoke local knowledge and experience, but the reports and plans fail to seriously engage Inuit knowledge

⁴ While the majority of Nunavut residents have likely never seen the Assembly Building, it is open to public tours on a daily basis.

as a source of information. Perhaps even more critically, *Upagiaqtavut*'s generality, its failure to include the very specific suggestions gathered from Nunavut residents by the CIP planners, suggests that these participatory processes were, themselves, treated as symbolic. Both absences reflect the ways in which bureaucracies can render specific knowledge content into a safely abstract form.

3.5 Articulating and segregating IQ in government practice

While the Legislative Assembly building was designed to spatially and visually reflect Inuit knowledge and experience, no official protocols or practices were developed to incorporate *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* into its proceedings.⁵ Instead, efforts to further articulate IQ were centered within the government bureaucracy. Although IQ is intended to pervade all functions and departments, the Department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth (CLEY) is its official home. CLEY houses the GN's cultural interests, including heritage and archaeological preservation and issues concerning the transfer of knowledge.⁶

The fact that elders and youth are embedded in the department's title reflects a widespread anxiety, not just within the government but also at the local level, about the dynamism and future viability of Inuit culture as the last generation of *Nunavummiut* (Nunavut residents) born on the land has begun to pass away. CLEY's title thus contains a temporal reminder that knowledge should be transmitted from elders to youth. It reflects the status accorded to elders as the "knowledgeable experts" of Inuit culture, and hints at the burden carried by youth as those who must bear Inuit language and culture into the future.

CLEY oversees two committees tasked with providing oversight and insight into IQ. The first, the *Tuttavviit* (point of contact) committee, is

⁵ For a discussion of the role of Inuit values in the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, see Graham White (2006a).

⁶ In June, 2012, CLEY announced that it was changing its name to the "Department of Culture and Heritage," because the English name was too long and cumbersome (Nunatsiaq News 2012).

comprised of government employees from different departments whose role is to review draft legislation and program development for its IQ content. In theory, each department should have a representative on *Tuttavviit*, and this committee should review each new piece of legislation before it is sent to the Legislative Assembly. In reality, as a CLEY employee explained: “departments have to be reminded” to send both representatives and policies to the committee.

The second assembly, the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajit* (IQK) (Elder’s Advisory Council), is made up of 15 elders from across the territory who meet in Iqaluit three times a year to share concerns and issues from the communities and to offer advice on specific policies. While these assemblies do create a space for IQ to be discussed and considered, in practice, their embeddedness within CLEY has meant that other departments effectively ignore the question of IQ in their daily work. In spite of the Inuit symbols that decorate the legislature building, IQ is thus spatially segregated from the routine functioning of the bureaucracy.

IQ is further segregated from daily office work and its land-based origins reinscribed through “IQ Days,” the primary mechanism through which employees are able to personally engage with IQ. IQ days are offered by the GN and Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc., as a day off from office work to go on the land, usually to pursue some kind of harvesting activity such as fishing, berry picking, seal hunting, or clamming. Each department implements them differently; usually only a few IQ days are offered annually. In some cases, individual staff members request leave for an IQ day from their supervisor, while in other departments the entire staff or a division of the staff may choose to spend a day on the land together.

IQ days can be seen as a response to the tension between wage labor, with its highly structured routines and 9-5 schedule, and the more adaptive, seasonal, and cyclical organization of time that structures Inuit hunting and land-based activities. Hunting requires significant flexibility to be able to head out on short notice when animals are nearby, as well as patience needed to track and evaluate carefully the best moment to approach and kill an animal (Wenzel 1999a). This

kind of flexibility is inhibited by the formal time requirements of office work that are characterized by predictability and routine rather than flexibility and improvisation.⁷ Office work makes even weekend hunting trips difficult, since travel on the land is unpredictable, and hunters can be caught out longer than planned if the weather changes suddenly (Stern 2001).

IQ Days thus symbolize government support for going on the land without offering a real accommodation of hunting schedules, since employees can only take one or two IQ days a year in total. As a woman working at NTI suggested when I asked her about ways to meaningfully involve Inuit at the community level in decision-making:

I think if we used imagination, we would be able to come up with a work regime that reflects the seasons and how Inuit spend time on the land. Using flex time and using flexible job descriptions so you can get more work in one area when it needs to be done... do more collaborative work. So that when a family is spending time on the land it's not seen as taking people out of the labor market.

Another role for IQ days was to extend the land-based experience to *qallunaat* employees of the GN, so that they could get a feel for the land and its importance to Inuit. This aspect generated some controversy among Inuit employees that I spoke with; one felt that the GN should not spend taxpayer money "to send (*qallunaat*) employees out on the land when many Inuit can't even afford to go." She felt that IQ days should be mandatory only for people in senior positions so they could "have hands-on experience on the land to see what it's about."

Qallunaat employees, too, got caught up in questions about what purpose IQ days were actually serving. For example, one *qallunaat* that I tried to arrange an interview with was unavailable because he and a colleague were "taking an IQ day." When I tried to invite myself along to see what it was all about, he admitted

⁷ Pam Stern wrote about time discipline as it relates to wage labor and other modern temporal regulators in the Inuit community of Holman (2001; 2003). She argued that the introduction of more government jobs and the decline of subsistence hunting as economic practice in the mid 1980s resulted in an increased role for formal institutions in regulating time in the community.

with some embarrassment that they were just “going clamming,” something he didn’t really know how to do but planned to improvise with some implements and advice from a friend. “I’m not sure if it’s *really* about IQ, but at least we get to be outside,” he said. His statement demonstrated a certain anxiety and confusion about IQ engendered by its ethnically indexed definition, which contrasted with a more informal celebration of spending time on the land in the company of friends and family that many associate with land-based knowledge.

IQ Days reinforce the spatial and temporal segregation of office work and the land-based experience that is usually associated with Inuit knowledge. They also offer one of the clearest and most tangible ways in which employees can have access to an *experience* of the land that is not directly mediated by the government, itself. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Inuit knowledge is not just about skill, it is also informed by affective dimensions of relating to, knowing, and experiencing place. Knowing and experiencing place are, of course, directly related to experience, skill, and the kinds of social relations that are embedded in and mediated by place. This aspect of knowledge reflects what Hugh Raffles termed “intimate knowledge” (2002).

Of course, those with longstanding collective and individual ties to place have significantly greater intimacy with the land than those who do not. Still, *qallunaat* employees of the GN can nevertheless engage with the land around Iqaluit in meaningful ways, and participating in IQ Days is one way to start to create a relationship with the land that can later be developed into greater levels of intimacy, depending on interest and individual commitment.

The practices of inscription, use of cultural symbols, and the spatial separation of IQ from routine government practice reflects the tendency of bureaucracies to distill knowledge into discrete forms and categories (Nadasdy 2003). Revisiting the treatment of IQ within the *Upagiatavut* strategy document in light of this observation, it is possible to view similar patterns of symbolism and spatial segregation. In *Upagiatavut*, IQ was symbolized on the cover in the form of a *qamutiik* and referenced in the introduction and at the beginning of the strategy in the form of “Inuit social values;” it was also spatially enclosed in a text

box in which the voices of Inuit experts were quoted. These practices marked IQ in clearly identifiable ways within the document, but also made it possible for IQ to be engaged less substantively than Western science.

3.6 Article 23 and the perpetuation of stereotypes

It's like trying to fit a square peg into a circular hole. The government system and Inuit ideologies – how do you integrate them?.... It's a nice idea – it would be great if it were in place. But trying to convince non-Inuit of the Inuit way is difficult. You are trying to argue your case as an Inuk, but why isn't it the other way around? Most management and people in power are *qallunaat*. They are the ones who give approval for the policies.

The challenge of governing based on IQ is often framed as a gap in understanding between Inuit and *qallunaat* cultures. This gap is more pronounced given the predominance of *qallunaat* in positions of decision-making within the government. In spite of efforts to accommodate IQ as its own kind of credential, the GN still relies heavily on southern Canadians to make up the bulk of its professional and middle management staff—those who would most clearly qualify as “bureaucratic professionals” in the Weberian sense of the term. As indicated in the quote above, hiring more Inuit is one way to integrate IQ in the government, since Inuit employees are believed to have more access to land-based knowledge and experience than *qallunaat*.

The government is under a mandate, articulated in Article 23 of the NLCA, to achieve representative employment of Inuit land claims beneficiaries within the government.⁸ Since Inuit make up around 85% of the population of Nunavut, they should therefore make up 85% of the workforce of the government. Furthermore, the percentage of Inuit employees should be distributed evenly across the different levels of hierarchy within the government, so that the number

⁸ A beneficiary is an individual who is enrolled under Article 35 of the NLCA. To qualify, a person must be a living Canadian citizen, be an Inuk in accordance with Inuit customs and usages, self-identify as an Inuk, and be associated with the Nunavut Settlement Area or with a community in the Nunavut Settlement Area (NLCA 1993:235).

of Inuit employees from the Deputy Minister level to the entry level and in between are all representative. The government faces a significant challenge in meeting this quota, however, due to a lack of qualified Inuit applicants for open positions. This problem stems in part from a crisis in the Nunavut education system, which many Inuit experience as irrelevant and alienating, evidenced by a high school graduation rate that hovers around 30 percent for Nunavut students (Auditor General of Canada 2010b).⁹

The GN's predicament relates to Max Weber's discussion of the role of the diploma in bureaucratic management. Weber (1958) described how diplomas and certificates replaced earlier forms of education that aspired to develop the "cultivated man," which he understood to mean "that the goal of education consists in the quality of a man's bearing in life which was considered 'cultivated,' rather than in a specialized training for expertness" (Weber 1958:243). These earlier societal norms of education, such as those found in ancient Greece and China, were concerned with the individual's entire way of being. Education for bureaucracy, on the other hand, emphasized expert knowledge and was concerned with developing a particular kind of rationality that would allow individuals to function efficiently as bureaucrats.

Within the GN, the lack of "credentialed" Inuit with high school degrees and specialized diplomas therefore represents a challenge to fulfilling the Article 23 mandate. The Nunavut Land Claims Act anticipated this problem, instructing the government address "systematic discrimination" in hiring and retention by removing "inflated education requirements" and taking steps to include locally relevant criteria in job descriptions such as "knowledge of Inuit culture, society

⁹ The high school graduation and completion statistics for Nunavut are controversial, since there are different ways of calculating this rate. The Government of Canada calculates its rate of 30% based on the percentage of the total 18 year olds of the population who graduate in a given year. As others have pointed out, however, this does not take into consideration either the fact that many adults return to school and complete their degrees after the age of 18, which would point towards a significantly higher rate of completion (Bell 2008), or the fact that some of the high school graduates in Nunavut each year are non-Inuit, which would point towards a lower rate of completion for Inuit students (personal interview with Nunavut Tunngavik staff, 12 May 2010).

and economy; community awareness; fluency in Inuktitut; knowledge of environmental characteristics of the Nunavut Settlement Area; and northern experience” (NLCA 1993:193).

This is somewhat more complex in practice, however, than it might appear. For example, Elaine,¹⁰ a young *Inuk* woman who worked on climate change policy within the GN, told me that she had felt considerable anxiety during the early period of her employment about her relative lack of credentials and experience, particularly when she had to work with scientists whose degrees certified them to discuss climate change with authority. While Elaine held a diploma in Environmental Technology from Nunavut Arctic College, she had not yet gone to university. She felt that her lack of formal credentials caused others to scrutinize and judge her, regardless of her job performance. As Weber might have anticipated, her identity as an *Inuk* did not serve as a qualification that allowed her to feel at ease in her job.

As of September 2010, the GN’s human resources department reported 50% beneficiary employment in a workforce of around 3,000, well below its ultimate goal of 85%, and also below its interim, 2010 goal of 56% (Auditor General of Canada 2010b; GN Human Resources 2010). Furthermore, Inuit employment is concentrated at the very top and bottom of the hierarchy — in the executive level (41%) and the “administrative” (92%) and “paraprofessional” (69%) levels. Positions in the middle of the staff hierarchy have much lower levels of Inuit employment. These mid to senior level positions include “professional” (26% Inuit employment), “middle management” (27% Inuit employment), and “senior management” (21% Inuit employment) (GN Human Resources 2010).

While *Qallunaat* employees from southern Canada fill the majority of these mid tier positions, they do so on temporary contracts that are renewable only one year at a time. Just as Elaine felt that her lack of credentials caused her to be

¹⁰ “Elaine” completed high school in Iqaluit and did a certificate program at Nunavut Arctic College. She began working for the GN first as a summer student and then in a permanent position. After several years of government employment, she moved to Ottawa to pursue a bachelor’s degree.

scrutinized by other employees, several *qallunaat* that I spoke with felt that their status as contract workers discouraged them from developing strong ties to Iqaluit. One *qallunaat* employee told me that when he was hired, his supervisor informed him that she hoped to replace him with an *Inuk* employee when his contract was up, should an individual with the right experience present him or herself. Another *qallunaat* individual who worked at the community level pointed out that the implementation of Article 23 created a dynamic in which *qallunaat* arrived in Nunavut already anticipating their imminent departure and therefore were unlikely to invest significant effort in building ties to people and land in their new environment. As this individual described, the policy is set up to: "...attract those kinds of people who are here only for a couple of years, who are coming for career advancement or to make some cash. They are not really open to investing their time in the community. They are already thinking about leaving when they land." This leads to a self-perpetuating cycle in which *qallunaat* are perceived by Inuit as part of the barrier to improving IQ within the government, yet they are discouraged from investing time and energy into developing strong personal relationships with the land and culture in Nunavut.

Herzfeld (1992) suggests that bureaucratic stereotypes are produced in a dialectic fashion by citizens and bureaucratic authorities. He rejects the idea that bureaucracies replace tradition, arguing instead that they draw on particular, locally derived symbols and categories to articulate their own forms of exclusion through processes of abstraction and refraction of blame. One of the particular ways in which notions of belonging and identity – as well as exclusion – are shaped within the bureaucracy is through the deployment of stereotypes. Citizens stereotype bureaucrats, who in turn stereotype other bureaucrats or the bureaucratic system, itself, in order to avoid taking personal responsibility. Stereotypes "represent long-established prejudices and exclusions, and, like nationalist ideology itself, they use the terms of social life to exclude others on cultural grounds. They render intimate, and sometimes menacing, the abstraction of otherness" (Hertzfeld 1992:72).

In the Government of Nunavut, these processes of stereotyping are clearly visible in the deployment of Article 23, and in the way that questions of Inuit knowledge and culture are sometimes used as markers to determine qualification for bureaucratic work. Although Article 23 was intended to promote Inuit employment, measured and aggregated at the departmental and government levels, it had an immediate impact more locally within departments of creating a heightened sensitivity about race, commitment to locality, and qualification for bureaucratic office. Ironically, this can cut both ways, as I describe above: Inuit knowledge can, in the experience of individual employees, be experienced as a lesser qualification than academic credentials, while as a matter of land claims policy, *qallunaat* are considered less fit for GN positions because they are not Inuit.

Article 23 thus promotes a kind of racialized thinking that views Inuit as locally knowledgeable and emplaced, but lacking in bureaucratic knowledge, and *qallunaat* as foreign and credentialed, but lacking in land-based knowledge. The policy was intended to counter-balance the significance of diplomas as the main qualification for bureaucratic office. The result, however, is not that race and ethnicity disappear from the equation, but rather that different people hold different racialized perceptions of the source of bureaucratic inefficiency and failure. One *qallunaat* employee working in a government department in Iqaluit described the overall atmosphere within the GN as “arrogant, bullying, and demeaning,” stating:

Some of the opinions I get on both sides [from Inuit and *qallunaat*] is staggering... Positions open up where they say we are going to fill this job with a beneficiary. People who are completely qualified get pushed aside for an under-qualified person. Then there is animosity - someone will point to that person and say: ‘That was a token hire, they can’t even read reports or do the stats.’ But on the other side, the government is always hiring people who don’t know anything about the North. They come up here with an attitude that this is all being done backwards, that they have worked in institutions in the South and want to implement all these changes.

Because of the relatively high number of *qallunaat* employees in the government, the few individuals who are officially hired to work on IQ within the government feel that they spend their time translating IQ into a kind of “Inuit culture 101.” For example, initially, the IQ Coordinator for the Department of Health and Social Services offered the following, succinct, summary of his work: “My job is to input Inuit values into programs and services.” After a pause, he added: “I educate the new staff about Inuit culture.” Similarly, the IQ Coordinator for Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth, explained that part of her job was to “translate between Inuit culture and the government culture.” When I asked her to describe more specifically what this entailed, she said that she was often asked to measure, define, and otherwise translate Inuit knowledge into forms that the bureaucracy could accommodate, and into concrete definitions that *qallunaat* could understand.

The stakes of this endeavor as she understood it were significant. When the bureaucracy or individuals within it lacked a basic understanding of Inuit culture, people’s lives could be deeply affected. “For example,” she said, “you’ve seen the photo that was in the newspaper about the two kids sleeping on the street?”

On July 26, 2009, an Iqaluit resident took a photograph of two young boys sleeping beside a trashcan outside of the NorthMart store early in the morning. The resident submitted the photo to the regional newspaper, the *Nunatsiaq News*, and it then circulated in a variety of news media, including CBC internet and television news, and in the national newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*. It prompted a tremendous outpouring of commentary from residents across Nunavut about childrearing, policing, and social services.¹¹ She continued:

The media blamed the mother. The RCMP officer was quoted as saying ‘you’re the worst mother we’ve ever heard of.’ And you know Regilee Piungituq from Clyde River? She came on the radio – on CBC regional radio, they have a place where you can call in

¹¹ I heard some of these conversations in Clyde River when I visited friends who saw the picture on the news and discussed it amongst themselves; for them, it reflected a problem of urban life in Iqaluit, where people didn’t know one another or have the same kinds of support that were present in smaller communities.

and leave a comment about that day's news. She went on the air and said to the mother: we want you to know you are supported, and if you need anything – if you need any counseling – please give us a call. That's the Inuit way: to help find a balance – to support the mother, to help the child.

The IQ Coordinator for CLEY felt that the institutional response to this particular crisis reflected a general lack of understanding about Inuit culture on the part of *qallunaat* workers within the government. That year, CLEY was organizing a series of “IQ Information Sessions” to help educate GN employees about Inuit historical experience and culture, covering topics such as Inuit history, wellness and counseling, men, women, and children’s roles, and parenting. She explained that partly in response to the misunderstandings generated by the circulation of the photo of the children on the street, at the session on Inuit parenting, “we are going to explain Inuit child rearing practices to show that we do have a system, we do have a process for Inuit.”

These issues of intervention into family lives are very real and very painful for many Inuit. There is a historic dimension to this pain associated with the legacy of earlier government policies in which children were removed from families and sent to residential schools or sent south for TB treatment, often without any clear communication about what was happening or how long these children would be away. When the children were returned to their families, they had often lost some of their Inuktitut language skills while also bringing back experiences that family members did not share, thus creating new kinds of separation within families.

While these policies have changed, many other forms of state-initiated intervention remain. For the CLEY IQ Coordinator, these kinds of social policies and the controversies they engender are the reason why IQ is such an important endeavor, and why it remains a source of frustration that her job often seems to entail translating, defining, and measuring at the request of *qallunaat*.

3.7 Government work and land-based knowledge

In reality, the relationship between ethnicity, place, and land-based knowledge was more fluid than the stereotypes discussed above suggest. Iqaluit is a regional center that has attracted migrants from smaller communities as well as from the South. Inuit living in Iqaluit include *Iqalummiut* (Iqaluit residents) whose parents or grandparents migrated between camps in southern Baffin Island before Frobisher Bay was established as a US military refueling base in 1942.¹² Others are relative newcomers who arrived to seek jobs in government or service work, or chose to leave their smaller home communities for other reasons. All of these Inuit sub-groups have different relationships to the city and the land surrounding it.¹³

Similarly, there are different groups of *qallunaat*, some who move to Iqaluit for only a year or two, and others who stay for a longer period of time, who invest in building homes and social networks, and who learn to travel and appreciate the land as a significant part of their northern experience. For example, many of the owners of dog teams in Iqaluit at the time that I conducted my research were *qallunaat*, and they spent a considerable amount of time running their dogs on the tundra and sea ice in Frobisher Bay during the winter and spring months. Other young *qallunaat* GN employees bought skidoos and spent time camping on weekends; some took longer trips to explore more remote parts of the area and pursued hunting and fishing with Inuit friends.

The experience and interest on the part of some *qallunaat* in developing land-based knowledge and skill suggests that certain qualities associated with IQ, particularly familiarity with the land and dedication to place in the Arctic context, are not of necessity ethnic or identity-based qualities. Rather, they emerge from a kind of dedication and commitment, a persistent interest, which might be

¹² In 1987, the municipal council voted to change the name of the town from the English term Frobisher Bay to Iqaluit, which means “place of many fishes” in Inuktitut.

¹³ I am grateful to Jamal Shirley for pointing out the diversity of Inuit sub-groups that reside in Iqaluit.

reinforced through particular kinds of social policies and programs, such as the land-based programs described in the first two chapters of this dissertation or even, on a more superficial level, by the IQ Days described above.

This way of thinking about IQ and personal knowledge of the land was reinforced in the interviews I conducted with Inuit employees of NTI and the GN. For these individuals, knowledge of the land was informed by personal histories, choices and preferences that determined whether or not they sought out opportunities to explore the land and come to know it well. For each of them, knowing the land was not something that happened easily or automatically; it required significant personal investment. Peter,¹⁴ for example, grew up with a single mother and sister, so no one taught him to hunt when he was young; as a result, he found himself working harder to learn these skills at a later age than most:

It wasn't until my late 20s when I moved back North that I started reconnecting with the land and with those skills. A friend took me out on the land, and I learned off him – it was a good way to learn, because with someone your own age, you can actively ask questions without worrying about messing up. In a way, it's easier than learning from an elder. So for example, when we caught some caribou, we stood side-by-side over the caribou, I watched him butcher it and then replicated his actions – with an elder, he might have wanted to cut it up himself and keep hunting.

I was a late starter, so my level of skill isn't as high as some people my age. But when you're older, you can be more dedicated – you're not just observing what others are doing, but actively pursuing that knowledge for yourself. Last year, I took my son out and he caught his first ptarmigan.¹⁵

Similarly, Michael¹⁶ viewed himself as an “outdoors type of person.”

When he lived in southern Canada for work and school, he hiked with *qallunaat*

¹⁴ “Peter” was raised and completed high school in Iqaluit. He attended university in Ottawa for one semester and then attended Nunavut Sivuniqsavut, an educational program for Inuit youth in Ottawa. After working in Ottawa for several years, he returned to Iqaluit with his son. He worked for several years with NTI before taking a middle management position with the GN.

¹⁵ A popular game bird in the Arctic, part of the grouse family.

¹⁶ “Michael” was raised by an *Inuk* father and a *qallunaat* mother; they met when

friends and participated in the ways that they related to nature, which he summed up as: “You don’t kill anything - you go look.” Moving to Iqaluit brought him back in touch with an Inuit way of engaging with the land and animals:

Since I’ve moved back, I’ve been trying to build my skill set. I have a huge respect for the land and a good understanding of how unforgiving it can be. I own a boat and a skidoo, but I’m still getting into a lot of it. At lunchtime I was out setting nets with my friend. I try to live as close to the land as I can, but I don’t know how to butcher seal properly, I don’t know the migration patterns of some of the migratory birds. I don’t know it in the way of most Inuit who say they are on the land, who value being on the land. I don’t have that intimate level of knowledge.... So yeah, I do value it but also recognize right away that I’m not the type of person that is known in the community as being a hunter. I self-identify with the land more than other people would identify me with the land.

Both Michael and Peter described feeling challenged and limited in their pursuit of land-based skills because of their lack of baseline knowledge and their office responsibilities. As Michael stated: “A lot of people who are professionals, especially here in Iqaluit, have a similar reality to me: a burning desire to do more, but not having the skill set you need or the time you need to do more.”

Peter told me that his work schedule posed significant limits to his ability to develop land skills. He woke up early, at 6 am, so he could fit in a quick fishing trip before work, and sometimes he took a slightly longer lunch hour to check his traps. He expressed frustration with the way the Government of Nunavut approached IQ, suggesting that workers should be offered paid leave to pursue hunting, rather than the current two IQ Days per year without pay. For Peter, then, the barriers to pursuing land-based knowledge were primarily structural, based in the policies and procedures of the government.

In the first part of this chapter, I described how the GN follows the Weberian bureaucratic norm by channeling and limiting cultural knowledge to a symbolic status that perpetuates stereotypes about Inuit, *qallunaat*, and

she did volunteer work in northern Canada in her early 20s. Michael grew up in several towns in the Arctic and sub-Arctic as well as in the South with his mother’s family. He completed university and worked with Inuit organizations in Ottawa before moving to Iqaluit and taking a job with NTI.

bureaucrats. As Peter and Michael's narratives demonstrate, however, land-based knowledge remains of significant personal importance to at least some of the individuals who make up the GN bureaucracy. While in some ways, these individuals view their bureaucratic work as getting in the way of pursuing land-based skills, as in Peter's discussion of how hard it was to find time to fish and hunt, in another sense, they, themselves challenge the segregation and spatialization of office and land skills by finding meaning in both paid employment and experience on the land.

3.8 Representing Inuit knowledge in bureaucracy

As I describe in Chapter 4, Inuit knowledge travels into governance spaces in two ways: in the form of documents and other "immutable mobiles" (Latour 1986), and in the form of spokespersons who advocate for its importance and help translate it into a new context. Above, I have presented some of the ways that the GN has tried to draw Inuit knowledge into the government through various material representations, including the climate change strategy document. I now turn to a consideration of the role of spokespersons in the bureaucracy in advocating for Inuit knowledge in light of Article 23's affirmative action policy.

One of the assumptions that underlies Article 23 is that by hiring more Inuit, the government, itself will become more accountable to the needs and interests of the majority Inuit constituency of Nunavut. There is similarly a perception, described above, that having more Inuit employees will make IQ easier to articulate and integrate into the daily practice of government. This reflects an assumption that by being *Inuk*, a person is likely to have access to land-based knowledge, experience, and social values. A related assumption is that Inuit spokespersons, whether they are knowledge holders or not, are more likely to advocate for the engagement of Inuit knowledge in government.

In practice, however, this conception of representation is significantly complicated by both generational and personal differences in land-based knowledge among Inuit, as well as by particular qualities of bureaucracy that

make it difficult for certain individuals to influence government practice. An example will help illustrate both of these points.

Elaine, a former employee of the Department of Environment (DoE) who worked on climate change policy, told me that she felt Inuit knowledge should play a central role in developing a climate change strategy for the territory. Although *Inuk*, Elaine's ability to advocate for and articulate Inuit knowledge within the DoE had been limited by several factors. First, she, herself, did not speak Inuktitut fluently, and she had relatively little experience with life in the smaller Nunavut communities, having spent most of her life in Iqaluit. One of the things she enjoyed most about her position was that it allowed her to travel and interact with Inuit elders and hunters, and to listen as they described their first-hand observations in workshops and knowledge sharing events. In other words, although she was a strong proponent of the value of Inuit knowledge, she was not, herself, a knowledge holder.

Generational differences between older government employees, some of whom were raised on the land, and younger ones who were raised in Inuit settlements or split their time between Arctic communities and cities in southern Canada, confound the stereotype "Inuit=IQ." Many Inuit working for the GN come from younger generations who have been more removed from the "traditional" experience of life on the land that many believe to be an important component of IQ. Some GN employees come from families of mixed ethnicity and have spent time in the Arctic as well as in southern Canadian cities. As a result, one individual who works on IQ within the government told me that increasingly his role involved teaching younger Inuit as well as *qallunaat* about IQ. Similarly, according to CLEY staff, the IQ Information Sessions organized by CLEY were attended roughly equally by *qallunaat* and Inuit staff members, even though they were initially designed to "discuss the Inuit way, how things have changed over the past 40 years, so that the non-Inuk can understand the timeline of changes," as another staff member explained.

Some Inuit employees of the GN and NTI shared with me that because they lacked fluency in Inuktitut or knowledge of hunting, they had struggled to

reconcile their Inuit identity with their work within the government. Michael, for example, described feeling uncomfortable and self-conscious about his relative inexperience on the land when he first moved to Iqaluit. He observed that sometimes people could be critical of those who lacked land skills.

People will use that against you, whether it's language or hunting or general Inuit society practices.... Someone who has a good job, who hasn't been there from the beginning – I don't share every cultural trait with a lot of people, it's the easiest target: you're not really Inuk, you don't speak Inuktitut, you shouldn't be in this job.

The way Michael understood this was that in small communities where people struggle with poverty, sometimes language and culture are among the only resources they have. In these environments, Inuit knowledge can become divisive – a form of identifying who is really local to a place and who is not. From his perspective, the issue lay not so much in the government's policies about IQ, but rather in a more widespread view in Canadian Inuit communities that being Inuit meant cultivating land-based skills.

Michael felt that the best approach was to learn not to take on this belief on a personal level, but rather to accept that it was possible to make valuable contributions to Inuit society through professional work. “I don't speak Inuktitut but that doesn't mean I shouldn't lobby for Inuktitut language,” he stated. “I don't need fluency to understand why people need and want Inuktitut language services in Nunavut.”

David,¹⁷ who had a mixed ethnic identity and had spent some of his school years in southern Canada, offered a more direct critique of the prevailing understanding of IQ within the GN, suggesting that there was a difference between having direct experience with the land and being able to represent Inuit interests in the GN and beyond. He went on to describe how he felt that strong leadership depended on experience beyond the local level:

¹⁷ “David” worked for Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc. (NTI), the Nunavut land claims organization. He had grown up both in Iqaluit and Ontario; his mother was Inuk and his father, a *qallunaat*, worked for the government. David had attended elementary school in Ontario and completed high school in Iqaluit, earning a certificate from Nunavut Arctic College before entering the workforce.

We need people who can [represent Inuit nationally and internationally] and not be culture shocked. You know, there's only a few people that can do that, and they are people that have had experience outside of their little towns. We have to recognize that we're an emerging population. We're not going to be in igloos forever. We're not in them right now!

I interviewed David in Copenhagen, where he was representing Inuit at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). In this statement, David pointed out that his own experience as a spokesperson and representative for Inuit was relatively uncommon in Nunavut. The implication was that the government's strong discursive emphasis on IQ as a source of identity and culture led to an undervaluation of other kinds of experiences for younger Inuit. David challenged this tethering of Inuit experience to a particular space, suggesting instead that movement, cross-cultural experience, and urban life are also part of Inuit experience.

Learning to be a spokesperson or representative within a government bureaucracy was a challenge that others discussed with me. In particular, they struggled with balancing the official positions of government leaders, the importance of representing Inuit knowledge and local experience, and their own opinions on matters of professional and personal interest. In particular, the function of the bureaucrat in upholding positions or decisions reached by higher-level officials was a source of frustration. As Casey¹⁸ explained: "We are not always backed up by our leaders and we're not always there where our leaders are." She gave the example of uranium mining, which NTI supported and which she personally opposed. "I'm so against that, it's really hard for me to be working there," she explained.

Annie¹⁹ described the personal challenge she felt in having to uphold

¹⁸ "Casey," an employee of NTI, grew up in Iqaluit and graduated from high school there. Her mother was a hunter and her father worked for the government. She attended Nunavut Sivuniqsavut in Ottawa, a program for Inuit students that incorporates academics and Inuit politics and history to prepare students for university or employment, and received a diploma from Arctic College.

¹⁹ "Annie" was raised in different towns in Nunavut and Ontario but lived in Iqaluit the longest. Both of her parents had worked for the GN. She finished high

decisions made by others in a slightly different way:

There are certain times when critical decisions have to be made and they aren't made the way we anticipate them because of lack of knowledge of implications of decisions being made in the long-term. It's a very political environment every day - we are at the whim of the politicians' decisions, good or bad.

Another aspect of this challenge was in being asked to represent the institution as a speaker on particular issues where there was no clear position established. When this happened, as Casey explained, there was more room for personal creativity and input, even though technically she was not supposed to voice her own views: "My boss reminds me that I have to make sure I am repeating and backing up what our leaders are saying. But they never say anything, so I can kind of say what I want."

In her work on climate change, Elaine experienced similar challenges to those described by Casey and Annie. When a senior staff member decided not to prioritize climate change for immediate action within the department's roster of projects, there was little that she could do to gather the momentum needed to move the climate change file forward. As she described:

It was difficult even within the department to get people to look at a document on climate change. I might try to hold a meeting or send a document out for discussion, and I wouldn't get a response. People were really busy with other priorities and there was this sense that climate change was not a priority until we got better information to share with people.

Elaine's relative youth, gender, and lack of government experience made it hard for her to forcefully advocate for issues and perspectives she felt were important within the bureaucracy, including climate change and Inuit knowledge.

According to Weber's model, bureaucracies are characterized by a strict hierarchy in which "higher offices supervise lower ones, and lower authorities take over business of higher ones once tasks are established" (1946:197).

Bureaucratic offices are managed through the establishment of rules, the

school in Iqaluit and spent a year in an Aboriginal Studies program at a southern university. Returning to Iqaluit, she worked for the GN as a summer student and then took a job with NTI.

knowledge of which “represents a special technical learning which the officials possess” (1946:198). The jobs within a bureaucracy are characterized in particular by loyalty to “impersonal and functional purposes” (1946:199), which gives bureaucracies their detached or “dehumanized” (as Weber put it) quality, lending reliability, consistency, impartiality, and a certain coldness.

As Elaine’s example illustrates, many of these bureaucratic tendencies work against the engagement of Inuit knowledge in government. In the GN context, IQ implies a commitment to participatory practice that seeks to make government relevant, accountable, and representative of the experience of Inuit living across the territory. Leaving aside the fact that there is considerable diversity of experience in Nunavut, the examples offered in this chapter – particularly my discussion of climate change policy – suggest that this rhetorical commitment to representation is not always achieved. Weber’s description suggests that the reason might lie at least in part in the cultural attributes of bureaucracy, itself. Whether defined as knowledge of the land or interpersonal, relational skills and qualities, IQ represents an emergent, non-hierarchical mode of attention to what is immediately present, quite the opposite of the hierarchical, detached qualities of bureaucratic governance.

Weber believed that the technical superiority of bureaucracy and the efficiencies it enabled, combined with capitalism, would lead to its inevitable spread around the globe, subsuming other modes of thought as it travelled. His description of bureaucracy was thus linked to his pessimistic stance that saw the progression of modernity as an “iron cage” linked to the disenchanting force of rationality. In a discussion of the increasing importance of educational certificates and diplomas as credentials for bureaucracy, Weber elaborated:

Behind all the present discussions of the foundations of the educational system, the struggle of a ‘specialist type of man’ against the older type of ‘cultivated man’ is hidden at some decisive point. This fight is determined by the irresistibly expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority and by the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge. This fight intrudes into all intimate cultural questions (Weber 1958:243).

The characteristics of bureaucracy that Weber described are present in governance institutions in Iqaluit: a focus on formal credentials for hiring and promotion, hierarchy, secrecy, the concentration of power in senior positions, the duty of the bureaucrat to implement policies dictated from above, the powerful role of credentials in determining fit for a particular position.

Weber has, however, been proven wrong on at least one front. Modernity, although contributing to ever-increasing interconnection, has also resulted in selective re-enchantment, in a renewed emphasis on and growing recognition of particular claims to difference (Niezen 2003b). Nunavut Territory, with its interest in *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, is a case in point. As I explore in the section that follows, the fact that a collective would aspire to create a bureaucracy based on cultural difference suggests that the struggle between the “specialist type of man” and the “cultivated man” may not yet have a clear outcome.

3.9 Rehumanizing bureaucracy

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit reflects the aspiration to create a different kind of bureaucracy, one in which culture and Inuit relational qualities can help shape the way that government is practiced. While the institutional norms of Weberian bureaucracy may work against the implementation of a government based on Inuit knowledge and experience, two encounters that I had with employees suggest that there are still spaces within the government in which non-bureaucratic modes of relating to others are articulated and emerge in practice.

In my analysis of these encounters, I draw on a description of IQ that Sheila Watt-Cloutier, who was then Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), shared with the Government of Nunavut in 2002. Asked to reflect on the role of IQ in ICC’s institutional engagements, Watt-Cloutier suggested that this had two dimensions. One of these was the role of IQ in drawing attention to Inuit traditional ecological knowledge as an important resource for decision-makers. The second role for IQ was to “project the values, philosophy, culture and political goals of Inuit to decision-makers” (Watt-Cloutier 2002). Watt-Cloutier

elaborated that IQ was “both the medium and the message”—it was both traditional ecological knowledge, as well as “the context in which to bring forward or embed” traditional knowledge. From this perspective, IQ is both content – knowledge *of* something – as well as a practice of relationship building, which may involve conducting oneself in a particular way in one’s relations with others, a kind of enskillment in Inuit forms of sociality. This definition reflected the sentiment of the IQ principles as they might be embodied or applied in practice.

The first experience I had with this relational embodiment of IQ was during my interview with Peter. I did not know him beforehand, and so I approached him in the rather formal way I approached all government workers, explaining that I wanted to speak with him about his department’s approach to implementing Article 23. When I emailed him to confirm our meeting, I attached a list of questions, and at the last minute decided to include some personal questions about his life experience. When we met in person, I again approached him professionally, focusing on his official work within the government as defined by his job title. Over the course of our conversation, though, I began to notice a subtle redirection on his part, as he started telling me his own story and personal history. I would ask him about education in general, for example, and he would respond by telling me an anecdote from his own life. When I was wrapping up and preparing to close the interview, Peter said: “I thought this would be more technical, but when I read your questions, I got excited - like the question you asked about whether or not I have a connection with the land.”

I settled back into my chair and asked: “So, *do* you feel like you have a personal connection with the land?”

He responded with a very full description of his personal experience with land skills, some of which I described above. Peter explained that he felt his connection to the land was “more of a spiritual question.” His grandmother had loved to fish and “had an uncanny ability to catch loads of them. I always wondered: how can she do that?” A bit later, he continued to explain the

connection to spirituality that he explored through his pursuit of land skills and knowledge:

My generation is less religious than our parents. My mom and her mom were very religious. I try to think back before Christianity: how did my great-grandparents do this? Back then, they practiced shamanism. My grandmother converted at age 30. She wouldn't speak of it – it was rude to ask about it, because she had relinquished that way of life. They did a complete flip after thousands of years without Christianity. But there's still that connection – when we speak of hunting, it's still kind of a spiritual activity. I think the old Inuit ways are still alive in people – we are still doing all those things that our grandparents did.

There was something very poignant about sitting in Peter's office talking with him about the spiritual foundation of hunting. I had wanted to respect his time and was worried that he might be a bit annoyed by a *qallunaat* he didn't know asking what I considered to be personal questions, so until this point I had focused mainly on issues that engaged Peter on a professional, rather than a personal, level. In other words, I wanted to treat him like a bureaucrat. Yet Peter was most interested in the questions I had avoided, questions that, as it turned out, allowed him to give voice to issues he had clearly spent time thinking about and wanted to discuss. He told me that he had many ideas for how the government could improve its engagement with Inuit cultural knowledge. "It's hard to convince people. I feel like it should all be in place already. I've been preparing a presentation of my ideas — I'm hoping I can use that to connect with people," he told me.

At times in Iqaluit, I found myself reacting skeptically to the prevalence of Inuit cultural symbolism in the government, the routinized way that land skills and Inuit knowledge were continually referenced to the point where they seemed like fetishes. But then I would have conversations like this one, where someone would speak in a very heartfelt way about the importance of land-based traditions and the significant individual effort they were making to stay in touch with those practices. In these moments, my skepticism about the uses of tradition took a back seat to a sense of appreciation and admiration. In spite of Peter's frustration with the government's implementation of IQ policy, he had not given up. Instead,

he took the initiative to prepare a presentation, translating his ideas into a format that he knew the bureaucracy could accommodate, based on the hope that he might help instigate change.

I found a similar attitude and approach in my interactions with Naya²⁰, the Coordinator of IQ for the Department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth (CLEY). When I arrived at her office for our meeting, I introduced myself to the receptionist at the front desk, where the Inuktitut “word of the day,” *angajullik* (third largest rogue wave), was prominently displayed. When I asked the receptionist about the meaning, she replied, “You know, like in a tsunami,” and then directed me down the hall. Naya invited me cordially to sit down and discuss my research and questions about IQ with her.

Part way through our discussion, I asked her what she found difficult or challenging about her work, and she replied without hesitation: “Measurement.” She was often asked to measure or evaluate particular concepts in a concrete way so that *qallunaat* could understand them, which is not something that she would be asked to do if she were speaking in Inuktitut to a native speaker. For example, I had asked her how she defined “elder,” since we were discussing the role of elders on the IQ committee. She responded:

There is no definition of ‘elder’ to people in the communities. We let them decide, and they don’t decide based on age, but rather based on experience. Someone who is a model to the community. We don’t say: ‘age 50 and above;’ for example, in the first committee we had someone who was 45 years old. A non-Inuk would never say ‘he’s an elder,’ but for the community, he was knowledgeable.

Naya felt that concrete definitions and measurements, so important to the way that *qallunaat* approached policy and service delivery, were antithetical to the more organic way that Inuit had of expressing their thoughts and relations to one another.

I called Naya more than a year after our initial conversation to request clarification about a particular point I was trying to make related to IQ policy.

²⁰ Pseudonym

She was polite and tried to answer my questions, but it was clear to me from the way she was responding that there was a disconnect of some kind. I thought at first that it was due to the fact that it had been a while since we had met, and that the phone was preventing us from making a good connection with one another, but then Naya intervened into my line of questioning in a way that made it clear that the issue was actually me and my approach to the question at hand.

I had been asking about the CLEY website, and whether or not the list of *Tuttavvit* members was up to date, and I said: “I remember from our last conversation that departments don’t have to participate, that participation is optional.”

Naya replied with a trace of impatience: “No, that is not right at all – it is not optional, you’re not understanding it correctly. All departments are supposed to have a *Tuttavvit* member. Sometimes we have to remind the department that their seat is empty and they should send somebody.”

Something about my lack of understanding and the feelings it prompted in her freed her from the format of questioner (me) and responder (her), and she added: “I wish you would interview senior managers about IQ.”

I struggled to follow the turn in conversation. “Is that because you feel they don’t always understand IQ well?” I asked. Naya responded:

Sometimes I feel the government doesn’t know how to lead on IQ because it’s a different concept. There’s people like yourself that are always asking: how did you get that? Is it written down? When we speak about it in Inuktitut, we understand immediately. But when it gets translated into English, the concepts are not as in-depth... We even think kind of oppositely from the researchers. How I would try to understand IQ is: is it being understood by senior managers?

She told me about another researcher who had been studying IQ in the government after doing research in a small community for 20 years. After asking her questions and attending the *Tuttavvit* meetings for several years, she said she got impatient with his approach. “How come you are asking me all these questions?” she wondered. “Why don’t you research instead: Is IQ working in the government?” She had begun to print up papers and reports in anticipation of his

arrival because “I knew what he was going to ask. But then I finally started to say to him: how about you? What are you going to provide for me, too? You have time to research, you are always asking but do not have time to provide.”

I had called Naya planning to fill in some blanks about the history of how the IQ concept had been developed and evolved within the GN structure, but Naya, who had heard all of these questions before, had her own idea of what the problem was and how researchers like myself were part of it. In the interim she had refined her own thinking and seemed to feel confident in redirecting our conversation in a more overt way. She compared my interest as a researcher in measurement and definition with bureaucratic tendencies to ask for the same things – translation of knowledge into a particular format that could be easily inserted into a file, checked off a list, or otherwise quantified and forgotten about.

What she expected was that researchers like myself would stop asking her questions without offering something back to help the conversation move forward within the government. Rather, she hoped we might use our position of relative power to engage senior managers in a conversation about IQ. She felt it would be useful to develop a statement or document to share with the government, “Because they [the government] are always asking for these reports and plans: what did we do, what do we plan to do?” she said. As a follow-up, Naya suggested creating an email group with other researchers where we could have a conversation about these issues.²¹

One of the characteristics of bureaucracy that Max Weber described was the institutionalization of rationality, which he associated with the use of calculable rules “without regard for persons.” It is this characterization of bureaucracy that Weberian scholars refer to when they talk about the “dehumanizing” effects of bureaucracy. As Paul Nadasdy understood it, “This

²¹ I was pleased with Naya’s invitation and a bit embarrassed that I had not asked her more directly about whether I could be helpful through my research. We followed up with a series of emails and Naya planned a meeting for several researchers on IQ. However, because I cannot speak Inuktitut and the other researchers were able to, we agreed that it would be easier if I left the group so that they could communicate in Inuktitut rather than being limited by having to translate into English.

‘rationalization’ of how First Nations peoples deal with the land and animals is essential for their participation in land claims negotiations, co-management, and other such processes because it allows federal and territorial (or provincial) bureaucrats... to interact with their First Nations counterparts according to the ‘calculable rules’ within which they already function” (2003:7).

In my interactions with Naya, I made the same mistake that I did with Peter: I approached her as a bureaucrat and expected that she would relate to me based on the calculable rules of bureaucratic office, even though the subject we were discussing was Inuit culture and knowledge. Both Peter and Naya redirected my questions to focus on the topics and issues that they perceived as more directly relevant to IQ. Their interventions disrupted Weber’s assumption that bureaucracy is always dehumanizing; rather, they demonstrated a hopeful orientation that, at least in the instance of individual encounters, individuals operating within bureaucracies might embody a more human-centered philosophy.

In her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes research “through imperial eyes” as “research which is imbued with an ‘attitude’ and a ‘spirit’ which assumes a certain ownership of the entire world, and which has established systems and forms of governance which embed that attitude in institutional practices” (Smith 1999:56). Similarly, in *A Post-Capitalist Politics*, feminist geographers J.K. Gibson-Graham discuss the habits and cultures of thinking that academics participate in, suggesting that our tendency towards “all-knowingness about the world” diminishes the prospects of emergent, local political and economic non-capitalist projects (Gibson-Graham 2007). Following Smith and Gibson-Graham’s critiques, by expecting Naya and Peter to behave as southern bureaucrats would, I was actually reinforcing the bureaucratic logic that was undermining the political project of infusing IQ in government practices.

My discussion of IQ in Nunavut deploys methods of critique that separates my own thinking from the realm of engaged practice that Naya urged me to enter. These encounters and exchanges prompted me to think more carefully about the relationship between knowledge, personal experience, and institutionalized or

bureaucratic work. In their interactions with me, Naya and Peter both embodied a decidedly non-bureaucratic way of relating that pointed towards another way of understanding and approaching IQ. While many of the characteristics of bureaucracy that Weber described appeared, on first glance, to govern the culture of the GN bureaucracy, my encounters with Naya and Peter led me to question the extent to which bureaucracy must always override other modes of social organization, as Weber believed it would.

3.10 Conclusion

The articulation of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, defined as the effort to bring Inuit knowledge into the Government of Nunavut, reflected the desire to practice government differently, to create a bureaucracy that could be significantly shaped by Inuit culture. In this chapter, I have tried to show how IQ has been articulated in particular policies and forms that reflect wider characteristics of bureaucracy. Through the development of land claims provisions and written documents, perhaps most prominently Article 23, Inuit land-based identity became drawn into the government bureaucracy in a way that fed, rather than counteracted, bureaucracy's own logics. IQ is therefore emblematic of the metaphorical distance between those who work for the government and those who experience governance as something imposed from outside their immediate domain of experience – the majority of the population of Nunavut. Ironically, the spatialized referencing of IQ, which emphasizes the place-based nature of Inuit knowledge and experience, also serves to reinforce conceptions of Inuit identity that tend to polarize rather than unify Inuit who work for the government and those who do not, and Inuit and *qallunaat* government workers.

Max Weber described bureaucratic office as dependent on the replacement of social embeddedness with a detached efficiency, which he understood as a form of rationality. Weber was pessimistic about the trajectory of modernity, believing that it would eventually lead to the disenchantment of the world through the spread of western, bureaucratic rationality. He was aware, however, that

rationality was contextual, that it emerged and took particular forms and shapes in a variety of contexts (du Guy 2011). As Weber wrote: “Rationalism is a historic concept that covers a whole world of different things,” (Weber 1930:77-78, cited in du Guy 2011:14), leaving open the possibility of creating a bureaucratic organization that might draw predominantly on Inuit, rather than *qallunaat*, rationality.

It is also the case that while Weber’s description of the practices and functions of bureaucracy remains uncannily accurate, he also failed to understand the persistence, perhaps even the human need, for enchantment, culture, identity, and other forms of belonging, which animates the idea of IQ and the support it enjoys by Inuit and non-Inuit alike. The profiles of GN and NTI employees included in this chapter suggest that IQ has a second life beyond the bureaucratic framework given to it by the GN. They reflect a sense of longing for intimate rather than detached norms of relating to one another and to the land.

Just as affect, the emotional, pre-discursive feelings and attachments that emerge from social and place-based relations, structured the experiences of women who participated in the berry picking retreat described in Chapter 2, it can also be said to animate the way individuals within the GN relate to Inuit knowledge. This is because when individuals serve as spokespersons for knowledge, they carry with them past understandings and experiences, shaped by personal and family connections to the land and to other people. William Mazzarella offers a concise description of this process:

From the standpoint of affect, society is inscribed on our nervous system and in our flesh before it appears in our consciousness. The affective body is by no means a *tabula rasa*; it preserves the traces of past actions and encounters and brings them into the present as potentials (Mazzarella 2009:292).

Informed by the affects that emerge from place-based social practices, IQ can be understood to reorient the modes of relationship that emerge in the context of institutions, governments, and diplomatic engagements. IQ might be viewed as an attempt to rework the terms of rationality that operate within the GN, moving

towards greater contextual and emergent relational practice in the context of decision-making and representational politics.

This more hopeful perspective was reflected in Peter Harries-Jones' description of IQ as "reflexive traditionalism" (2004); for Jones, IQ was an example of how the traditional can be invoked in a way that does not require a "time-warp" or ignore the contemporary or even future-orientation of non-Western knowledge. He described Nunavut's IQ policy as a kind of "inverse anthropology" that allows Inuit to define their own culture rather than relying on social scientists or government bureaucrats to do so.

His discussion reflects sentiments that were perhaps more widely shared at the time when he wrote his article, when the Government of Nunavut was still only a few years old. Five years later, I encountered a greater sense of skepticism among the employees that I interviewed as to whether IQ would ever be taken seriously by government leaders, or if it would remain sidelined and constrained by bureaucratic practice. Nevertheless, IQ remains for many people a marker of what they hope the government of Nunavut will one day embody. This combination of wariness and hopefulness was reflected in the individual narratives of employees profiled in this chapter.

At the beginning of this chapter, I described the way that Inuit knowledge of climate change was drawn into the *Upagiatavut* strategy, asking why Inuit knowledge played such a limited role given the government's stated commitment to IQ. In the pages that followed, I suggested that the answer to this question lay in the formalizing, abstracting, and segregating tendencies of bureaucracy, which allowed it to invoke IQ through symbols without actually having to substantively incorporate Inuit knowledge in the strategy document. I stand by this critique. At the same time, as climate change activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier has suggested, IQ informs policy as both concrete observation of environmental phenomena, and also as a *mode of relationship* that can both inform and emerge from the practice of politics. This latter understanding of IQ suggests that one must look beyond material forms to the role of individual spokespersons in translating knowledge in

the context of bureaucracies and formal meetings. I explore this topic further in the chapters that follow.

Chapter 4: Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge: Translation, Mediation and Representation in Climate Change Projects

In early July of 2008, I attended a conference in Iqaluit called “Planning for Climate Change: Weathering Uncertainty.” The conference was jointly organized by the Canadian Institute of Planners and staff members of the City of Iqaluit’s planning division. The majority of attendees were southern-based planners interested in sustainability, with a handful of academics, government scientists and managers, and a few Inuit community members. During the day, we spent much of our time in a stuffy conference room in the Frobisher Inn, which advertised itself as the “largest and best hotel in the Eastern Arctic,” and where room rates were \$250 a night. Outside, the temperature was a record-breaking 28°C (82°F), the highest since record keeping began in 1946. We sat with the back door of the conference room propped open, waving ourselves with conference programs to try to keep cool. The newspaper that week featured a story about the collapse of a bridge in Pangnirtung, the closest community north of Iqaluit, due to slumping permafrost; the situation had left the community cut off from their sewage lagoon. The visibility of these changes was not lost on the conference organizers or participants, who commented about how we were seeing first-hand the impacts of climate change on the Arctic.

Conference organizers incorporated several sightseeing and cultural activities, including an Inuit fashion show, a square dance with a local band, and a trip to the lovely Sylvia Grinnell Park, located within walking distance of the town. The park is a place where Inuit and *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) alike love to spend summer evenings barbecuing, picnicking, and fishing from the Sylvia Grinnell river. There, perched on a ledge overlooking the waterfalls below, we enjoyed bannock and tea and a drum dance and storytelling performance by Inuk politician Peter Irniq, who served as the Commissioner of Nunavut from 2000 – 2005. In other words, even though the conference was about climate change, with a particular focus on climate change in the Arctic, it wasn’t designed for Arctic residents or decision-makers, but rather for southerners – myself included – who were eager for a taste of northern culture.

The conference was opened by the ceremonial lighting of a *qulliq* by a female elder, a traditional lamp carved from stone in a half-moon shape. Traditionally, the *qulliq* was fueled with seal fat and Arctic cotton used for wicks; today, it is commonly lit with Crisco brand vegetable oil. The first plenary session featured a scientist from Natural Resources Canada who delivered a PowerPoint about the macro scale impacts of climate change on the Arctic, featuring satellite images of sea ice melt and tables of temperature data. After lunch, a second plenary session entitled “Inuit Observations: Conversations with Elders” featured four male elders from different Inuit communities, who each offered his own description of the changes he had observed. When Charlie¹ of Iqaluit was called to the podium, however, in addition to sharing observations of change, he also offered a succinct critique of the southern expertise at the gathering: “I thought there would be more Inuit here. There are many experts and doctors participating here, and I don’t have those papers, but I do have equal knowledge. Next time when you have a conference, invite more Inuit. We are Canadians, too, and we deserve to be included.”

Charlie’s comment about the lack of Inuit representation was delivered in a session that was intended to offer a space for Inuit knowledge in a conference dominated by planning and science. It emphasized the significant degree to which interfaces between Inuit and scientific knowledge are power-laden and, as I later learned and discuss below, it was also fueled by Charlie’s own significant experience as a political representative in contexts where Inuit expertise is routinely ignored. It was a pointed, political comment that questioned scientific expertise while reinforcing Inuit knowledge, a source of cultural difference even in this gathering held in a town in which Inuit make up the majority of the population.

Charlie’s critique and the events leading up to it point toward the dual nature of representation in the context of knowledge production. One aspect of this duality is the way that knowledge representations become materialized in particular forms – PowerPoint’s, graphs, and objects like the *qulliq*, which was

¹ Pseudonym

used at the climate change conference to symbolically represent Inuit knowledge. These forms sometimes act as boundary objects (Star and Griesemer 1989) that mediate between differently situated actors, who in turn understand and relate to them in different ways. Material representations can in certain instances help broker shared projects, while in other cases, they help illustrate the inequities and power imbalances always at play in efforts to communicate or collaborate across difference.

While the material representations described above are essential to the creation and transmission of knowledge, only human actors bring agency and intentionality to their efforts to make knowledge mobile. As documented in both anthropology and science studies, expert knowledge has a performative dimension (Ellen and Harris 2000; Gupta 1998; Irwin 1995; Richards 1993). Human actors use a variety of material forms and technologies through which to transfer or move knowledge across time and space, and they also use their own voices, narratives, and bodies to perform their expert knowledge. Therefore not only is Inuit knowledge represented in gatherings like the Planning for Climate Change conference in material forms, it also is represented through human spokespersons or interpreters who perform their expertise in a variety of ways. As Candis Callison points out, “It takes an interpreter to make climate change an Inuit issue, and conversely, Inuit experiences a feature of climate change” (Callison 2010:53).

As my discussion of climate change narratives in Clyde River and Iqaluit in earlier chapters illustrated, conceptions of climate change travel from the local to global and vice versa. In this chapter, I consider the question of how Inuit knowledge is translated or mediated through both material and performative representations as it travels. Several questions inform this inquiry, including: what difference does it make in terms of the reception of knowledge to have a spokesperson advocating for it? How does the experience of being a spokesperson in representational spaces like conferences affect the subjectivity of Inuit who engage in this process?

By discussing both knowledge spokespersons and material representations in the same chapter, I demonstrate that the two are not easily divorced from one

another. Similarly, Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and others (Callon 1986; Jasanoff 2004; Latour 1987) have outlined the ways in which the scientific and social are co-constituted. The particular point I emphasize is that when the knowledge in question represents cultural difference, as in the epistemological encounters between science and Inuit knowledge or between Inuit knowledge and human rights law, the role of the knowledge spokesperson, or translator, is particularly important. I therefore focus in particular on the role of the human actor in effecting knowledge translations.

4.1 Part I: Knowledge spokespersons

The representation of Inuit knowledge in scientific conferences and gatherings in Canada has become commonplace in the post-land claims era, yet Inuit are still in the minority in gatherings focusing on Arctic science, and their role is often symbolic, as in the case of the planning conference described above. While Inuit organizations like Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc., often serve as co-hosts of scientific meetings and conferences like the ArcticNet conference described below, the meeting agendas are largely driven by the needs and interests of southerners rather than northerners. Material and logistical barriers, such as the need for passports to attend international conferences and the high cost of airfare for travel from the Arctic to southern Canada, explain some of the disparity of representation.²

In many cases, these gatherings are convened by *qallunaat* and Inuit attend as political representatives through the institutions mentioned above or through sponsorships, which are in limited supply. In other instances, Inuit participate as partners in collaborative research projects that are shepherded through the abstract submission process by their *qallunaat* collaborators, who are better versed in the forms and languages of academic gatherings. Inuit who do attend scientific conferences are of course very aware of their underrepresentation

² To fly from Clyde River to Iqaluit, where the Planning for Climate Change conference was held, for example, costs around \$1,000 round trip. A round trip airfare from Clyde River to Ottawa can cost as much as \$3,000.

at these events, as Charlie's comment demonstrates. Sitting through talk after talk in which *qallunaat* researchers engage in the academic ritual of reinforcing their expertise over the land, animals, and even social practices of Inuit communities predictably reinforces the perception of the Inuit minority that science does not always or even usually serve Inuit interests.

In this section, I consider the spaces of conferences and gatherings as a site of epistemological encounter in which Inuit knowledge is enacted and invoked. These gatherings offer a particularly good context in which to examine the role of spokespersons in the mobility of Inuit knowledge. I examine several examples of knowledge representation, asking how these performative engagements reflect different understandings of climate change and the nature of knowledge, and what kinds of translations are required to make Inuit knowledge palatable for non-Inuit audiences. I also consider the ways that these spaces enable or constrain Inuit expertise in relation to other knowledge brokers.

This discussion requires a consideration of the role of spokespersons as translators or mediators of knowledge. In the anthropology of development, translators (managers, consultants, community leaders) are referred to as "brokers" (Bierschenk et al. 2002; Mosse and Lewis 2006) whose role is to allow projects that involve actors with widely different goals and understandings to move forward in spite of these differences. In legal anthropology, Sally Engle Merry's research on human rights has focused on translations enacted by activists who vernacularize human rights frameworks, adapting them to local institutions and meanings (2006a; 2006b). She is interested in how ideas take particular forms, how these forms circulate, and how they are reworked to be made more acceptable locally. Her focus on the "people in the middle" parallels my consideration of the role of Inuit translators who participate in conferences and international governance contexts like the UNFCCC.

While Merry's translators constitute a class of actors who regularly travel to and engage with these processes, here, I consider the roles of Inuit

spokespersons whose participation in these spaces is more occasional.³ While the actors I profile here all represent Inuit knowledge, the way they position and frame knowledge is dependent on the specific context of the gathering space, as will become clear in the examples that follow.

The short vignettes included in this section are intended to point towards the complex negotiations that occur in these representational contexts. Each example raises further questions that might be explored elsewhere – the point here is to paint a broad picture of how individuals navigate the representational environment of conferences and meeting spaces where Inuit knowledge is often referenced, shared, and deployed politically to negotiate difference.

4.1.1 Representing Inuit knowledge in local governance

Charlie, the Inuit elder from Iqaluit who spoke at the planning conference, was a well-credentialed spokesperson for the value of Inuit knowledge of climate change. He was an expert hunter and went out on the land often. He had travelled extensively throughout the Baffin region for work, and as he told me later in an interview, he had first heard about climate change more than 20 years earlier from elders in Broughton Island, and then Pond Inlet and Pangnirtung. “This was before it became trendy to talk about climate change,” he told me. “The knowledge up to that time was that the climate is changing, but those elders had noticed escalation in the change in the climate. They were forecasting a more rapid change in the coming years.” One of the things the elders shared with him was about how the sun and winds had shifted, a phenomenon not generally associated with climate change or even observed by Western scientists, as I discuss further below:

One thing they noticed, the sunrise has shifted a few degrees. Where it used to rise over here for example, it is now rising over here. So it has shifted. And of course it goes without saying how the winds are affected. The North prevailing wind that used to be in that direction, it has also shifted a few degrees. So it seems like

³ But see Chapter 5 where I discuss the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s representational work in the UNFCCC.

we are affected by everything around us. Who knows – maybe one of the reasons that we have less order and more chaos around here is the shifting of the directions and sunrise and so on (Personal interview, 10 September 2009).

In this way, Charlie demonstrated to me the depth of his own knowledge of climate change in the Arctic, reinforced through his exchanges and encounters with others who shared a similarly deep knowledge base, and his belief in the significance of the changes Inuit had observed.

Charlie had served as a member of the Iqaluit city council for 10 years and was the sole Inuktitut-only speaking member of the council when I did my fieldwork. Later, I asked him in an interview what he had hoped to accomplish when he decided to run for city council; his answer paralleled his critique of the climate change conference:

The biggest reason for my running was that Inuit can easily be equal partners in any negotiation or any negotiation with those in power. So any plans being drafted, Inuit should be partners and they were not at the time. And so the way I saw it, we are very aware of things around us... and I wanted Inuit to have their say. That's why I ran originally. It is my experience that those that live in any given area usually have a lot more experience and perception, as well as understanding of things around them, either before history – the past – as well as today. So basically, I wanted the long-term residents of Iqaluit to have a say and I thought I could be a voice for them (Personal interview, 10 September 2009).

Charlie's explanation reinforced Inuit expertise in the form of awareness of the environment ("the things around us"). As an example, he pointed to the new arena, the Arctic Winter Games Complex, which has been constructed in Iqaluit in 2002. Unfortunately, since its construction, the city had not been able to use it for hockey or skating, because the ground beneath the arena was shifting due to the arena's weight and the permafrost composition. Charlie explained that he and another Inuit resident had voiced concerns over the site, which was selected by the "big engineering firm," who, as he explained, felt: "Everything is perfect, we are qualified to do this."

In contrast, he had raised concerns that the terrain might not hold a building of that weight. “But they built it and – surprise – they are losing millions of dollars because the building is sinking and moving around. That is one example of a voice that should have been heard and was not.” Charlie then suggested that paying attention to “the voices of the long-term northerners” was important in the context of climate change, because of their knowledge of how the land and terrain reacted to fluctuations in climate.

Although Charlie had been introduced at the conference as a knowledgeable elder and City Council member, the southern audience was probably not aware of the depth of his experience as a representative for Inuit in local politics, nor of the degree to which he had been singled out as an expert on climate change. He told me he had been interviewed quite a few times about climate change and had been invited to speak about it at a number of conferences outside the territory, though so far he had been unable to participate in any of them. Charlie was among the Iqaluit residents who were interviewed for the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (described in more detail below). When I asked Charlie whether the average person in Iqaluit was concerned about climate change, he replied:

The regular person out there, they might have a similar understanding, but because they are not making decisions or plans on it, they are not as vocal as let’s say myself. I do a lot of interviews on this one. As people are interviewed, they get to think of the issue a little bit more and they learn to verbalize it a little bit more. So those of us involved can be much more vocal compared to people out there who don’t have to make too many decisions about it aside from their own personal ones (Personal interview, 10 September 2009).

Charlie’s experience with climate change, then, was at once personal or experiential and political, and he interwove his experience in both domains when he served as a spokesperson for Inuit knowledge of climate change. His comments suggest that there is an iterative process at work through which the individual understandings of actors become solidified through their work as spokespersons, and in which their performed expertise can also help inform wider

articulations of climate change knowledge. In his words, this meant becoming “much more vocal” than others on climate change related issues, a process that might be described as becoming an expert rather than just a knowledgeable person.

At the Planning for Climate Change conference, in addition to sharing observations of change, Charlie also delivered his critique about the lack of Inuit representation. For him, the opportunity to participate on equal terms with scientists and southerners was a right of citizenship as well as being important for good governance. As he pointed out, Inuit knowledge and experience of the environment was a strong qualification for involvement in all aspects of decision-making. His example of the Arctic Winter Games complex was a cautionary tale about what can happen when Inuit are underrepresented in decision-making spaces or when their voices and perspectives are not taken seriously.

4.1.2 Elder vs. youth perspectives

Like Charlie, himself, Anna⁴ from Clyde River was an exception to Charlie’s observation about the relative exclusion of Inuit from the climate change conference. Along with a younger man named Nick, Anna was representing the Ittaq Heritage and Research Center and the Nunavut Climate Change Partnership (described in Chapter 1) in a session entitled “Community-led Capacity Building and Monitoring.” A stooped, elderly woman with a friendly, open face and long grey hair pulled back in a ponytail, Anna was a committee member of Ittaq and the Chair of the Elders’ Committee in Clyde River. As a member of the Ittaq committee, she reviewed proposals from visiting researchers who wanted to come to Clyde River and suggested ideas for research that she would like to see conducted in the community. She also had many ideas about how Ittaq could help preserve Inuit culture and heritage, including through heritage collections as well as skill-building workshops.

⁴ Pseudonym

At the conference, Anna spoke of her hopes that the new Ittaq center would serve as a space for healing and reconciliation, games, teaching sewing skills, and making traditional tools like bone needles and hooks for dogsledding. She said:

My goal for the research center is to relearn how to hunt caribou with a bow and arrow so young people can hunt this way. Young people know a lot about items they order from China, and a lot about cash—where to get it. They can read something and understand immediately what it means.

We are trying to revive the old culture. Our traditions will be taken off the shelf and put back in the spotlight. We used to go far away from the community – we were nomadic. Nowadays, young people don't get out of the community much.

It's great that young people can speak both English and Inuktitut, and I wish I could speak and understand English.

While the session theme focused on “capacity-building and monitoring” in the context of climate change, Anna's statement broadly emphasized the importance of Inuit knowledge and the challenges of transmitting it to the younger generation. Her hope that the center would support the re-learning of bow and arrow hunting reinforced the heritage dimension of the center's mission, which as described in Chapter 1, also included supporting scientific research.

In her brief presentation, Anna chose to represent not only the land-based skills of Inuit knowledge, but also to affirm other kinds of knowledge. Her statement was inclusive and supportive of the life experiences of younger Inuit. While her statement was interpreted at the conference as referring to English literacy skills, in practice, the term “*qallunaatitut*” refers to both the language and ways of white people (Searles 2008). Anna's discussion of young people's knowledge therefore encompassed their understanding of white people's culture and ways of being. When I interviewed her the following year, I asked her about the role of young people in the hamlet in Clyde River, and she offered a similar perspective, stating:

I feel young people have a lot of potential because they know English and the way of English, and Inuktitut and the way of

Inuit.... Young people are educated more today, that's why we have a more successful economy. Even young people travel to the south to give speeches at conferences and stuff like that. When we lived in a small place, we were sort of like invisible. But now more people know about us (Personal interview, 13 July 2009).

While she made it clear that she saw value in the more worldly knowledge of younger Inuit, she also valued the “old culture” and hoped to find ways to reconnect young people to these land-based traditions. She clearly did not entirely approve of all the changes she had seen, pointing towards materialistic tendencies of younger generations – those who understand and have embraced *qallunaat* ways – and contrasting them to the hunting traditions she hoped to revive.

Later, Anna and I sat at the same table at another conference session that was teaching about a planning tool called “charrettes,” which the organizers suggested could be used to engage community members in climate change adaptation planning. They led us through an interactive exercise in which we were each given a role of a different community member – elder, youth, business owner, town planner – and then were asked to speak from this perspective about community needs relating to climate change. When it was Anna’s turn, she told us: “I’m a youth and I would like to see more activities in town for me and my friends. I’m often bored and have nothing to do. Why doesn’t the town build a youth center so my friends and I will have somewhere to go?”

When I interviewed Anna the following year in Clyde River, I reminded her about the charrette exercise and told her I had admired her ability to take on the perspective of youth and describe how they might feel. She laughed and said, “I really liked that. I liked trying to get into the role of a young person.”

Elders are often invited to share their first-hand knowledge of environmental change, based on many years of close association with the Arctic environment, including having grown up “on the land” before permanent settlements were established. These elders are representatives speaking for and about Inuit knowledge, but often their role is also symbolic; they therefore serve equally as representations of knowledge. In the case of the woman lighting the

qulliq at the Planning for Climate Change conference, this symbolic role was particularly clear.

Like elders, adults and younger Inuit also represent local knowledge in scientific conferences or international gatherings like the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), as I discuss further in Chapter 5. Some have direct observations to share, while others serve as conduits or spokespersons for the knowledge of others. The younger Inuit I interviewed who had participated in representational gatherings felt a sense of responsibility as spokespersons for Inuit culture, and often fulfilled this role by referencing the knowledge of elders.

I spoke with John,⁵ a man in his early 30s who served as the Ittaq Coordinator, about his participation in climate change conferences and meetings. When I asked him where he got his information about climate change, he said: “probably from friends talking about it, and mostly from my job now.” However, this didn’t mean that John had no direct observations about climate change to share. He added that when he heard things about climate change from other people, “I try to investigate it on my own time and see the actual result. For instance, the snow meltiness of the other side [of the bay] is like August meltiness, but it’s only the second week of July.”

“How do you know it’s like August?” I asked.

“Pictures kind of stuck in my head of August time,” he replied. “We see it daily – we see the meltiness going faster every year. But I hear it’s harder to predict weather by just seeing clouds now. It’s not telling the whole story anymore.” In this last statement, John demonstrated that climate change had become visible even to those who do not have specialized land-based knowledge.

Other young people also shared personal observations of climate change with me. When I asked one woman in her early 20s about the differences between how elders and youth were experiencing climate change, she responded: “I think youth are noticing it because there’s talk about it and because these winters are different from when I was a kid when I used to play outside.” Still, she

⁵ Pseudonym

felt that for elders “it’s a lot more drastic” since they had observed the changes over a longer period of time. Similarly, John’s reference to weather prediction, a skill that many people in the community told me is disappearing and only a few elders still know, suggested that more complex and nuanced observations of change are limited to elders and experts.

4.1.3 Bringing back knowledge

When I asked Anna if she had learned anything new at the conference in Iqaluit, she replied:

Yes, when the white man talked, I learned about the ozone layer around the earth. And also close to here, like where the point is over there, the ice has not very thick ice. It probably was caused by climate change. And do you see some light patches over there? Those used to be snow patches that lasted all year. But they have melted. And the glacier from over there – it’s melting (Personal interview, 13 July 2009).

It is difficult to say exactly how much the exposure to scientific perspectives on climate change at this particular event influenced Anna’s thinking, since multiple knowledge perspectives on climate change regularly circulate at the community level. A randomized survey I conducted in Clyde River of 60 community members across three age groups suggested that diverse knowledge sources were widely present in the community. Among survey participants, 70% reported learning about climate change from personal observation; 17% from hunters and elders; 62% from the media; 40% from scientists who had visited the community; and 28% from school. An additional 8% added a write-in category of religion, as I discussed in Chapter 2.

Anna had more access than many community members to scientific narratives through her involvement with Ittaq. Her familiarity with different sources of information about climate change was reflected at different points in our interview, including her comments about what she had learned at the conference as well as her response to my question, “Who do you think is responsible for climate change?” She replied:

I'm not sure because it was already told in the old days that it would happen. But I have also heard that the pollution from the South is causing the ozone layer to weaken so that's why the sun is more intense now. But it was meant to happen anyway (Personal interview, 13 July 2009).

Anna's multivocal response points toward the hybrid and performative nature of knowledge. In postulating a theory of knowledge-as-performance, Paul Richards (1993) argued that indigenous knowledge should be understood as a set of "improvisational capacities" that are drawn on depending on the needs of the moment. Similarly, in a discussion of agricultural production in rural India, Akhil Gupta described the practices of "code switching" in which he observed farmers "speaking in the 'system' of indigenous agronomy in one instance and the 'system' of bioscience in the next" (Gupta 1998:5). While Richards emphasized the practices of production and Gupta compared the discourses used by farmers to describe and make sense of their practices, both approaches suggest that there is a performative nature to indigenous or local knowledge that is visible both in the context of knowledge-making and knowledge-deployment in situ, and in the way that knowledge is understood through discursive practices, such as those of conferences settings that I describe.

Because Inuit actors have multiple knowledge sources to draw on, they can be selective about which sources they engage in any particular context. This may involve leaving out certain experiences or "facts" that they feel personally committed to, yet are not called for in the moment, as was the case when Anna was unable to share her observations of climate change at the conference in Iqaluit due to time constraints. Her discussion of responsibility for climate change suggests that she did not feel the need to choose between multiple narratives of causation; instead, she simply relayed the different explanations she had heard. At the same time, Anna's response to my question about what she had learned at the Iqaluit conference was also telling. Although she answered by referencing scientific knowledge, she immediately switched to focus on her personal observations, suggesting that while she had absorbed aspects of the

scientific perspective from the conference, she felt more comfortable speaking from her own experience.

Perhaps more than for Anna, participation in climate change conferences also shaped John's understanding of climate change and his sense of the kind of projects that might be affiliated with it. When I first met and interviewed John in Clyde River in the summer of 2009, he had recently returned from his first conference on climate change, held at University of British Columbia. When I asked him what he had learned, he responded: "What I've learned most about was that we can manage without relying on diesel fuel too much." He continued:

For instance, we can probably start up a windmill project or something, because we get a lot of winds year round. And we have a river that runs year round not too far from Clyde River, we could maybe start up a dam over there. Or we could use the current on the ocean, we have a current that runs yearly too, not too far from here either. On summertimes we could probably start up a greenhouse plant – garden or something, or plant things that are hard to ship up North, maybe we could plant them or get them ourselves and maybe start up solar powered energy, because we have the sunlight for maybe three months straight 24 hours. After that it's regular dawn and dusk from 7 to 5. And then we get total darkness – probably a windmill would work then (Personal interview, 10 July 2009).

John wasn't the only individual from Clyde River who spoke with me about alternative energy potential when I asked about climate change; two other young men who both had been affiliated with Ittaq also mentioned it in interviews and casual conversations. Unlike Anna, these men, all in their mid to late 20s, were fluent in *qallunaatitut* (the ways and language of white people) and had been educated in the formal school system, so they had a better chance of understanding the breadth of conversations that took place at scientific conferences. Their contact with the languages and technologies of climate change mitigation in conferences was reinforced through conversations with several scientists who visited Clyde River and shared these interests, and so the discourse

of alternative energy entered Clyde River at least in part through these knowledge and representational exchanges.⁶

I do not want to overemphasize the idea that travel beyond the local level only resulted in bringing back scientific perspectives, however. Travelling to conferences and political meetings also allowed residents to listen to and learn from Inuit observations of environmental change from other regions and communities, and to compare these perspectives with what people were seeing in Clyde River. As I described in Chapter 2, travel to regional evangelical meetings also resulted in the introduction of religious narratives on environmental change to Clyde River.

4.1.4 Temporality and performativity in knowledge spaces

While Anna had enjoyed playing the role of a youth during the charrette exercise at the climate change conference, she seemed to have more ambivalent feelings about the session where she was a presenter. Our conversation about it went like this:

Noor: What was your role in the conference?

Anna: When Nick said we will be given a chance to speak, I really wanted to speak. It was a short time when I was able to speak. February to May we used to be able to live in igloos. Even in February, the snow is not right anymore to make igloos. It would be best in January, and we would go off into February keeping the house, but we can't do that anymore. In February it tends to sag.

Noor: So did you have enough time to tell people everything you wanted to say?

⁶ I believe that the media was another source of alternative energy discourse in Clyde River, though this point wasn't raised in any conversations or interviews. Interviews with several youth in their late 20s, though, pointed towards the importance of the media as a source of information about environmental problems; one of them told me about her concern about oil spills, for example, based on what she had seen on the news about the explosion of the Deepwater Horizon in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010.

Anna: No, because we were given a certain amount where we could talk. We only said a little bit.

At the conference, Anna focused in particular how she hoped Ittaq would help revive tradition and assist with the transmission of knowledge in Clyde River. Her comments reflected her understanding of what the session organizers and the audience wanted to hear. That she included personal observations about climate change as part of her critique of the conference format in our interview suggests that she may have wanted to share similar observations at the conference, but felt constrained by the limited time available.

Her critique of the rigidity of the conference schedule reflects a wider critique of the way that *qallunaat* tend to relate to and manage time based on predetermined and fixed schedules, compared to a more flexible approach to time management adopted by Inuit (Bates 2007; Natcher et al. 2007). It highlights the gap between the respect for elders' knowledge that is a widely recognized feature of Inuit tradition, and the scheduled timetable, characteristic of bureaucracies and modern conceptions of efficiency.

Conference organizers who work in the context of Inuit politics have learned to anticipate this critique; at several gatherings I attended that included Inuit participants, organizers apologized for having to follow a strict timetable. While in some cases they tried to be somewhat flexible and not to cut off an elder who was speaking, they never abandoned the format of the schedule, and often had to play "catch-up" by cutting another speaker short if they did let the elder's testimony run longer than planned.

Of course, Inuit community members, too, have adopted strict adherence to timetables in certain situations and can use them as skillfully as any government bureaucrat. For example, when I attended the Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) meeting in Clyde River to talk to them about my research, I was told that I would be given exactly fifteen minutes on their schedule to discuss my project; after this period had passed, the Chair told me my time was up,

adding: “I am sorry that we are not more welcoming, but we so many items on the agenda.”⁷

I interpreted this interaction as turning the technique of time discipline, described by E.P. Thompson (1967) as a key technology of modernity, on me, the researcher, to unsettle the traditional power relations of research and inscribe a sense of control on the part of the community institution. The HTO used a similar approach to remind another student researcher about her relative place in the hierarchy when she requested information from them and they informed her that they were unwilling to provide it until they received a report from her supervisor based on past research projects conducted in the community.

I include this example of the time-disciplining dimension of conferences because it was a point of tension that arose several times in gatherings I attended. The negotiations between conference organizers, session chairs, and elder spokespersons demonstrated the highly performative aspect of knowledge in these spaces in which the framing context of the conference always eventually took precedence over the content of the elder’s comments and the position of traditional authority that he or she represented. Representations of knowledge, in other words, are constrained by institutional conditions that are outside the control of the spokespersons, themselves. That the framing and disciplining role of time was also used to constrain the agency of my outsider expertise at the HTO meeting suggested that it is not only knowledge that travels, but also institutional repertoires that can be used to shape how knowledge can be deployed in any given context.

In the short vignettes presented in this section, I have examined the role of Inuit spokespersons in the circulation of knowledge in climate change conference settings. These examples highlight the extent to which representations of knowledge are shaped by the spaces in which they are enacted. As described in

⁷ Drawing on E.P. Thompson’s elaboration of time discipline in the context of industrialization in Britain, Pam Stern discusses the introduction of time discipline into Inuit communities through wage employment (2003; 2001); in a very different context, Caitrin Lynch (2007) offers an example of time discipline in the context of female factory labor in Sri Lanka.

earlier chapters, Inuit relations with environmental knowledge are diverse and multiple rather than homogenous, and this informs the politics of expertise within Inuit communities. The examples in this section illustrate the dilemmas and challenges that this plurality of experience presents for knowledge spokespersons, who must streamline their comments to fit within the timeframes and narrative expectations of conference audiences. This was particularly visible in Anna's role as a spokesperson for Ittaq, in which she described the heritage role of the center and the different perspectives of elders and youth, rather than sharing her own, personal observations of change.

These vignettes also illustrate the ways that prevailing norms of scientific expertise and political representation structure the dissemination of knowledge. Anna's discussion of the time limits of conference settings in our interview illustrated that power imbalances are structured into the very format of the conference, with its predetermined flow of events and presentations that leaves little space to acknowledge and respond to what is emergent in the moment. Charlie, with years of political experience in Iqaluit, offered a direct critique of knowledge politics within the space of the conference setting, itself. The way he articulated climate change had been sharpened, as he himself described, through his political engagements, which solidified his role as an expert not only of local environmental knowledge, but also of local and regional politics.

4.2 Part II: Immutable mobiles? Material representations of Inuit knowledge

In December, 2010, I attended the ArcticNet Annual Scientific Meeting, held at the Westin Hotel in Ottawa only a few blocks from the national parliament buildings. In the Canadian Arctic, the weather was strikingly mild; in Pangnirtung, hunters were out in boats in early December, long after the fall freeze-up is usually complete. In Ottawa, however, it was seasonally cold and snowy. There, I joined around 500 researchers, federal and territorial government staff, and industry personnel, along with a handful of Inuit and northern First Nations community research collaborators for four days of research presentations.

While nearly all of the presenters at this conference on Arctic science were *qallunaat*, one exception was a talk by John, the coordinator for the Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre in Clyde River, who gave a presentation about the organization's involvement with a climate change geospatial planning project. John used a PowerPoint to share text and images related to the project's evolution in the community. A few minutes into his talk, John interrupted his narrative to point out a problem with the image projected at the front of the room.

"Do you see those little blocks on the screen?" he asked the audience, referencing squares and random signs inserted into the text area on some of the PowerPoint slides. "Looks like they don't have the Inuktitut language font on this computer. Normally you would see my language there." John had worked ahead of time to make sure that the text was translated into Inuktitut. To use Bruno Latour's language (1986), Inuktitut was inscribed in the presentation in a way that should have made it immutable, particularly since downloading and installing an Inuktitut font from the Internet is relatively simple. Its presence in the presentation was symbolic, since most of the audience couldn't speak Inuktitut, let alone read syllabics, yet it was an important signifier of local involvement for him and those he was there to represent. Given ArcticNet's stated commitment to "partnering" with Inuit organizations, John's observation was a pointed critique of the structural impediments to representing local knowledge in the spaces of scientific representation.

In this section, I turn to the acts of translation that occur when climate knowledge is represented in particular material forms or technical devices (Turnbull 1997). In particular, I am interested in the relationship between form and mobility. I draw on Latour's conception of "immutable mobiles" (1986) as a starting point to frame my inquiry into the relation between representational forms and the processes that shape them. Latour developed this concept to help explain the question of what distinguishes the power of science to transform the world and "win" allies by persuading people in far-flung localities that its representations of the world were correct. He observed that science depends on visual representations (documents, maps, charts, and photographs, to name a few)

that can be carried or sent from one location to another without modification, and they are used to enroll others in a particular vision of the world.

I argue that while visual form is presented by Latour as a key determinant of mobility, individual actors who act as spokespersons for knowledge are also critical to this process, preparing audiences for the reception of particular representations. I consider two forms in particular in my analysis: a film entitled *Qapirangajuk: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* and a legal petition on human rights and climate change.

4.2.1 *Qapirangajuk*: Mediating Inuit knowledge and climate change through film

On December 15, 2010, at the ArcticNet “Annual Scientific Meeting,” where John had given a talk earlier that day, an evening plenary session featured a screening of a new film, *Qapirangajuk: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* (Kunuk and Mauro 2010), followed by a question and answer session with the filmmakers. The film was a joint effort by Inuk filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk, one of the founders of Isuma Productions in Igloolik, Nunavut, whose film *Atanarjuat: the Fast Runner* (2001) had won global critical acclaim, and *qallunaat* researcher Ian Mauro.

The 55-minute film features narratives of Inuit elders, hunters, and political leaders speaking about the impact of climate change in Arctic communities. The filmmakers chose to include only the voices of Arctic residents in the film; with one exception, a *qallunaat* resident of Pangirtung, all speak in Inuktitut. As Kunuk explained to the audience at ArcticNet:

The reason why we made this film, we noticed that a lot of scientists were coming up North and doing their work and people on the frontlines, we felt that they were not being asked. Maybe it's a language barrier – they were not being asked, so we wanted to let them speak.

The first part of the film establishes background context about Inuit environmental knowledge. It includes elders' narratives about growing up on the tundra, how as children they learned through careful observation, play, and

experience about how to hunt and properly relate to animals, how to read and understand the weather, and how to build shelter quickly when out on the land. Joanasie Karpik from Pangnirtung, for example, offered the following narrative:

Our ancestors were brilliant on the environment. They had knowledge about seasons. In the fall, with no ice formed, they could predict and would say: 'The ice will be late' or 'the ice will be early.' They had this knowledge. I also know these prediction techniques. They were always observing the environment (Joanasie Karpik, in Kunuk and Mauro 2010).

After establishing a sensibility of the intimate observations and knowledge that Inuit elders hold of ice, animals, weather, and seasons, the film then incorporates narrative descriptions of changes the elders had observed and witnessed, including warmer temperatures, thinner sea ice, melting glaciers, disappearance of multi-year sea ice, and earlier breakup of sea ice, and changes in the quality of seal skins. Their narratives are accompanied by cinematic images of tundra and seascape, including glaciers melting into torrential streams and waterfalls and eroding riverbanks.

The elders' descriptions are both matter-of-fact and poetic in their English translation, as for example when one man says that "the land has deflated" when he describes ponds draining due to melting permafrost. The film also touches on the impact of climate change on Inuit knowledge, particularly weather prediction. Two elders from different communities describe the increasing difficulty of applying this skill, once considered critical for hunting and safe travel.

The film also includes comments from two Inuit leaders, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, former chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, and Mary Simon, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Canadian national Inuit organization. Both women had represented Inuit on climate change issues at the national and international political levels, and their testimony reflects their more international perspective. Watt-Cloutier uses simple metaphors to translate scientific understandings of climate change: "Pollution is like a blanket over our earth. Our earth is having a hard time breathing and then it overheats. The blanket is the pollution in our atmosphere."

Simon draws on her experience as an advocate for Inuit knowledge in representative spaces to compare scientific, *qallunaat*, and Inuit perspectives on climate change:

Scientists talk about climate change with studies on pollution and toxins. Whereas Inuit discuss the effects as they occur within our lives. Our whole world is changing. What alarms me is the potential and global damages. On the topic of environment, Southerners focus on borders, which prevents them from getting connected. When Inuit talk environment, we are one (Kunuk and Mauro 2010).

The non-local perspectives offered by Watt-Cloutier and Simon, situated in the midst of a film that in general privileges first person, situated descriptions of change, raises the question of who the filmmakers had in mind as the primary audience, a topic that others writing on indigenous media and film have taken up.

Filmmakers and scholars have described indigenous filmmaking as a means of reclaiming representation (Wilson and Stewart 2008). Faye Ginsburg, for example, has suggested that indigenous media is an attempt to “reverse and resignify the history of colonial looking relations in which photography became the visible evidence of an indigenous world which was expected to disappear” (2002:50). Through these representational practices, indigenous filmmakers engage proactively in making new cultural forms that speak to identity in the past, present, and future simultaneously (Cache Collective 2008; Wilson and Stewart 2008). Salazar and Cordova refer to these practices of self-representation, or the “social practices involved in making (Indigenous) culture visible through video media” as the “poetics of Indigenous media” (2002:40). They suggest that film is an effective medium through which indigenous peoples can “shape counter-discourses and engender alternative public spheres” (2002:40).

In an early and influential article in which she called for greater anthropological attention to indigenous media, Faye Ginsburg (1991) suggested that indigenous film should not be read as a formal text, but rather as a cultural mediator. She wrote:

The capabilities of media to transcend boundaries of time, space, and even language are being used effectively to mediate, literally, historically

produced social ruptures and to help construct identities that link past and present in ways appropriate to contemporary conditions (Ginsburg 1991:94).

Ginsburg's emphasis on mediation raises the question of what, exactly, she meant by this term, and specifically what social forms film might serve to mediate between (Turner 1992). She suggested that unlike ethnographic film, indigenous film is not primarily intended to translate "across space and cultural difference" but rather towards "the mediation of ruptures of time and history – to heal the disruptions in cultural knowledge, historical memory, and identity between generations" (1991:104).

Similarly, the Cache Collective describes the main purpose of Isuma Production films as to "transfer intergenerational memories from elders to the community" (Cache Collective 2002:87).⁸ The authors use the metaphor of a "cache" to describe the focus of Isuma films on elders' knowledge and life on the land. Isuma films have tended to take the form of either oral histories or reconstructions of Inuit life in Igloolik in the 1940s; these forms share a common motivation "to engage a primarily Inuit audience with local histories (Cache Collective 2002:78).

In Internet terminology, a cache is an archived version of a website's content; in Inuit communities, it is a traditional storage method in which hunters would leave food buried below rocks so they could return at a time of need in the future. In the context of film, a cache implies the storage or archiving of Inuit knowledge for use by future generations. A film produced in Igloolik entitled *Qulliq*, for example, depicted the process of preparing and lighting a traditional seal oil lamp. The Cache Collective interprets this film as occupying a "hybrid temporal structure," which they explain in the following way:

Most Igloolik women no longer light seal-oil lamps in igloos to warm their homes or to cook their food. Rather than light the seal oil for warmth, as in *Qulliq*, they now do so for purposes of cultural survival and continuity in order to demonstrate how it was

⁸ The Cache Collective was a group of academics and filmmakers that formed to create an exhibit of three Isuma Films displayed at an art gallery in Hamilton Ontario.

done. Thus the video *Qulliq* is not strictly of the past, nor is it a memory of the past; rather, it is a work of living memory, a textual record produced in a memory environment by actors and writers in the present (2002:82).

Based on the idea of indigenous film as a temporal mediator that enables traditional knowledge to be archived for the future, the film *Qapirangajuq* could be understood as primarily documenting elders' testimonies of change and descriptions of the past for Inuit audiences. However, the film's screening at ArcticNet and its distribution via the Internet on Isuma.tv reflects the filmmakers' interest in engaging multiple publics.⁹

The response of the filmmakers to a question raised at the ArcticNet screening reinforced this perspective. Max, a viewer in London who was watching the screening and the Q&A session live on Isuma.tv, called into the session via Skype and asked the filmmakers "about the role of Internet distribution in your work and understanding of climate change."

Kunuk responded: "When we started there was no Internet, but now we have it and we are using it to spread the message." Mauro then explained that while Canadian Inuit communities all have Internet access, the connection speeds were "third world quality," adding "We are in an information economy, and if you are behind in bit rate, you are behind in other ways." He said that Isuma was trying to work around this problem by installing servers with cached content from the film and other Isuma productions in all Inuit communities that had collaborated in the project.

In this interaction, prompted by the distribution of *Qapirangajuq* on Isuma.tv, which also hosts many more films and video projects made in Inuit and other indigenous communities around the world, a different vision of Inuit filmmaking from that proposed by Ginsburg and the Cache Collective become visible. While the primary focus of Isuma's work may be on Inuit cultural production, it is clear that this production explicitly recognizes and responds to

⁹ *Qapirangajuq* can be streamed online or downloaded on a pay-what-you-can basis in SD or HD versions with either English or French subtitles at <http://www.isuma.tv/lo/en/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change>.

the role of multiple publics in shaping life as it is lived and experienced locally. Mauro, for example, used the opportunity of the audience member's question to raise a political point about infrastructural inequality between southern and northern Canada.

In this sense, the mediation effected by the film reflects the multiple roles described by Terence Turner in his discussion of the "Kayapo appropriation of filmmaking" (1992). Turner was particularly interested in foregrounding the political context of filmmaking, both within Kayapo communities and as a strategic tool used by Kayapo in their engagements with national and international audiences. Turner described how working in film, either as a cameraman or a film editor, was a prestigious position within Kayapo communities and was a good way to promote political careers, as the selection of two former cameramen as chiefs demonstrated.

More importantly to the discussion of *Qapirangajuq*, Turner also described how the Kayapo used the act of filmmaking strategically, harnessing their cultural difference as a political resource. He described the success of the Kayapo in using video cameras at political demonstrations as an event in itself to be filmed and picked up by the Western media, suggesting that "the act of shooting with a camera can become an even more important mediator of their relations with the dominant Western culture than the video document itself" (Turner 1992:7). When the Kayapo positioned themselves and their cameras in the line of news journalists' vision, the image startled Western sensibilities, since media portrayals of indigenous peoples reinforce the primitivist stereotypes and noble savage desires of Western audiences. Turner's comments thus began to point towards the role of public reception of indigenous media, raising further questions of how stereotypes and expectations of indigenism shape the role of film in mediating between indigenous and non-indigenous audiences.

In a discussion of Kunuk's film *Atanarjuat* (2001), Lucas Bessire (2003) takes up the question of audience agency in the circulation and reception of indigenous media. *Atanarjuat* recounts an Inuit legend based at an unspecified time in the past, depicting Inuit life in the Arctic before the arrival of *qallunaat*.

Bessire's discussion cites a review by Robert Ebert of the Chicago Sun-Times, who described how he felt when the closing credits showed production images of the film, "and we realize with a little shock that the film was made now, by living people, with new technology" (Ebert 2002:35, cited in Bessire 2003:834). The quote reinforces the fact that a film like *Atanarjuat* means entirely different things to Inuit living in contemporary settlements in the Arctic than it does to *qallunaat* audiences. This reinforces Bessire's point that attention to public reception of indigenous media is important in thinking about how films reflect and contribute to perceptions of indigenous identity and agency.

While the film *Qapirangajuq* was undoubtedly produced partly for Inuit audiences with the intention of highlighting Inuit knowledge and observations of change, as Kunuk suggested above, also contained pointed political commentary and critiques of scientific knowledge that the filmmakers clearly intended to circulate among *qallunaat* audiences, like the one at ArcticNet that I was part of. The question and answer session at the end of the film in particular offered an opportunity to observe how the largely *qallunaat* audience in attendance understood and responded to the film's content.

Both Kunuk and Mauro were present for the screening in a huge conference hall filled with several hundred viewers, and after the final credits rolled and the lights were turned up, they answered questions from the audience. Mauro, sporting a black, button-down shirt, glasses, and sideburns, stood closer to the microphone; Kunuk, wearing a black t-shirt with an Inuit art design stood slightly behind him. While both Kunuk and Mauro answered audience questions, Mauro was the primary socio-scientific translator for the film, fielding questions that requested more context from science or perspectives outside the film. At one point, Kunuk, referring a question to Mauro, stated: "He [Mauro] is the scientist. I'm just the filmmaker!"

There were two claims made in the film that members of the largely southern, scientific audience found troubling. First, elders testified that they had observed that the earth had "tilted on its axis," so that the sun was rising and setting at different points on the horizon than in the past, and the stars and moon

appeared at different places in the sky. At the beginning of the Q&A session, Udloriak Hansen, an Inuk woman who sat on the board of ArcticNet and was moderating the event, asked the filmmakers if they could explain what they had learned from scientists about this phenomenon that the elders had described. Mauro responded that this observation, repeated in every community they visited, had been observed in particular in relation to the “return of the sun,” the day the sun rises above the horizon for the first time in January after more than a month of darkness. One elder remembered the exact point on the horizon where the sun returned when he was a teenager and could compare it to the point where he observed it returning today.

Mauro told the audience: “So we got out a map and saw spatially how it has shifted. It had moved 19 kilometers across the horizon and from the vantage point of the observer, 44 degrees. So then it wasn’t just anecdotal evidence that seemed like fringe information, but something really happening.” Mauro searched for scientific literature that would explain what Inuit were seeing, at first finding only information that seemed to contradict what was being described. “The literature said the opposite, that there was no way the earth could have shifted.” He contacted NASA and other scientific groups, but no one could explain what the elders were observing. Finally, he spoke with an atmospheric refraction scientist, of whom only a handful exist worldwide, who explained that, indeed, warmer air temperatures over cold surfaces will cause a refraction of light, known as the “Novaya Zemlya effect,” that will cause the sun to appear on the horizon earlier. Mauro concluded: “By trusting what they [the elders] were saying and going against what scientific community was telling us, we found out that this was happening.” A biologist friend who was sitting next to me during the screening and discussion leaned over and whispered: “I wish they had explained that in the film – now it makes sense to me.”

I had heard similar points made about the earth shifting on its axis from several elders I interviewed in Clyde River and from Charlie in Iqaluit. I had also noted that during the period of my fieldwork, this observation generated a particular sense of interest and intrigue on the part of *qallunaat*, several of whom

offered it up as an example of Inuit knowledge that they had felt uncomfortable with until they heard the scientific explanation. For example, in the midst of a discussion of the impact of the media on local perceptions of change, a scientist described how he had heard about the sun changing position in several communities. He told me: “You are trying to figure out—what is it they are seeing? And you don’t necessarily doubt their observation, but then you are trying to find an empirical way to explain it.” Then he read a news article in the Nunatsiaq News reporting about Kunuk and Mauro’s film that included a discussion of the Novaya Zemlya effect. He said:

I was like cool! This is a better explanation. Because I couldn’t – they were telling me stuff and I was like, oh that’s very interesting, but I – what I can’t explain – I’m not going to say you’re a liar. I don’t doubt that what you are saying is true, that there is some validity to it, but I know scientifically that’s impossible (Personal interview, 10 March 2010).

In another interview, a federal government administrator supporting climate change programs in the North also cited this example in response to a question about how her understanding of climate change had been influenced by the programs she ran for northern communities. She replied:

What has changed my perception is that – some of the elders talk about some of their observations. When they talk about their observations in Inuktitut and I am only looking at translations, I find that their approach is different than I would have done. The holistic approach that they take – even from some of the stuff that that Ian and Zach have done [in the film *Qapirangajuq*] – when they are looking at sun rising in the springtime and they are thinking it’s because the earth has tilted and the sun has moved. We all know that can’t happen, but that is how they observe things.

It wasn’t really that; the light had bended because convection currents make it look like the sun is coming up. It was more because of refraction rather than the axis has shifted. That is the right description of why it looks like it’s changing. Having a science background, it’s hard for me to think that the axis has changed in that amount of time. And I know the sun is getting hotter but it’s hard to imagine it’s going to move (Personal interview, 23 June 2011).

What these two examples make clear is how hard it is for *qallunaat* who are trained as scientists, as well as those without specialized training who have internalized a privileged position for scientific expertise, to accept Inuit knowledge as being a legitimate source of knowledge in itself. Many of these individuals can appreciate Inuit knowledge as a site of cultural difference, but when asked to actually believe what Inuit say based on their observations of change, these individuals will seek out a scientific explanation to validate or verify Inuit observations.¹⁰ In these examples, as well as in the film screening, the acceptability of these observations rested on Mauro's ability to back them up with science.

The challenge of translation here as Mauro described it lay in locating a scientific opinion that would offer an explanation of the phenomena in a form that southerners would accept. Mauro concluded that this was an example of Inuit knowledge pointing out something that southern science might have missed. In fact, it might be more accurate to say that Kunuk and Mauro rendered two different ways of knowing about and understanding the world commensurable. Without their translation of Inuit observations into film and further translation into science, the Novaya Zemlya effect and the earth tilting on its axis may not have encountered one another. The translation exposed both Inuit observation and scientific explanation to wider audiences beyond the confines of Inuit settlements and esoteric scientific journals.

While Mauro's scientific explanation satisfied the ArcticNet audience and allowed them to accept the Inuit observations of the sun shifting, a second claim in the film was more controversial. Elders explained very clearly that they had observed polar bear numbers increasing across the Canadian Arctic. In cases where the health of polar bears was poor, the elders pointed towards the handling of bears by biologists, suggesting that the use of radio collars and sedatives were the source of harm to bears, not climate change. In the Q&A session following

¹⁰ In his article "The Gift of the Animal" (2007) Paul Nadasdy has extended this critique to the role of anthropologists, who he suggests often participate in reinforcing prevalent conceptions of indigenous knowledge as cultural difference rather than as an accurate representation of reality.

the film, an audience member pointed out the “apparent disconnect between the research community and the people on the ground in relation to bears,” asking the filmmakers if they had “pursued that question” in the same way they had the tilting of the earth. “Is it the same number of bears or a smaller number or more bears?” What he was asking for, but not explicitly stating, was a scientific opinion about polar bears like the one Mauro had offered about the Novaya Zemlya effect.

Kunuk stepped to the microphone first. “Like they were saying, there’s more bears nowadays,” he said, repeating some of the stories told in the film. “When we were children, there was no sign and today they are everywhere. They must be increasing, they have to be,” he concluded. Kunuk’s response suggested that he was either refusing to offer the scientific explanation the audience member was requesting, or that he failed to hear the subtext of the question. Given the distinct roles that Mauro and Kunuk had adopted throughout the Q&A, with Mauro taking on the role of “scientist,” I suspect the former. Either way, Kunuk’s response underscores his commitment as a filmmaker to allowing Inuit to speak on their own terms.

Mauro, wearing his “scientist” hat, supplied the scientific context that the audience member had requested:

Right now, the literature indicates there are 20,000 – 25,000 polar bears in the Arctic among 19 subpopulations. Of these, a third are healthy and stable, a third are healthy and increasing, and a third are in decline. The western Hudson’s Bay population is the most studied and the most affected; elders are saying that tagging is causing the problems.

Mauro said that he felt that their critique needed to be taken seriously, stating: “We have to be really honest and come together without wanting to dominate another way of knowing.”

A few audience questions later, a man raised his hand and was brought a handheld microphone. He began by thanking Kunuk for “bringing us views of the elders of the Eastern Arctic about climate change,” and Mauro for explaining the

“optical illusion that explains peoples’ thinking about how the sun is rising in different places when in fact it’s not.” He continued:

I’m an elder, I’m 64 years old. If I lived in an Inuit community, everything I said would be treated with respect. But I’m a well-liked biologist, one of these hated people that’s depicted in the movie and some of the comments that you’ve made, so everything I do is met with skepticism, and is reviewed extremely well in the scientific literature.

The biologist’s self-introduction revealed quite a bit about the way he understood and felt about the film’s core narrative. He juxtaposed how people in the scientific community felt about him (“well-liked”), with his reception from Inuit (“hated”), reinforcing this juxtaposition in relation to his research (“reviewed extremely well”/“met with skepticism”). The fact that he claimed status as an “elder” reinforced his perception that he was not receiving the kind of treatment he deserved. For Inuit in the audience, it was also a sign of insensitivity and a lack of understanding about Inuit culture. As the moderator Udloriak Hanson commented in response: “Elders don’t self-claim themselves as elders, they don’t say, because I’m this age, I’m an elder. It comes with respect and knowledge.”

So far, I have addressed the role of the filmmakers as translators for Inuit knowledge at the point of dissemination, where the film is shared with southern audiences. Of course, opportunities for the filmmakers to fill this role are limited, since most viewers watch the film on the Internet and not at organized screenings. The main distribution point for the film was on the Internet, enabling Kunuk and Mauro to reach a much wider audience than they would through other distribution methods. As I wrote this paragraph, Isuma.tv’s online viewer map showed viewers in Cambridge, MA (me), Milton, MA, Ithaca, NY, Montreal, QC, Pittsburgh, PA, Seattle, WA, Mountain View, CA, Paris, London, South Korea, and China, with around 200 more viewing locations from that day, alone. Recognizing the power and persuasiveness of science, the filmmakers added scientific testimonies to the Isuma.tv “Inuit knowledge and climate change” channel, including commentaries on wildlife biology and atmospheric refraction.

Kunuk and Mauro's decision to leave the scientific voices out of *Qapirangajuq* reflects their commitment to using film as an emancipatory tool that can reinforce the value of Inuit knowledge. As Mauro explained to me, Inuit viewers were themselves an important audience for the film; positioning Inuit as the predominant experts of northern climate change was therefore critical, and overrode any concerns about the potential for misunderstanding or dismissal of these knowledge claims by southern audiences in leaving out scientific voices.

The filmmakers did make editorial choices to make the film more palatable to a southern audience, however. When I first saw *Qapirangajuq*, I was interested in the absence of religious or spiritual narratives of climate change in the film, since these were common in interviews I held with elders in Clyde River, as I discussed in Chapter 2. I asked Mauro if he and Kunuk had encountered religious explanations for climate change when they conducted their interviews for the film, and he confirmed that they had. They chose not to include them in the final version because, as he explained: "If people have trouble accepting Inuit knowledge about polar bears, what are they going to think when Inuit say that climate change was predicted by their ancestors?"

The omission of these variant climate change narratives from *Qapirangajuq* therefore reflects the skeptical political climate in which Inuit knowledge is often received. The scientific audience at ArcticNet had trouble accepting claims that the earth had shifted on its axis until they heard the same phenomenon explained scientifically as the Novaya Zemlya effect. As the quote from the government administrator above suggested, individuals trained in Western science may come to accept particular Inuit observations of change, such as the sun setting at a different place on the horizon, but this does not mean they will necessarily accept the explanation offered for these changes without scientific validation. Social scientists and Inuit spokespersons for local knowledge must therefore take care in how they choose to frame or translate local knowledge. In this case, bringing religion into the mix would have likely muddled the work of spokespersons for Inuit knowledge, who must reinforce the value of Inuit

knowledge in contexts like ArcticNet where scientific knowledge is widely accepted.

4.2.2 Translating Inuit knowledge into legal claims

In 2005, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, under the Canadian leadership of Sheila Watt-Cloutier, submitted a petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (IACHR) that stated that the United States had violated the human rights of Inuit by failing to limit their greenhouse gas emissions. While the IACHR did not have the authority to issue legally binding rulings, it could help persuade governments of American states by issuing statements that held them in contempt of international law, and this was what the ICC hoped that the petition would achieve. They specifically requested that the IACHR issue a report recommending that the US adopt mandatory emission reductions and develop a plan to provide adaptation assistance to Inuit.

The petition, developed by a small group of individuals affiliated with ICC and two international environmental law organizations, Earth Justice and the Center for International Environmental Law, was among the first legal arguments to make climate change a human rights issue. The legal team chose the IACHR as the venue in which to bring a legal argument forward because of its openness to receiving petitions submitted by private citizens, and because of its previous recognition of the relationship between the environment and human rights (Goldberg and Wagner 2004).¹¹

¹¹ IACHR was created in 1959 as a permanent, independent body within the Organization of American States to support the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, which when it was adopted in 1948 was the first international human rights instrument. In 1966, its role was expanded to examine and make recommendations to member states based on individual petitions, which has allowed indigenous groups to bring petitions directly to the IACHR. Determinations of the commission are not legally binding (MacKay 2002). Examples of petitions by indigenous groups to the IACHR include a case presented in 1980 by the Yanomami of Brazil regarding the construction of a major highway and the encroachment of gold miners on their lands, and a case brought to the commission by the Miskito of the Atlantic Coast of Honduras

The legal framework for the petition was articulated in relation to both human rights and environmental law instruments and protocols.¹² It referenced numerous human rights violations against Inuit based on the failure of the US to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, including:

...the rights to life and personal security; to use and enjoyment of property; to residence and movement; to inviolability of the home; to preservation of health; to the benefits of culture; to work and fair remuneration; to means of subsistence; and to free disposition of natural resources (Goldberg and Wagner 2004:191-92).

In *The Making of Law*, Bruno Latour (2010) argues that law, like science and religion, is a foundational institution of Western culture that shapes society in profound ways, largely through the production of facts or “truth.” While both science and law construct facts through a series of distillations or “referential chains” (2010:149), they do so in different ways. Latour thus argues that the logics by which institutions like law and science transform things into facts differ, and that these can be studied and understood ethnographically by treating each system as a social and cultural world worthy of sustained anthropological attention.

Anthropologists who study international human rights law have described in detail the knowledge making practices of human rights institutions. They have examined how legal norms are solidified through institutional practices, particularly the creation of formal texts and documents within powerful international bodies such as various UN agencies (Riles 2000). They have also documented how these norms are spread, diffused, or “vernacularized” by human rights mediators, often the employees of national or regional NGOs, who translate and make human rights comprehensible in local cultural contexts (Merry 2006a;

pertaining to a land claims dispute with the state (Anaya 2004; MacKay 2002).

¹² The petition cites the United States’ obligations based on membership in the OAS and acceptance of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, two instruments that protect rights of indigenous peoples. It also cites US environmental law obligations to prevent “trans-boundary harm,” particularly in relation to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, to which the US is a party.

2006b). Like Latour, these anthropologists are interested in the way that legal “facts” are created and then stabilized through the social and material practices of legal institutions.

In this section, I consider the role of local knowledge in the Inuit Petition to the IACHR. I argue that in the petition, Inuit knowledge is transformed into testimony or witnessing, framed in a way so as to engage human rights publics. I develop this argument by looking carefully at the legal team’s interviews with petitioners from Clyde River. These interviews were recorded on video in 2005 by the team that interviewed elders and hunters on ICC’s behalf; they were made publicly available on Isuma.tv, where I was able to watch and transcribe them.

Below, I examine how the testimony of Clyde River petitioners was transformed by the legal experts who created the petition to stabilize a particular framing of climate change as related to human rights. This framing diverged in significant ways from the way that Clyde River residents related to climate change in the testimonies that they provided. In Chapter 5, I will once again take up the petition, examining the way that Sheila Watt-Cloutier drew on the human rights and climate change argument to mobilize publics in the context of the UNFCCC. These two chapters examine the role of the petition as an advocacy tool that deployed the mechanisms of human rights for a *non-legal* purpose, that of framing climate change as a “human issue” rather than a primarily scientific one. This required a series of translations through which climate change was first constructed as a human rights issue; this construction was then used to draw attention to the issue of climate change in a global context crowded with experts and witnesses.

The petition is structured following the legal norm in which facts are assembled so as to advance a particular argument of harm. The largest section of the petition is therefore dedicated to the assembly of facts, unambiguously titled "Section IV: Facts: Global Warming is Harming Every Aspect of Inuit Life and Culture" (2005:13-69).

The “facts” section opens with a subsection entitled “The Life and Culture of the Inuit are Completely Dependent on the Arctic Environment” (2005:13-19).

It provides a history that emphasizes the hunting and gathering traditions of Inuit, the centrality of food sharing practices to Inuit identity, and the depth of Inuit knowledge of the environment. While the petition references social change, including the land claims treaties that protect Inuit rights, as in other legal contexts in which indigenous groups seek to establish authority, this section emphasizes continuity of tradition over time (Coulthard 2007; Niezen 2003a; Povinelli 2002). For example, the sub-section “Inuit culture today,” describes the continuity of knowledge and skill involved in hunting and gathering, the central role of subsistence hunting in the context of the mixed economies of Inuit communities, and the continued importance of living and spending time on the land and sharing meat with family and kin (2005:15-20).

It also sets the stage for the testimonials of petitioners as part of the petition’s assembly of facts by describing the accuracy of Inuit environmental knowledge:

Inuit elders, after years of careful observation and practice as well as oral tradition passed from the previous generation’s observations and practice, have developed a living, adaptable body of knowledge about their physical surroundings. Called Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, or IQ by the Inuit, the term “traditional knowledge” (“TK”) or “traditional ecological knowledge” (“TEK”) describes a worldview that has proven itself reliable time and again. Inuit who live off the land, travel over precarious ice, and have, until recently, survived solely on what they can find or make from a sparse environment can attest to the accuracy of IQ. Western scientists now understand that traditional knowledge can describe reality as well as or better than results of the scientific method (Watt-Cloutier 2005:19-20).

Based on this early framing of Inuit knowledge, the petition was able to draw on both scientific and Inuit knowledge studies in its presentation of “facts.”¹³ The bulk of the petition, however, was made up of first-hand testimony

¹³ The petition cited the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (2005), the IPCC’s Third Assessment Report (IPCC 2001), as well as statements by US scientific organizations, and research and reports by US agencies and scientists such as NASA and the U.S. Interagency Climate Change Science Program. It also cited a number of studies documenting Inuit observations of climate change, including those commissioned by the Government of Nunavut in 2003 (GN 2005a, GN

detailing direct observations of change provided by Inuit co-petitioners, who signed on along with Sheila Watt-Cloutier, the lead petitioner. The testimony was gathered directly by two university student volunteers from the United States, Rich Powell and Sacha Earnhardt-Gold. They were supported by Paul Crowley, a lawyer based at the time in Iqaluit, Nunavut, who served as Watt-Cloutier's official legal representative. Several interpreters also supported the development of the petition, helping translate the legal questions and categories of the *qallunaat* team into an Inuktitut vocabulary that elders could understand.¹⁴

Testimonies were collected from 63 people in 15 communities across the Alaskan and Canadian Arctic, including the Canadian Inuit regions of Inuvialuit (in the Northwest Territories), Nunavut, Nunatsiavut (in Labrador), and Nunavik (in northern Quebec). According to Powell, when the legal team recruited petitioners, they explained that they were preparing a document that was “like a law suit” and that “hopefully there will be change as a result of it. Generally, folks were very receptive to that.”

In Powell's perception, then, international law had persuasive power at the local level in Inuit communities, as it was perceived to be a tool that could result in changes that might hold local benefit. The people they interviewed had a range of familiarity with international processes, however; some were “very traditional people who may have never left Canada or their region” while others had travelled extensively and participated in international meetings of one variety or another. In Powell's estimation a “disproportionately high number of Inuit have

2005b, GN 2005c), a study funded by the International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) on Inuit and Cree traditional knowledge entitled “Voices from the Bay” (McDonald et al. 1998), and reports from a series of workshops on Inuit knowledge and climate change convened by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national Inuit organization of Canada.

¹⁴ Interpretation for legal purposes, such as in the travelling courts or territorial court, is one of the specializations emphasized in the formal interpreter's training program offered by Nunavut Arctic College. The interpreter I worked with in Clyde River got her start when she was hired to interpret for a judge in Clyde River, who then encouraged her to pursue training at Arctic College. The Government of Nunavut has worked to standardize legal terminology through this training program and through the development of a handbook of legal terms and phrases in Inuktitut.

probably been down to the UN or an international conference of some kind relative to other populations.” While I have no statistical evidence to support Powell’s claim, the relatively small size of the Inuit population and the growing emphasis on representation in national and international events suggests that he is probably correct. At the same time, the majority of Inuit have no personal experience with international representational politics.

While law was recognized locally as an institution that might effect change, Powell also explained that ICC did not enjoy the same kind of recognition. He told me that when he identified himself as working with ICC, many people were “a little surprised” since a common perception was that ICC was “just a conference” – a number had attended one of ICC’s General Assembly gatherings – not an organization with ongoing projects (personal interview, 17 August 2010).¹⁵ In my own interviews in Clyde River, when I asked people if they were familiar with ICC, most of them said they were not, or they said they had heard of the organization but were not sure what they did. This is largely because ICC has focused on representation of Inuit perspectives in international contexts, rather than the opposite – representation of international norms and contexts in local communities.¹⁶

In Clyde River, testimonies were collected in August 2005 from six residents: Peter and Apak, both male elders in their early 70s; Uqallak and Akittiq, both female elders, one 65 and the other 70; and James and Isa, active male hunters in their early to mid-50s. All six described specific changes they had observed that they associated with climate change; observations differed from individual to individual, but collectively included more warmth (James), stronger intensity of heat from the sun (James and Akittiq), more rashes and burns (James

¹⁵ In part to avoid this kind of confusion, in 2006, ICC officially changed its name from the “Inuit Circumpolar Conference” to the “Inuit Circumpolar Council.”

¹⁶ Kirt Ejesiak from Iqaluit, Nunavut, was elected to the Executive Council of ICC-Canada in 2010, when he ran against incumbent member Violet Ford. He told me that one of the issues he raised when seeking election was the need for ICC to communicate about their activities to people on the ground in the Arctic, many of whom he felt were not aware of most of ICC’s activities (Personal interview, 30 June 2010).

and Uqallak), difficulty travelling on the land (James, Peter, Apak and Isa), changes in ice and snow conditions and timing of freeze up (James, Peter, Apak and Isa), faster melting (Akittiq), changes in snow on the land (James, Peter and Isa), thinner wildlife (Uqallak and James), more bears around the community (Akittiq and Isa), changes in wind (Peter, Apak and Isa) and in the duration of sunlight (Peter and Isa). These observations have been documented in other studies of Inuit knowledge of climate change (Fox 2004; GN 2005a).

In the interest of providing a *general* sense of the kinds of observations made in these testimonies, I have done the work of abstracting and aggregating these observations. The listing of observed changes that I have made here parallels the way that the legal team extracted and distilled observed changes within the petition, itself. Under the section entitled “Facts,” which I introduced above, a subsection organizes the testimonies from the petitioners under the heading “Global warming harms every aspect of Inuit life and culture” (2005:35-67). In this section, the testimonies are divided into concrete sections corresponding to observed changes. Each observed change is explicitly linked to specific “harms” it has caused for Inuit life and culture. For example, one section is titled “Changes in ice and snow conditions have harmed the Inuit's subsistence harvest, travel, safety, health and education, and have permanently damaged Inuit culture” (2005:39-48). Another section organizes testimony under the heading “Changing species distribution has harmed the nutrition, health and subsistence harvest of the Inuit” (2005:54-55).

The full-length interviews offer a sense of how the petitioners position climate change amidst other sources of change. From these interviews, it is possible to understand how the legal team selected certain facts and framings and discarded others in their construction of the petition. In their conversation with Uqallak, for example, the interviewers were particularly interested in learning about traditional women’s skills associated with the environment, such as berry picking, jigging for fish, drying and storing meat, and preserving skins and sewing traditional clothes. The following excerpt demonstrates the way that she responded to some of these questions, focusing in particular on the way that life in

the settlement may have impacted these traditional women's activities.

Interviewer: *Do these changes affect the plants that you find?*

Uqallak: It has changed my skin, the skin on my face. I now get rashes on my face that I never used to get. [Points to her upper lip where she has one]. I sometimes think: has there been an atom bomb exploded somewhere that's affecting our environment so much? You don't know what's causing this.

From the time that I can remember, there wasn't much sickness around. Sometimes we would get colds when *qallunaat* would come. We get sick a lot more. Perhaps it is partly due to the fact that we are in a more populated settlement...

Interviewer: *Are there other things about the environment that are affecting your life?*

Uqallak: We were taught to store meat, that some meats are a lot quicker to go bad than others. In the summertime, we were taught to dry meats and not to leave any kind of meat around because it is not easy to get so you have to take good care of it. My mother dried every kind of meat. I try to dry the meat same as my mother.

We now have freezers and they are handy for storing if you store meat properly. In the wintertime, it's better to keep meat outside inside a cardboard box. This way, you don't get the smell of other things in your meat and it smells better.

Interviewer: *Do you sew traditional clothes?*

Uqallak: Yes, because I grew up doing that.

Interviewer: *Have you seen any changes in the skins that you work with now?*

Uqallak: I haven't really seen any difference, except that when they are stored where it's too hot, they are easy to tear.

Interviewer: *Are the skins now very easily torn?*

Uqallak: Well, we never used to live in very warm houses. Back then, men's clothing couldn't even be stored inside.

They had to be kept in the cold unless they needed to be dried.

(Uqallak Panikpa, Interviewed 27 September 2005 by Sacha Earnhardt-Gold, accessed on Isuma.tv 6/30/11).

What is striking about Uqallak's testimony is the way that she kept bringing the discussion back to the changes introduced by living in settlements, rather than emphasizing changes brought about by climate change. While Uqallak viewed skin rashes as an aspect of a changing environment, she also observed that more sickness in the community might be a result of new people introducing disease, as well as living in more crowded houses. Similarly, living in houses has meant that skins are often stored in environments that are too hot, where they will dry out and tear more easily. From her perspective, these are problems of the environment, but of the environment of the settlement, rather than the global atmospheric environment. Houses have also brought more storage options for meat, enabling people to store meat during the summer without having to dry it, as they did in the past.

Uqallak's testimony was not directly referenced in the petition; instead, the narratives of other petitioners are used that fit into the chains of causation that the interviewers were looking for: climate change is causing impacts on human health; climate change is impacting the quality of skins available for making traditional clothing. Uqallak is listed as a petitioner and the following summary of her testimony is included in an annex:

Ms. Panikpak practices traditional meat drying and makes traditional clothing from animal skins. She also gathers berries for food in the summertime. Ms. Panikpak reports that polar bears are becoming too thin to eat, and that the ice is melting much earlier in the spring than it used to. She has also seen and experienced sunburn, which never used to happen. (Watt-Cloutier 2005:126).

This summary reframed the holistic perspective of integrated social and environmental change offered in Uqallak's testimony into the clear, causative chain that the legal team needed to establish in order to show that climate change was harming Inuit culture. A similar restructuring of causation was visible in

other testimonies from Clyde River residents.

For example, the legal team was interested in showing that climate change was harming wildlife, which in turn was affecting Inuit nutrition. In their interview with James, he disrupted this order of operations when he responded to a series of questions about the health of caribou. The exchange began when James observed, "I hear that wildlife are being affected by this change. I am not too clear on it yet." He then described how, while he had not personally observed changes in wildlife, he had seen changes on the land, including icing of the tundra as a result of melting snow. He related that he was concerned that this might prevent caribou from being able to access their food source on the tundra, and told the interviewers that while he had not directly observed this impact, "I am sure some have seen first-hand the effects, for example how the caribou might be thinner."

The interviewers then asked James if he had noticed a difference in the quality of caribou meat, and he responded that when caribou are skinny, they get small growths inside their meat. As a result, some elders choose not to eat the caribou meat raw, "They are more inclined to cook it because this meat might not be good for our bodies." This, then, led to the following exchange:

Interviewer: *Does that make people eat different things? Like from the store?*

James: Yes, probably. Animals are less known to them. We are in a more densely populated area. People tend to eat those that are most accessible.

Interviewer: *Is there less nutrients in cooked meat than in raw meat?*

James: Now our young people only want to eat cooked meat, probably due to the accessibility of these through the stores. If they weren't so easily accessible, our young people would be more inclined to eat country food. As we are more densely populated and stores are getting bigger, this is what's happening.

Those of us that are older, we know our food to be wildlife. For young people, they know their food more to be from

the stores. What we are exposed to is what is normal for us, so our young people, because they are exposed to the stores more, that is what is normal for them.

Interviewer: *Can you tell us a little more about how your life has been affected by these climate changes you have described?*

(James Qillaq, Interviewed 27 September 2005 by Sacha Earnhardt-Gold, accessed on Isuma.tv 6/30/11).

While James did postulate a likely correlation between the availability and health of animals and climate change – though he was careful to point out that he had not yet observed it himself – he also pointed towards other reasons for the decline of country food consumption: namely, the ready availability of food from the store. Similarly, in her testimony, Akkitiq also emphasized the ready availability of store-bought food when she was asked whether the early break-up of the sea ice had affected consumption of country food. As with Uqallak's testimony, however, the legal team was interested in proving the causative effect of climate change on food and subsistence. Therefore, in the petition, itself, James' comment that ice may be preventing caribou from accessing their food is quoted directly.

The fact that the majority of food that Inuit eat comes from the store, and that, as James testified, younger people tend to prefer cooked meat and other forms of store-bought food, did not fit into this narrative. The only reference to store-bought food in the petition's discussion of food and health is therefore indirect, when it mentions that "Inuit have already noticed a deterioration in their health because of a lack of country food," and an increase in store-bought food, including an increase in diabetes (Watt-Cloutier 2005:55). By placing this statement within a wider discussion of the impact of climate change on subsistence hunting, the primary cause of change in diet appears to be climate change rather than availability of store-bought food, as James had suggested.

Like James' comments that contextualized concerns about climate change and country food consumption within wider social and cultural changes, when the interviewers asked Apak about the impacts of climate change on igloo building,

he also foregrounded social change:

Interviewer: *Do you ever build igloos?*

Apak: I don't really rely on igloos anymore, but if I needed to I could build one.

Interviewer: *Did you used to use igloos earlier in your life more?*

Apak: Yes, very much so, it was our main form of shelter when you are traveling. While you were out, as soon as it would start to get dark outside you would start searching for snow that was suitable for igloo.

Interviewer: *Why don't you rely on igloos anymore?*

Apak: Because we have great accommodations from the white people such as tents and other items that are easier to use.

Interviewer: *Is it more difficult to find the right ice and snow conditions to build the igloo now?*

Apak: Yes, it's harder to find snow suitable for an igloo, and I want to ask a question. Are people aware of the wind from the North? It is now shifted, our prevailing winds from the North. It's almost... [interpreter struggles to find the right word: 'what do you call it?'] turned. Even though nobody answers it's okay, I'd just like to add small observations that I've seen. One is a slight change in the direction of the prevailing wind, the north wind.

The second is a slight change in where the sun rises. We know where it rises using the hills as indicators. The other day it seemed to me that it was slightly off. This is a new observation, I might not be correct on it and I might be the only one thinking this way. [He adds something and she laughs]. Some of the things I say might not make too much sense - it's just the things I observe.

(Apak Qaqqasiq, Interviewed 27 September 2005 by Sacha Earnhardt-Gold, accessed on Isuma.tv 6/30/11).

In his narrative, Apak explained that while climate change had affected the

quality and availability of snow needed to build igloos, he stopped building igloos by choice because of the availability of tents. By contrast, the petition referenced the impact of climate change on igloo building in a section entitled “Deteriorating ice and snow conditions have diminished the Inuit’s ability to travel in safety, damaging their health, safety, subsistence harvest, and culture” (Watt Cloutier 2005:39-48). Here, igloo building knowledge was presented as “an important component of Inuit culture” and a crucial technology for safe travel on the land. Again, a different order of operations was at work in the petition, which suggested that scarcity of “deep, dense snow required for igloo building” had led to a reliance on tents, “which are less safe, much colder and more cumbersome than igloos.”

My intention in pointing out the difference between Apak’s discussion of igloo building and the way that igloo building is positioned in the petition is not to negate the fact that climate change is affecting the way that Inuit relate to the land, snow, ice, and animals. While most Inuit prefer to use tents because of convenience, igloos remain a potentially useful technology when people are stranded unexpectedly without equipment. Igloo building is also a tradition that Inuit associate with cultural heritage that they hope to be able to transmit to future generations.

A more complicated picture of the decline of igloo building and of the rationale for its continuation would therefore reference the fact that it is a technology that is no longer widely used but nevertheless remains important, and that climate change is impeding efforts to pass on this knowledge because igloo-building snow is often not available any longer. This is the perspective that emerges from the following quote that was included in the petition, but not reinforced by the narrative or structural logic in the main body of the petition text:

It would be nice to be able to pass on how to build an igloo, especially before our elders are all passed away. And that is coming right around the corner, because a lot of our elders are passing on. We do have some elders who are capable yet of getting around and they have the interest and the knowledge of building igloos. So we try to use their resources to show the youth how to build igloos, but we’ve never - in my five years of working with

the Labrador Inuit Youth Division we have been unsuccessful so far.... [T]he snow is just a different texture. (Interview with Heather Angnatok of Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador, September 28, 2005, cited in Watt-Cloutier 2005:49).

Another notable element in the portion of Apak's interview cited above was his redirection of the line of questioning away from igloos toward other observations he wanted the interviewers to pay attention to, including changes in wind direction and the location of sunrise, a phenomena observed across the Canadian Arctic and discussed in the context of *Qapirangajuq* above.

While changes in the direction of the winds were discussed in the petition, changes in the observed location of the sun were not. Powell noted this omission when I asked him about his first impression of the final petition, stating:

I think that the final document fairly represented a good cross section of all of the impacts that folks discussed. I don't really recall that there were any big areas missing – I think it was fairly representative of the testimony presented.

Maybe the only area that I thought was notable was, people in the North talked about how the sun looks different now, or how it is in a different place than it used to be. It has been verified atmospherically. I don't think that was included in the petition – probably because there wasn't a strong correlation with human rights. So things that were general observations, less directly linked to subsistence lifestyles, were less emphasized (Personal interview, 17 August 2010).

Powell's observation of this omission and his explanation for its logic reinforces the point that the human rights petition had a particular logical structure, a way that it assembled facts to reflect its main assertion that US emissions were affecting Inuit culture and subsistence. The line of questions developed by the legal team determined in some ways the kind of narratives these interviews produced, but the interview subjects also had their own authority that they used to direct interviews based on what they wanted to talk about. Personal observations and conceptions of change did not always match the testimonies that the legal team were trying to assemble, and as Powell stated, observations that were not deemed relevant to subsistence were screened out.

Powell explained how the testimonies that he and Earnhardt-Gold collected were organized in preparation for use in the petition. The process, incidentally, resembled the way that many anthropologists work with interviews in preparation for ethnographic writing. He explained that they transcribed all their interviews and then entered them into an Access database, where they tagged paragraphs as relevant to specific categories of observation, such as “animals,” or “weather.” The result was a searchable database that Goldberg and Wagner could then assemble as the facts presented under the heading “Global warming harms every aspect of Inuit life and culture.”

What becomes clear when comparing the Inuit petition described in this section with the film *Qapirangajuk* detailed above is that different institutions and audiences expect that particular logics will be followed when constructing an argument. This leads spokespersons, following what Latour referred to as “referential chains” (2010), to select certain elements of Inuit knowledge for representation and discard other elements. While the shifting of the sun fit into the framework of the film, for example, which contained an explicit critique of Western scientific knowledge claims, it had no role to play in a legal petition focusing on human rights.

To point out that the holistic qualities of Inuit knowledge are negated through the abstracting and aggregating processes of representation is hardly a new observation (see for example Agrawal 2002; Nadasdy 1999). I would suggest that rather than viewing the distillation and abstraction of Inuit knowledge in these non-local forms as inherently negative, it might be more useful to ask what is enabled and what is constrained by these representations—what political projects do they support?

One point that these two examples – the petition and the film – makes clear is that certain Inuit actors are invested in these representations. While in the past, it was primarily *qallunaat* scientists, researchers, and explorers who controlled representation, Inuit are using a variety of technologies, strategies, and representational forms to take control of representation on their own terms. This makes questions of power both more complex and perhaps also more important

when considering the different representational strategies employed, a theme I return to in the next chapter.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the way that Inuit knowledge is mobilized through two kinds of representation: technical representation in the form of knowledge products, and performative representation in which individuals act as spokespersons in spaces of knowledge sharing and dissemination, such as scientific conferences. Inuit are increasingly integrated into the political and economic networks that support the dissemination of scientific knowledge. They serve as spokespersons for Inuit knowledge as a “way of knowing” that sometimes complements and sometimes contradicts scientific knowledge. Inuit are also increasingly drawing on communication technologies to mobilize knowledge through the Internet; these networks offer alternatives to the traditional scientific means of disseminating knowledge through conferences and publications, allowing representations to reach Inuit and non-Inuit audiences simultaneously.

Underlying this discussion is the question: what makes some representations more competitive than others? Latour’s discussion of “immutable mobiles” considers how particular techniques of encoding knowledge relate to its relative mobility. What the examples in this chapter illustrate is that knowledge translation is an ongoing process that involves interpretive work by both spokespersons and audiences. The apparent fixedness of certain forms, such as films or PowerPoints, can mask the political relations that shape them at both the point of origin and the point of reception. In other words, while form and content both influence the reception of knowledge, many other factors beyond the control of individual actors do, as well. Spokespersons for Inuit knowledge are often aware of these limiting factors, shaping representations accordingly. This was demonstrated in the way that the filmmakers chose not to include religious

perspectives in *Qapirangajuq*. The re-assembling and reframing of local climate change narratives into the legal form of the Inuit petition offers another example.

As I have shown, knowledge relations are structured in unequal ways so that Inuit knowledge is often subordinate to scientific knowledge and bureaucratic organization when it travels to representational spaces. These political relations are complicated, however, by the mediation and engagement of knowledge spokespersons: individuals who represent knowledge at particular interfaces – with scientists, policy-makers, local decision-makers, and other publics. The spokespersons profiled in this chapter, each in their own way, demonstrated creative responses to these structures and made their perspectives known to their audiences. They responded to and commented on inequities in the structure of representational spaces, illuminating the unequal relations of knowledge production for audiences accustomed to the prevailing norms of scientific and bureaucratic logic.

Chapter 5: Transmutation and Endurance in Global Climate Change Politics

Have you heard of this thing
that is called climate change?
It means the earth's temperatures are shifting in range

The earth's getting warmer,
and the polar ice
is melting quite quickly,
which isn't so nice.

- *Ice Is Nice!* From the Cat in the Hat's Learning Library (Worth 2010).

“As Polar Ice Turns to Water, Dreams of Treasure Abound”

- Headline from New York Times Series “The Big Melt” about climate change in the Arctic (Krauss et al. 2005).

The current period of environmental change has been referred to as the “sixth mass extinction” (Sodikoff 2012). The threat of extinction reflects the temporal nature of climate change, which asks us to imagine a future that has not quite arrived, in part by pointing towards particular material forms (ice), species (polar bears), and human collectives (Inuit) that are affected by climate change in the present. In the changing Arctic, significant scientific and media attention has focused on the transmutation of ice and snow, a process whose speed has startled scientists and made the threat of climate change visible to wider publics interested in environmental issues. Melting ice and snow point towards apocalyptic visions — the erasure of unique species, entire island nations, vast swaths of coastline, and indigenous cultures.

While situated in the present, Inuit spokespersons for climate change invoke nostalgia—for cultural diversity as a signifier of diverse modes of relationship with the natural world, not yet “lost” but understood to be threatened by environmental crisis. Lisa Stevenson has suggested that the specter of

extinction, situated at the “fuzzy border” between biology and culture, plays a critical role in shaping Inuit identity in the contemporary context, stating that “disappearance, extinction, the inability to survive as a race – these are the anxieties of an Inuit modernity. They lie at the fuzzy border between cultural and biological extinction” (2006:168).

In her book *Economies of Abandonment* (2011), Elisabeth Povinelli investigates the question of endurance in relation to social belonging, asking how “new forms of social life maintain the force of existing in specific social spaces of life? How do they endure the effort it takes to strive to persevere?” (2011:9). In the context of climate change, endurance is both an alternative to apocalypse and a question that emerges from it. Will the diverse natural and cultural forms of life in the Arctic endure through the environmental changes to come?

When climate change is one among a host of changes in the Inuit Arctic, the notion of endurance can take multiple forms. Enduring through colonialism and enduring through environmental change may require different strategies that come into conflict with one another and with public preconceptions of moral and social order.

The question of endurance is nothing new for Inuit or other indigenous peoples. Indeed, the trope of decline, culture loss, and the anticipation of the end of particular cultures and ways of life has been a strong force animating anthropological research since Franz Boas, inspired in part by his research with Inuit in 1883, pioneered practices of documentation and comparison that became known as “salvage anthropology” (Sodikoff 2012). These representations created widespread associations of Inuit with particular cultural practices and forms – igloos, dogsleds, hunting – that continue to shape expectations of authenticity and invoke notions of cultural decline when Inuit fail to conform to these depictions. In the context of climate change, many representations of Inuit make use of stereotypical images and associations that depict a life lived close to the land, in which Inuit, the Arctic, and ice and snow can be metaphorically substituted as “vulnerable” to climate change.

In this chapter, I explore the notion of endurance and the looming threat of extinction that animates a significant sub-section of climate change politics, particularly those within the arena of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC is an international treaty, established in 1992 and ratified by 195 countries or “parties,” that seeks to limit global temperature increases related to climate change and to “cope with whatever impacts are inevitable” (UNFCCC 2012). The UNFCCC was established two years after the release of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s first assessment report in 1990, which established a scientific basis for climate change. Since 1995, the UNFCCC has held an annual “Conference of Parties,” where national delegates conduct the work of negotiating a host of issues related to climate change mitigation and adaptation.

I focus in particular on events related to the UNFCCC’s 15th Conference of Parties (COP 15), held in Copenhagen in 2009, as well as several gatherings proceeding and following COP 15 that were organized by the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), an organization that represents Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka, Russia in international political forums. This COP, held at the newly opened, eco-friendly Bella Center complex on the outskirts of Copenhagen, elicited a record-breaking number of civil society observers, with more than 40,000 individuals registered to attend. The Danish hosts and many parties to the UNFCCC hoped that the gathering would result in a new political agreement that would replace or extend the Kyoto Protocol, the legal framework adopted in 1997 through which state signatories had agreed to binding emission reduction targets during the “first commitment period” of 2008 – 2012.

The UNFCCC is animated by the intersecting processes that Tania Li described as “the practice of government, in which a concept of improvement becomes technical as it is attached to calculated programs for its realization,” and the “practice of politics; the expression, in word or deed, of a critical challenge” (2007:12). Drawing on the scientific work of the IPCC, the UNFCCC approaches climate change as a problem that can be solved through painstaking political negotiations that result in technical resolutions, which are both informed and

implemented by UN and government experts. The government delegates who participate in the UNFCCC must attend up to four meetings a year, always held in a different, far-flung capital than the meeting before, where they participate in working groups and subsidiary bodies, follow formal meeting procedures, and read and contribute to draft after draft of legalistic, dry, and often convoluted text.

In spite of these painstaking, calculated practices of government, the UNFCCC process is simultaneously clearly driven by much messier political engagements. The technical language of the discussions thinly disguises the biggest sticking point to the ever-receding horizon of a strong, global agreement: questions of resources and matters of economics are at stake in any attempt to limit greenhouse gases. At the perimeter of these procedures, inside and outside the formal meeting spaces, observer organizations like the ICC try to enroll publics in alternate discussions of what is at stake and challenge the technical gloss of government by offering human narratives framed in the languages of justice, vulnerability, and human rights.

In this chapter, I discuss ICC's participation in global climate change politics, using this as the basis for a discussion of how Inuit sovereignty and identity are drawn into and shaped by the practice of politics and the practice of government (Li 2007). Self-representation for Inuit in the United Nations creates new challenges that relate to the role of publics in the acceptance of particular change narratives and the prioritization of issues and actions. I discuss several different sites of encounter between the ICC, national governments, conservation organizations, other indigenous groups, and different Inuit leaders and institutions. In each context, ICC had to navigate a variety of challenging questions: what do publics care about, and which publics might be convinced to care about Inuit? What kinds of action or discourse will elicit the care of politicians? How do ICC leaders create strategies to influence UN politics, and (in what ways) do these politics matter for Inuit back home?

Ronald Niezen has suggested that cultural lobbying within transnational organizations and institutions has supplanted anthropology as the "essential vehicle for the transmission of ideas about human difference" (2010:68). While

anthropology has adopted a view of culture as malleable, hybrid, and in “flux,” the view of culture that predominates within the United Nations and other institutions of global governance is much more static. The articulation of cultural rights has helped bring about new human rights instruments and standards, which operate primarily under the framework of “soft law;” they are non-binding and voluntary on the part of nation-states. Their effectiveness lies not in the ability of any actor or group of actors to enforce them, but rather in the realm of public opinion.

The invisible publics who human rights advocates hope to mobilize and whose criticism state leaders fear, however, are a tricky bunch to pin down (Niezen 2010). Actors who participate in international processes like the UNFCCC covet the interest and approval of publics while fearing the powers they hold. Climate scientists involved with the IPCC, for example, learned about the dangerous role of publics during the ‘climategate’ scandals in 2009, when a group of climate skeptics without any scientific authority or legitimacy within the IPCC managed to cast wide public doubt on the credibility of its findings by mobilizing public skepticism of scientific expertise (Dunlop and McCright 2011; Trenberth 2011).

As political actors and agents, Inuit leaders speak not only on behalf of other Inuit, but also for the Arctic as a homeland and political region, and for particular elements of the Arctic—its animals, its ice and snow. At the same time, they also encounter and navigate other actors’ representations of these same entities, as well as their representations of Inuit. Marybeth Martello highlighted this dual nature of representation when she described Inuit as “representations and representatives of Arctic change” (Martello 2008). In the first part of this chapter, I explore the metaphoric strategies used to effect these representations, examining how Inuit, the Arctic, ice and snow, and polar bears come to stand in for one another as ‘vulnerable’ entities in the context of climate change.

In the second part of this chapter, I describe an initiative, under the leadership of past ICC Chair Sheila Watt-Cloutier, to position climate change as a violation of human rights. While the discourse of ‘rights’ may appear to offer a

more proactive stance than vulnerability does, it relies on similar tropes that equate Inuit identity with land-based traditions that are temporally referenced to the past. This restricts Inuit identity and demarcates boundaries of appropriate desires for Inuit communities in ways that conflict with the aspirations of some Inuit collectives to develop natural resources made more easily available by melting ice.

The possibility of controlling and perhaps benefitting from development is a hard-won right that Inuit continue to fight for as oil and gas companies, shipping companies, and federal agencies survey for mineral resources and map the newly ice-free channels of the Arctic Ocean. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss the politics of development in the context of Inuit sovereignty, focusing in particular on conversations about oil and gas that emerged from political processes surrounding COP 15.

5.1 Part I: Vulnerable metaphors

The concept of vulnerability, a term used by both social and natural scientists, has become a central frame through which to analyze and interpret the differential impacts of climate change on both physical and human systems and populations (Adger 2006). Many actors have contributed to the rise in popularity of the vulnerability concept, including researchers, politicians, indigenous representatives, and environmentalists. The term's widespread adoption can partly be explained by the ways in which it assists agencies in evaluating where resources are most needed, and because it enables practices of comparison between very different ecological and human geographies that might otherwise be difficult to bring into the same conversation (Bravo 2009).

The idea that the Arctic as a region is particularly vulnerable to climate change is based on the visibility and speed of documented impacts such as sea ice and permafrost melt and the movement of plant and animal species. Scientific reports have played a central role in solidifying a conception of the Arctic as a vulnerable region (Martello 2008; Bravo 2009). The Arctic Climate Impact

Assessment (2005), for example, a seminal report on Arctic change science at the time of its release, states: “The Arctic is extremely vulnerable to observed and projected climate change and its impacts. The Arctic is now experiencing some of the most rapid and severe climate change on earth” (ACIA 2005:10).

In this section, I describe the metaphoric strategies of the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) and Inuit spokespersons at COP 15 to substitute different representations of vulnerability in the face of change. Through photos, the marshaling of scientific facts, and the first-hand testimonies of Arctic residents, polar bears, ice and snow, Inuit, and the Arctic come to stand in for one another as illustrations of risk in relation to climate change, and as harbingers of changes to come that will effect much larger human collectives. These metaphors make use of a variety of temporalities – past, present future – and materialities, including ice, photos, documents, in addition to human narrators and performers, to elicit particular emotional responses of fear and concern. While the strategies used by WWF and ICC may have similarities, I also discuss the very distinct political projects that the two groups represent, and explore the political stakes of these representations for Inuit.

5.1.1 Polar Bear $\approx$ Arctic $\approx$ Inuit

At 2 pm on Saturday, December 5, 2009, in historic Nytorv square in central Copenhagen, sculptor Mark Coreth finished off the final touches to his ice bear sculpture just as WWF launched its International Arctic Program at COP 15. Carved from a 10-ton block of ice encasing a 500 kilogram bronze cast of a bear-shaped skeleton, the ice bear stood 1.8 meters high, “as high as the disappearing arctic sea ice is thick” according to WWF’s website. Three plaques were placed below the bear in the block of ice at its foundation. They read:

The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment of the Arctic Council states: polar bears are unlikely to survive as a species if there is an almost complete loss of summer sea-ice cover. The five countries where polar bears live agreed this year (2009) they cannot meet their obligations to protect the bears if the ice goes.

The summer sea-ice cover in the Arctic Ocean has both shrunk and thinned by 45% since the 1970s, losing 70% of its former volume. It is projected to disappear completely in less than 30 years.

The negative impacts on both the peoples and animals of the Arctic are likely to be far greater than any benefits they may gain from a warming Arctic, as climate changes threaten to undermine ecosystems and cultures that have endured for thousands of years (Ice Bear Project n.d.).

Temperatures in Copenhagen that week were in the range of zero to four degrees Celsius (32 to 39 degrees Fahrenheit), average for early December. Those waiting in line to get into the Bella Center, many of whom had travelled from the tropics to participate in COP15, huddled in their thin coats and newly purchased scarves. Meanwhile, in the streets surrounding Nytorv Square, fashionable Copenhagen residents strolled comfortably in winter parkas while they shopped at Christmas street markets and high-end boutiques. Some stopped for a cup of gløgg, a spiced hot beverage, or to take note of the ice bear sculpture as they passed through the square, which by mid-week was showing visible signs of shrinkage as it dripped into the puddle growing at its base. Children approached the bear, reaching out small hands to stroke the slippery ice, hastening its pace of melt. By the end of the day on Tuesday, the skeleton's head and feet had emerged from the ice. By the end of Thursday, the vertebrae on its neck were clearly visible. And by the end of the week, the full skeleton had emerged, with only a small wedge of ice still sandwiched between its coppery ribs.

The WWF's message of vulnerable bears was reinforced in several pictures that were part of a photo exhibit entitled "Arctic on the Edge" that was displayed alongside the ice bear outside the WWF tent. In one image, a polar bear cub, blown up to larger-than-life dimensions, looked out into the square with large, wide-set eyes, snow clinging to the fur on one side of its face. Another photo showed an adult bear standing on an iceberg, looking out towards the horizon. "The Arctic symbol of climate change" read the text accompanying the photo. Positioned among photos of ice-bound landscapes, the polar bear became emblematic of the territory it lives in. As sculptor Mark Coreth suggested of the

Ice Bear project: “This isn’t just a sculpture of a polar bear. It’s a sculpture of an environment” (Ice Bear Project, n.d.).

The popularity of the polar bear as a symbol of climate change relates to its membership in the exclusive category of animals that environmentalists have termed ‘charismatic megafauna’ (Boykoff et al. 2010). These are species that appeal to the broader public of potential donors who come to care about the environment through empathizing with the plight of cute and charismatic animals (Leader-Williams and Dublin 2000). Although polar bears are the world’s largest land predator and the only bear species in the world that will intentionally hunt humans, photos of bears in the Arctic environment often make them look cuddly and playful, emphasizing in particular the bond between mother bears and cubs in a way that human publics with no personal experience with bears find appealing and easy to relate to.

The exhibit also included archetypal images of another kind of charismatic megafauna: Arctic peoples depicted in traditional scenes that emphasized subsistence practices. A photo titled “Perils on the Ice” showed a Greenlandic man wearing polar bear fur pants leaping over a crack in the sea ice, his dog team standing behind him. In another image, “Dangerous Livings,” Inupiat whalers from Alaska rowed an *umiaq*, a traditional boat of walrus skin, returning to a camp of two canvas tents situated at the edge of an open lead of sea ice. In addition to depicting Arctic indigenous peoples as living traditional lifestyles, these pictures emphasized their dependence on the environment and, like the polar bear, their vulnerability to Arctic change.

Amidst these photos of stability and rooted indigenous identity, the exhibit also included contrasting images of forces and indicators of change, including the trans-Alaska pipeline, rusting oil barrels littering a tundra landscape, and a photo titled “Invaders,” that showed the silhouette of a wolf and discussed new species in the Arctic: robins, grizzly bears and moose. The exhibit thus introduced a narrative of shared vulnerability of the Arctic and its human and non-human inhabitants, placing indigenous peoples in a collective with indigenous animals

and landscapes and juxtaposing them with the invading drivers of economic development and environmental disruption.

As Genese Marie Sodikoff notes in her introduction to *The Anthropology of Extinction* (2012), present-day concerns about declining biodiversity draw on a history of salvage ethnography that was concerned with the decline of indigenous populations. Tools, customs, and languages were collected as specimens and put on display in museums next to collections of animal, plant, and mineral specimens. Sodikoff raises the question: “What is the relationship between the extinction of organic beings and the extinction of cultural formations, such as languages, ritual practices, and traditional livelihoods? Is it one of analogy, interdependence, or collateral effect? (2012:4).

At the WWF tent in Copenhagen, a space that had qualities of a museum display mixed with the performative atmosphere of a circus, all three of these relationships were evoked through the aggregative work of the photo exhibit, which clustered images of fragile ecosystems and fragile peoples together. Together, these images represented indigenous peoples as vulnerable to outside forces of change rather as active agents and even initiators of change in their own right.

5.1.2 Arctic $\approx$ Ice and Snow $\approx$ Inuit $\approx$ The Rest of the Planet

ICC used similar strategies of substitution in its climate change work at COP 15, but positioned Inuit, rather than polar bears, as the primary symbol of Arctic change as well as its human interpreters. At 8 am on Friday, December 11, six days after the WWF unveiled the ice bear sculpture, a young, ICC staff member named James and I participated in the daily civil society briefing session held by Canada’s lead negotiator to the UNFCCC, Michael Martin. During the question and answer period, I raised my hand and brought a statement approved by ICC staff to the microphone.

“Good Morning, Mr. Martin, I’m here with the Inuit Circumpolar Council,” I said. “We’re concerned that the current negotiating text does not

recognize the particular vulnerability of the Arctic region to climate change impacts.” Martin listened from where he was seated at the front of the room; behind him, five Canadian flags hung from individual poles, underscoring his authority to speak for Canada in the climate change talks. I continued:

We would therefore like to propose some text for the shared vision section of the framework for Long-term Cooperative Action.¹ Our text recognizes “areas dependent on ice and snow” as particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and we hope that you will advocate for this text at the negotiating table.

Martin responded by stating: “I agree that climate change impacts in the Arctic are very significant, however unfortunately, we can’t support any special interest positions.”

“But this isn’t a special interest position,” I replied. “The Arctic is important for all Canadians who will have to pay for climate change adaptations in the Arctic, and who value the Arctic as an important part of Canada’s heritage.”

Looking around the room, I saw sympathetic nods from people in the audience, who on the whole seemed quite frustrated with these morning “dialogues” where Martin was unapologetic about Canada’s lack of support for the negotiations, and where he routinely tried to undermine points raised by members of the audience.² The meetings had quickly taken on a highly performative quality, in which it was clear that the government was *performing* its liberal duty to consult with its citizens, but had no real interest in what they had to say. In turn, most of the questions and points raised came from a group of youth activists who performed their displeasure with the government’s positions and

¹ The UNFCCC is subdivided into a number of working groups, among them the Framework for Long-Term Cooperative Action.

² Harper’s government faced increasing criticism domestically and internationally over its tar sands development policies in Alberta, and its obfuscation of the political process at the UNFCCC meetings. Starting in 2007, Canada had the distinction of earning more “fossil of the day” awards at every COP than any other country. The Fossil of the Day is given by the activist organization Climate Action Network to the country who has “performed the worst” during that day’s negotiations. From 2007 to 2011, Canada landed five “Colossal Fossils” in a row. In 2011, Canada earned further notoriety for announcing that it would be the first country to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol.

policies by asking questions about tar sands development and the impact of Canada's emissions on the poor people in the global South. ICC's request in a sense interrupted this performance, because the language in the text represented a position that the organization genuinely believed the Canadian government could and should support.

In response, Mr. Martin asked us to leave a copy of the text with him and said he would "look it over and get back to you."

The following Monday, we returned to the civil society briefing, where Mr. Martin informed us that he had "instructed the negotiators to support your language in the shared vision text." It soon became clear, however, that the negotiations had passed the point where ICC's text could be incorporated. ICC was unsuccessful in this instance of lobbying the Canadian government to bring their vision of ice and snow into the domain of official COP politics.

The intervention that James and I had attempted aimed to alter the UNFCCC negotiating text to include "areas dependent on ice and snow," with the hope that this phrase would ultimately be adopted in the final text at the end of the Copenhagen meeting. Our effort was guided by the ICC's COP 15 position statement, a document entitled "Inuit Call to Global Leaders: Act Now on Climate Change in the Arctic" (ICC 2009). The statement was released on ICC's website, circulated to media contacts, and handed out at a side event on Inuit knowledge that ICC hosted during the meeting. It therefore sought to influence public understanding of the issues being discussed at COP 15 by presenting an Inuit-centric perspective.

One of the priorities that ICC identified in this statement was to "Recognize climate change impacts on the Arctic as one of the key benchmarks for effectiveness of a post-2012 process."³ There is, of course, a difference between identifying the Arctic as a region under threat and identifying Inuit as a group of people in need of assistance. Prior to COP15, ICC leaders had in fact

³ "A post-2012 process" refers to the expiration of the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol in 2012; at COP15, Parties were negotiating the terms of either the next commitment period or a replacement agreement to Kyoto.

discussed whether they should advocate for inclusion of Inuit or the Arctic in the negotiating text. Some had voiced concerns about the way that environmentalist groups shaped popular conceptions of the Arctic by focusing on bears rather than humans. Nevertheless, staff members and leadership felt that the Arctic was a broad umbrella that united countries, indigenous groups, and scientists, and might therefore be embraced by negotiators. Based on their past championing of the Arctic as a region and an Inuit homeland, ICC concluded that its inclusion in the text would support their advocacy in linking environmental impacts to human communities.⁴

In other contexts, ICC leaders had described the way that Inuit depend on ice and snow for travel and hunting. The phrase “areas dependent on ice and snow” could therefore stand in for the Arctic and for Inuit, thus establishing a symbolic equivalence between “Inuit,” “the Arctic,” and “ice and snow.”⁵

In addition to the Arctic, however, the phrase “areas dependent on ice and snow” includes the Antarctic and ecosystems of the Himalayas and the Andes, which are influenced by glaciers and glacial melt patterns. The threat of the cumulative melting of all this ice and snow creates a much wider collective of vulnerable communities. As a scientific report released at COP 15 stated, melting snow and ice creates risks for millions of people who depend on glaciers for freshwater, and hundreds of millions living in low-lying coastal areas due to rising sea levels (Koç et al. 2009). Expanding from “the Arctic” to “areas dependent on ice and snow” was thus more inclusive, with the potential to engage an even wider public.

Another way of making the Arctic meaningful and relevant to a wider public was to emphasize the specific ways in which changes to Arctic ice and snow would create problems in other parts of the world. ICC drew on scientific research, with its emphasis on global processes, to make these connections. The

⁴ Mary Simon, a former ICC President, had herself helped to create the Arctic Council when she served as Circumpolar Ambassador for the Government of Canada from 1995 – 1997.

⁵ See, for example, “The Sea Ice is Our Highway: An Inuit Perspective on Transportation in the Arctic” (ICC 2008).

“Call to Global Leaders” document, for example, references the predicted impact of glacier and Greenland ice sheet melt on sea level rise and ocean circulation, and the further impact of these process on “temperature and rainfall patterns around the world”, concluding that: “The Arctic plays a uniquely important role in helping to support the ecological adaptations on which our global human civilization depends” (ICC 2009).

These statements make use of scientific representations of global environmental systems, but ICC leaders have also suggested that because of their unique position in observing change first hand, Inuit, themselves, are “harbingers” of the human impacts of climate change. For example, as former ICC Chair Sheila Watt-Cloutier stated at a speech in Milan in 2003:

Some might dismiss our concerns saying: the Arctic is far away and few people live there. That would be immensely short sighted as well as callous. The Arctic is of vital importance in the global debate on how to deal with climate change. That’s because the Arctic is the barometer of the globe’s environmental health. You can take the pulse of the world in the Arctic. Inuit, the people who live further north than anyone else, are the canary in the global coal mine (Watt-Cloutier 2003; cited in Pettenger 2007: 210).

ICC’s use of metaphor to equate the Arctic, ice and snow, and Inuit at COP 15 was thus part of a larger strategy to make the Inuit experience of climate change relevant to a much wider public. In a sense, ICC was working to reposition the Arctic so that it might be seen as central to human life at the planetary level – the sphere of concern for UNFCCC processes.

5.1.3 The material and affective technologies of vulnerability

Temporally, the climate change politics at COP 15 reference the past and future simultaneously, mobilizing sentiments of nostalgia and fear (Nuttall 2012). Scientists, conservation NGOs, and Inuit actors use distinct but overlapping technologies and strategies to bring the temporal dimensions of climate change into the consciousness of publics, with the goal of eliciting a sense of care about the future of the Arctic. Scientists’ primary representational technology for this

work is the graph or chart that can depict, in a single image, changes observed or predicted over time, measured in months, years or millennia. As Sheila Jasanoff has noted, the predictive technology of climate models, depicted in graphs and charts, “invites humanity to play god with time;” these models “put within reach the capacity (or the illusion of it) to grasp in moments what would take eons to experience in real time” (2010:241). These depictions that collapse time into a single image hold significant persuasive power. At the same time, they invite reflection on the tidiness and sterility of these two-dimensional representations as a means of evaluating risk. After viewing temperature graphs projected for the audience assembled at the 2007 launch of the IPCC’s Fourth Assessment Report, a reporter for the Guardian newspaper commented with dry humor: “This is how the world ends: not with a bang, nor with a whimper, but with a PowerPoint presentation” (cited in Hamblyn 2009:234).

While for many UNFCCC negotiators, climate change represents a phenomenon they have come to know through scientific reports, position papers, and other representations, Inuit spokespersons offer more direct, experiential knowledge. Sheila Jasanoff has distinguished between scientific and indigenous ways of knowing and representing climate change, suggesting that the former “arise out of detached observation,” while the latter “emerges from embedded experience” (Jasanoff 2010:234-235; see also Ingold and Kurttila 2000). One of the ways that diverse indigenous peoples’ organizations have created a space for themselves within the global climate change discussions at the UNFCCC and beyond is by sharing local observations of change (Smith 2007; Doolittle 2010). Starting with their work in integrating Inuit knowledge into the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA 2005), ICC has promoted “two ways of knowing” about climate change. At COP 15, ICC continued this emphasis, organizing a side event focused on the value of Inuit knowledge to climate change policy and decision-making.

As members of an indigenous minority with ties to the Arctic, Inuit are also invoked within the global climate change context as representatives of cultural diversity, which, like biological diversity, is understood to be endangered

by climate change.⁶ This discourse is clearly visible in the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, which states: “For Inuit, warming is likely to disrupt or even destroy their hunting and food sharing culture as reduced sea-ice causes the animals on which they depend to decline, become less accessible, possibly become extinct” (ACIA 2005:16). Images that depict Inuit as “exotic, expert, and endangered” (Martello 2008:353), like those included in the WWF photo exhibit, are reinforced in first-person accounts by Inuit representatives who describe threats to their hunting culture and the present and future viability of Inuit knowledge.⁷

Those who represent Inuit as examples of endangered others also understand the power of first-hand testimonies in shaping public perceptions of climate change. For example, Clive Tesar, Head of Communications for the WWF’s Arctic Initiative, conducted research on the reception of different kinds of climate change expertise by audiences in the United States. He found that political staffers of congressional offices were persuaded more by indigenous peoples’ personal stories than by scientific research. He concluded that although scientific research was necessary in understanding Arctic change, “... for giving moving, eloquent, believable descriptions of the Arctic on a personal level, we also need the expertise of people who have lived, and continue to live in the Arctic” (Tesar 2011).⁸

At COP 15, Tesar invited indigenous peoples to use the WWF tent as a platform for their own presentations, scheduling “Indigenous Peoples’ Day” on Tuesday, December 8th, in the midst of a week-long program that also included

⁶ A 2012 study published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of the Sciences directly linked the loss of biodiversity to linguistic and cultural diversity by charting the co-occurrence of biodiversity and cultural diversity “hotspots” (Gorenflo et al. 2012); for additional discussion of the connection between cultural, linguistic and biological diversity, see Luisa Maffi (2005).

⁷ Marybeth Martello (2008) discusses the use of photographs of Inuit and other Arctic indigenous peoples in the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment; these photos were taken by Bryan and Cherry Alexandar, whose work was also featured in the exhibit outside the WWF tent at COP 15.

⁸ Tesar suggested that what made the indigenous peoples’ narratives compelling for these staffers was not their indigenous identity, but rather the personal way they had experienced change through their own sensory perception.

day-long programs dedicated to science, youth, arts & culture, “two poles,” and adventurers. A number of Inuit spokespersons took advantage of the tent space: James from ICC-Canada presented a traditional and scientific knowledge study; and two former ICC Chairs, Sheila Watt-Cloutier and Patricia Cochran, discussed climate change and human rights and the Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change, respectively (discussed further below in Part III).

Finally, Artcirc, an Inuit circus troupe from Igloolik, Nunavut, enacted a dramatic battle between a polar bear (performed by a troupe member wearing a polar bear skin, head and feet intact) and an Inuk man. This depiction of the bear as an adversary of Inuit contrasted with the cuddly stuffed bears on sale near the tent entrance and the endangered ice bear outside. Rather than positioning Inuit and bears as vulnerable victims of change, instead it highlighted their historic relationship in which each served as prey and hunter of the other. In lieu of the routine sentiments of uncertainty and fear elicited by vulnerability narratives of climate change, Artcirc’s performance engendered feelings of awe, delight, and curiosity.

5.1.4 The political stakes of representation

Thus far, I have discussed the metaphoric strategies of representation used by Inuit and other actors to advocate for the value of polar bears, the Arctic, ice and snow, and Inuit in the context of global environmental change politics, and I have outlined some of the hidden temporal and affective qualities these strategies reference and invoke in their quest to win over publics. In their engagements at COP 15, the Inuit Circumpolar Council and the WWF deployed similar metaphors, both making use of the vulnerability concept to call attention to the Arctic as a region. Both organizations shared the goal of advocating for a strong “post-2012” framework for mitigation, which each hoped would be an outcome of the COP 15 meetings.

I do not want to go too far, however, in emphasizing commonalities between the ICC and WWF, because in reality the political agendas that each

pursued differed significantly. WWF's politics focus on conservation of species and habitats, integrating people as a matter of political necessity and good conservation practice. ICC's politics are focused on Inuit sovereignty and authority over decision-making and on maintaining the Arctic as a homeland where Inuit can practice social, environmental, and economic relations in ways that have both continuity with past practices and also respond to new conditions, as I discuss in greater detail below.

Inuit in general are wary of environmentalist depictions of the polar bear as the Arctic symbol of change.⁹ They understand that such depictions can be used to mobilize public sentiment in ways that can have direct impacts on the ability of Inuit to hunt animals or market them as renewable resources. In the 1980s, environmental and animal rights organizations helped bring about the European seal skin ban, which led to the collapse of sealskin prices and the demise of a significant source of revenue that supported Inuit hunting practices. Inuit experienced this as a direct attack on their culture and way of life (Wenzel 1991).

In the context of climate change, Inuit are concerned that depictions of bears as "endangered" could lead to a decline in support for their hunting practices.¹⁰ ICC has thus sought to block efforts to uplist the polar bear to the United States' endangered species list and worked to prevent the polar bear from being moved from CITES II to CITES I status.¹¹

⁹ I heard concerns about environmental organizations from Inuit at all of my research locations, from Clyde River to Copenhagen. For more on Inuit and polar bears, see: Dowsley (2007), Dowsley and Wenzel (2008), Freeman and Wenzel (2006), Vongraven (2009).

¹⁰ Inuit in Canada hunt polar bear for food and sell a limited number of hunting tags to sport hunters. The revenue generated from these hunts makes up a small part of the overall economy of local communities, yet it represents a significant influx of needed income to support local livelihoods (Wenzel 2005).

¹¹ The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) is an international agreement that monitors trade in plants and animals. The species covered by CITES are listed in three Appendices; Appendix I lists species "threatened with extinction;" Appendix II lists species that are "not necessarily threatened with extinction" but whose trade must be controlled "in order to avoid utilization incompatible with their survival" (www.cites.org). WWF made a

When I asked Jimmy Stotts, who was Acting Chair of ICC at COP 15, about the problems that climate change poses for Inuit, he responded by pointing to the way that outside organizations were using climate change as a pretext to advance other agendas. He stated:

The part that's bothersome to me is that as people from the outside world are considering the environmental effects, they don't stop at considering the environmental effects, they start pushing other agendas, which are like creating parks, stopping hunting – that kind of stuff – which really gets to the heart of some cultural issues for the Inuit. I mean, if everyone was concerned with the environment, that would be great. But when that concern for the environment means no hunting or no people, it breaks down real fast. I appreciate the concern, but I don't appreciate people telling us what to do. That's a human rights issue (Personal interview, 17 December 2009).

WWF has framed its concerns about polar bears in the context of melting sea ice; the organization has not targeted polar bear hunting, and has endorsed the role of recreational hunting in supporting both local communities and conservation efforts (Freeman and Wenzel 2006). WWF has also come out against efforts by the US to transfer the polar bear from CITES II to I on the basis that melting sea ice, not international trade, is the primary threat to the species. Still, ICC leaders remain wary of the power of environmental organizations to shape public understandings of the Arctic, which can have very real material implications for Inuit communities.

One project that has emerged from WWF's polar bear politics is an initiative to conserve the "Last Ice Area." WWF has partnered with Coca-Cola, whose famous Christmastime polar bear commercials have boosted sales for the beverage worldwide, to raise funds that it hopes will lead to the establishment of a protected sea ice habitat for polar bears in Canada and Greenland.¹² WWF has

statement opposing the transfer to CITES I in advance of CITES COP 15, held in Qatar in 2010.

¹² Coca-Cola created a special-edition, white Coke can, decorated with silver polar bears, to market its support for the project. On November 1, 2011, the company released 1.4 billion white cans (Gerken 2011). The packaging encouraged Coke consumers to make a \$1 text donation to WWF to support the

framed its concern about sea ice in the context of both “wildlife and ice” and “people and ice,” stating that it “wants to help ensure that Arctic communities and wildlife that depend on sea ice have a sustainable future” (WWF 2011).

As described above, WWF is a politically savvy organization, and its leadership recognizes that Inuit have political rights in the Arctic region and must be consulted in matters of conservation. WWF’s Arctic Program, headquartered at WWF Canada in Ottawa, has tried to involve Inuit organizations in the political project of creating the Last Ice Area. Still, the idea of a protected ice park did not emerge from local visions for action, and it remains unclear what role, if any, Inuit organizations will agree to take on in its development.

Meanwhile, Coca-Cola’s involvement in the project reflects the corporatization and big-money power that WWF enjoys as the world’s largest environmental NGO, raising questions about who the organization is accountable to and for what reasons. Furthermore, critics have suggested that another WWF sponsored project on forest conservation in Tanzania, which was framed as a climate change project, shifted control of forest resources away from local people to Tanzanian wildlife managers (Beymer-Ferris and Bassett 2012). Such controversies point to old yet unsettled questions about who benefits from and who is excluded by conservation.

As these examples illustrate, the slippery politics of melting ice supports diverse visions for Arctic territory, with implications for Inuit sovereignty. At COP 15, ICC hoped to protect Inuit interests by having the Arctic, symbolically represented by “ice and snow,” referenced in the UNFCCC negotiating text as a vulnerable region. In turn, they hoped this formal recognition might open doors that would enable Inuit to access adaptation funding within the UN system.

Much of the dialogue about issues of justice and equity surrounding the climate change negotiations has used a “North/South” or “developed/developing” country axis to delineate questions of vulnerability and identify priorities for

Last Ice Area cause. A month later, Coca-Cola quietly pulled the remaining cans from the market because customers, seeing the silver and white colors, confused them with Diet Coke.

assistance with adaptation. Inuit experience and make use of the terms “North” and “South” in a different way; for them, “South” is the site of privilege and the centre of colonial power, and “North” is the less developed region. As Sheila Watt-Cloutier has pointed out: “According to the United Nations, Inuit live in the developed world, but this is not the case. We have much in common with developing states” (Watt-Cloutier 2005), citing social and health conditions, environmental impacts of contaminants and climate change, and infrastructure challenges as particular commonalities. Mary Simon, the President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, has voiced a similar concern on a number of occasions, referencing the obligation of wealthy nations in general and Canada in particular to “ensure that vulnerable communities within their own borders are involved in decision-making and have the resources, knowledge, tools, and technologies needed to adapt” (Simon 2012), and calling for an international fund for adaptation that Inuit would be able to access.

Clearly, then, the metaphors that Inuit and other actors use to enroll different publics in caring about Arctic climate change have material implications; if they successfully enroll their target audiences, they have the power to help mobilize resources that could underwrite the survival of bears or the adaptation of community infrastructure, for example. And yet, as ICC’s encounter with Michael Martin illustrated, the representative space of the UNFCCC, structured around state-level actors, invites a performance of participatory democracy without any real obligation for countries to actually consult with or listen to the diverse perspectives of citizen groups. This performance, after a number of successive meetings without progress, leads to widespread frustration that eventually calls into question whether collective action on climate change in the UN is possible at all. In this context of political gridlock, actors like the ICC may begin to consider other mechanisms to make states take climate change more seriously, as I discuss in the next section.

5.2 Part II: The Inuit Petition to the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights

In the early 2000s, before Canadian politics took a conservative turn, the US government of President George W. Bush stood out as the most obstructive, least cooperative country in the UN climate talks. It was in this political environment that in 2003, at the UNFCCC meetings in Milan, ICC Chair Sheila Watt-Cloutier announced ICC's intention to "defend the human rights of Inuit by using the well established tools available under international human rights law" (Watt-Cloutier 2003). At COP 10 in Argentina the following year, she stated:

At this time, it does not appear that the UNFCCC process will require sufficient action from States to safeguard the future of the Inuit or other vulnerable peoples. Unless the Parties to the UNFCCC, including the United States, are willing to make much stronger commitments, Inuit, like other vulnerable groups, will have no choice but to make use of other international institutions, such as those pertaining to human rights, to defend against the impacts of climate change (Watt-Cloutier 2004).

As I described in Chapter 4, to create the Inuit petition, local testimonies of environmental change were elicited through interviews. These were then taken apart, some aspects selected and others discarded, before being reassembled into a coherent document that framed climate change as a source of significant risk for individual lives and cultural continuity in the Inuit Arctic. Here, I focus on the representative strategies that Watt-Cloutier used to introduce the petition in the context of the UNFCCC, and the role of publics in the shaping of these strategies.

5.2.1 Publics, witnessing and the role of human rights narratives

In pursuing the human rights petition, Watt-Cloutier and her legal team were aware that the best possible legal result was a non-binding statement from the IACHR directed at the US government. Such a statement would pressure the US to take action through "cultivation of popular indignation" (Niezen 2010:2), a diffuse yet nevertheless potentially powerful resource that can motivate states to take action even when sanctions are lacking. Reflecting this, Watt-Cloutier and

her team saw the petition as “simultaneously a legal, political and media strategy,” as one team member later explained to me, adding: “It was never meant to only work through legal channels.”

Through the petition, ICC did, indeed, succeed in capturing media attention, in part by using the UNFCCC meetings as a staging ground for public media events. When ICC first announced its intentions to pursue a human rights legal strategy at the UNFCCC talks in Milan in 2003, a number of newspapers carried the story (Brown 2003; BBC 2003; Doyle 2003). The formal petition launch event at COP 11 in Montreal in 2005 drew a standing-room only crowd with significant media presence. Watt-Cloutier was interviewed live on the BBC World Service right after the launch, and the event was covered on CBC and Al Jazeera news. A number of other TV and print outlets also picked up the story (Gertz 2005; Reuters 2005). Three documentary film crews also filmed Watt-Cloutier throughout the week; Rich Powell, who had been serving as her Executive Assistant, told me that the French One station “followed us literally the entire time through almost all of COP 11.”

The petition attracted media attention largely because of the innovative way it built connections between human rights and climate change, rooted in first-hand testimony of petitioners (Osofsky 2007). Paul Crowley, a lawyer from Iqaluit who helped with the petition, told me he felt that “there was a real desire” on the part of publics following the issue of climate change to hear about the human aspects of climate change. Human rights offered these publics a new way to conceptualize climate change – not just as a scientific phenomenon, but also as an issue linked to state inaction that was having a tangible, physical impact on human lives. ICC’s petition supplied the narratives these publics desired, describing the dangers that climate change posed to an entire way of life. “I think we changed the discourse,” Crowley told me.

Inuit political leaders often say that “Inuit are not protesters;” instead, they see themselves as involved in what Watt-Cloutier referred to as a “politics of influence” (Watt-Cloutier 2002). At COP 15, this meant that while many members of the Indigenous Caucus, a group representing collective indigenous

interests in the UNFCCC, walked at the front of a protest march through the streets of Copenhagen, ICC held a press conference to share their views on climate change with journalists.

Following the “politics of influence” model, in her public speeches, Watt-Cloutier suggested that rather than signaling antagonism, the petition should be seen as an effort by Inuit to proactively engage the United States and other nations:

We launched this petition from a position of focus and strength not victimhood. The purpose of the petition was to educate and encourage the Government of the United States to join the community of nations in a global campaign to combat climate change. It was not aggressive or confrontational. We were reaching out, not striking out.

In a very real sense our petition was a “gift” from Inuit hunters and elders to the world. It was an act of generosity from an ancient culture deeply tied to the natural environment and still in tune with its cycles and rhythms, to an urban, industrial, and “modern” culture that has largely lost its sense of place and position in the natural world (Watt-Cloutier 2009).

By calling the petition a gift, Watt-Cloutier emphasized the desire for relationship, discussion, and dialogue to form the basis of shared action on climate change. In many ways, though, the use of a human rights legal argument worked against the idea of cooperative relationship, since recourse to legal mechanisms is often a last case resort that reflects a breakdown in dialogue between the parties concerned. Several of the media headlines from the two COP events demonstrated the challenge of trying to cast a human rights petition as a “gift,” adopting a more antagonistic tone: “Inuit sue US over climate policy” (Black 2005); “Inuit to File Anti-US Climate Petition” (Reuters 2005).

The human rights framework that the petition used, like the vulnerability discourse discussed above, relied on depictions of Inuit as traditional hunters that positioned climate change as the primary threat to cultural continuity. A brief prepared by the petition’s legal team, for example, concluded: “It is not an exaggeration to say that the impacts are of such a magnitude that they could destroy the ancient Inuit culture” (Wagner and Goldberg 2004).

As several people who had worked closely with her told me, Watt-Cloutier was aware of the challenge of framing a message for the public, and the dangers posed by representing Inuit culture as static and unchanging. She did not want to cast Inuit as victims; her attempt to frame the petition as a gift reflected this. At a speech at COP 10 in 2004 she stated: “I am *not* here to bear witness to the disappearance of my people. We are not going quietly into the night. We are not powerless victims” (Watt-Cloutier 2004, emphasis in original).

Her public speeches on the petition therefore try to strike a balance between presenting Inuit culture as based primarily on hunting and vulnerable to climate change while also showing a more complex picture of social and cultural change in relation to modernity. In a speech on the petition in Milan in 2003, for example, Watt-Cloutier initially described the importance of subsistence hunting as both a source of food and as a cultural practice:

For generations uncounted, Inuit have observed the environment and have accurately predicted weather enabling us to travel safely on the sea-ice to hunt seals, whales, walrus, and polar bears. We don’t hunt for sport or recreation. Hunters put food on the table. You go to the supermarket, we go on the sea-ice. Eating what we hunt is at the very core of what it means to be Inuit. When we can no longer hunt on the sea-ice, and eat what we hunt, we will no longer exist as a people (Watt-Cloutier 2003).

Later in the same speech, however, she offers a different interpretation of the importance of the land to Inuit, one that is rooted in a more contemporary perspective:

Inuit have gone through tremendous transformations in the last century. Our industrial revolution was concentrated and squeezed into fifty instead of 250 years. Those of you that have read Dickens know that such tumultuous change was not always pretty when it happened in Europe. Well, we Inuit also have had our struggles.

Some of you may know that suicide rates are the highest in North America amongst Inuit. Many of our people have resorted to destructive behaviors as they attempt to make sense of the modern world. Those who do find serenity, often do it by going back, as we say, on to the land. To be inspired by the wisdom of generations of Inuit who have lived at peace with the land. If climate change takes that source of wisdom away from us just as

we are coming through our struggle with modernization then I profoundly fear for my People. Climate change will be the last straw (Watt-Cloutier 2003).

In this part of her speech, Watt-Cloutier positions Inuit in the context of modernity and suggests that spending time on the land is a way to “go back” to a previous, more harmonious period. This interpretation mirrored the way that individuals in Clyde River related to the land as a space of healing, as I discussed in Chapter 2.

What becomes visible in this speech, as a whole, is the difficulty of describing culture and identity in a nuanced way in the context of the UNFCCC. This public setting, along with the discourse of human rights introduced through the petition, created an imperative for Watt-Cloutier to emphasize the significant imminent threat of climate change to Inuit culture and subsistence. While she tries to educate her audience about the varieties of change – cultural, economic, and environmental – that have affected Inuit over the past century, she must always circle back to climate change; to make her narrative persuasive, she must emphasize the threats climate change poses to Inuit culture.

In the context of human rights, Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith (2004) have argued that there is an intrinsic connection between rights mechanisms and the narratives of individual rights claimants, suggesting that it is the “process of telling and listening that demands accountability on the part of states and international organizations” (2004:2-3). They further described this connection:

That is, for rights discourse to become activated victims need to come forward and testify to their experience. Their testimony brings into play, implicitly or explicitly, a rights claim. The teller bears witness to his or her own experience through acts of remembering elicited by rights activists and coded to rights instruments (Schaffer and Smith 2004:3).

In other words, human rights narratives are significantly shaped by both imagined publics and by the legal instruments that rights claimants hope to engage. Winifred Tate, for example, has described the role of Colombian NGOs in teaching local activists “how to appropriately report human right abuses” (Tate 2007:134). Through these workshops, activists were taught to professionally

document the narratives they collected, including a focus on fact-checking, standardized presentation, tone, and language, and the inclusion of "contextual details and framing" (Tate 2007:135). The standardized narrative forms that resulted were deemed ready for circulation in human rights networks. This process points towards what Benjamin Lee and Richard LiPuma (2002) refer to as the "culture of circulation," highlighting the iterative relationship between form, mobility, and audience. They note that circulation "is a cultural process, with its own forms of abstraction, evaluation, and constraint, which are created by the interactions between specific types of circulating forms and the interpretive communities built around them" (Lee and LiPuma 2002:192).

By framing climate change as a human rights issue, and by emphasizing the threats it poses to Inuit culture, Watt-Cloutier harnessed the power of human rights to move publics. Her work put Inuit in the public spotlight through media reports, and helped establish a new framework, adopted by a number of lawyers as well as small island states and others, whereby climate change came to be seen as an issue that could be framed in the language of human rights. But publics, invisible though they may be, exert a kind of invisible pressure to deliver narratives of vulnerability and weakness rather than strength.

Anthropologists like Tate, above, have shown how human rights testimonies must meet particular criteria to conform to the expectations of publics who have learned to understand human rights in relation to the violation of individual bodies and the threats posed to entire populations. Similarly, Meg McLagan has described the essential role of human rights testimony in acting as a "medium through which identification with a suffering 'other' can take place" (2003:6). These acts of identification emotionally connect publics to particular political projects. McLagan suggests that "In this sense human rights testimonies are performative – they make ethical claims on viewers and listeners and cultivate potential ethical actors in the global arena" (2003:6).

One might ask: how do Inuit shape their testimonies to respond to the desires of publics they cannot meet? An example will help illustrate this point. On June 26, 2008, a young Inuk woman from Iqaluit named Casey participated as

a Climate Witness in the Global Humanitarian Forum in Geneva. A member of the National Inuit Youth Council and an advocate for youth, Casey had been selected to participate in the Forum by the Inuit Circumpolar Council. Casey's testimony, delivered before an audience of dignitaries, began:

Udlakuut, quyannamik. Thank you very much. My name is [Casey]. I am an Inuk from Baffin Island, which is in the newest territory in the Arctic of Canada. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories today [clearing throat – sighs]. The first one [deep breath] I'm going to tell you is about my friend [breathing deeply – voice cracking]. It's about my friend, Tuluk.

My friend, Tuluk, was an exceptional young man. He had the world in his hands. He had just finished college, which is not something you see every day where I come from. He just found out that him and his wife were about to have their first baby, and everything was going really good. And one day, he decided to go out hunting. He went out hunting onto the sea ice.

My friend, Tuluk, never returned home. My friend, Tuluk, died, because the ice was thinner than usual, and it shouldn't have been. All because of global warming. And there's nothing we can do. We're just a small place with a couple thousand people trying to live our lives with our culture and our people.¹³

Casey was visibly emotional while explaining what happened to Tuluk but then settled into her narrative, sharing a second story about Charlie, an elder “expert on the land” from Iqaluit who also fell through the ice.¹⁴ “Unlike Tuluk, [Charlie] made it back home. But he had both his legs amputated, and now he can no longer teach his sons all his [hunting] skills.” Casey then transitioned to her evaluation of the kind of action needed, the reason for her testimony at the Global Humanitarian Forum:

We don't have the capacity to act against the world's greed all for consumption anymore. We just can't. And we need your help. It seems to me that our government isn't doing very much to reduce emissions. And from my understanding, the Canadian government, for someone that is constantly talking about this, is one of the

¹³ Casey shared a video of her testimony at a youth gathering I attended in Clyde River.

¹⁴ Charlie is the same individual who I describe as a spokesperson for Inuit knowledge in Chapter 4.

worst in terms of emissions. It's effecting their own country, and still it doesn't seem to matter.

This is an extinction of my people and my culture. Our future, whether we and our culture survives or not, is now in your hands. You leaders now have to take the time to make international agreements. Do it right now. Make these agreements. We have people from all over the world here who can make agreements to make this change.

When I asked Casey what the experience of speaking at the Global Humanitarian Forum was like, she said she had felt a lot of pressure to tell her story well, since she aware that the audience of world leaders would be hard to reach in a personal way. "They've heard all kinds of stories, and once you are in those positions for so long, I think it's really hard for things to affect you, because you are so caught up in this really high up place where you forget about the little people that you are actually representing" (personal interview, 18 March, 2010). She kept running into difficulty during rehearsals because she would become emotional and freeze up, causing the organizers some concern about whether she would be able to get through her story when the time came.

As it turned out, the personal and emotional quality of her testimony resonated with the audience. In particular, Casey was pleased that former Secretary General Kofi Annan singled her out afterwards and told her he was sorry about the loss of her friend. "He said my story was very powerful and something that he really appreciated. That's when I realized maybe my story did make a bit of a difference," she concluded.

Casey's testimony exemplifies the way that anticipation of publics and their desires shapes the rhetorical strategies that spokespersons use to frame their narratives. To Casey, this felt a lot like guess work - she felt that it was very important to meet the expectations of the organizers and to effectively communicate the challenge of climate change for Inuit, but she was unrehearsed as to how to best accomplish this.

Publics are intangible - it is hard to know ahead of time what, exactly, will move them, particularly for those less experienced in the arts of representation in

global forums. In the end, it was perhaps the unrehearsed, raw, emotional quality of Casey's narrative that made her testimony effective. Paul Crowley shared a similar perspective when I asked him why he thought the Inuit petition had been so effective in capturing public attention and support. "Sheila [Watt-Cloutier] is genuine; she's the real deal," he said. "She was a good spokesperson - the media is cynical, and if someone isn't genuine, they will sniff it out." Similarly, as Casey rightly stated, an audience of global leaders has seen and heard it all; they are difficult to reach. And yet, the right story can still touch even the most hardened or cynical observer in the performative space of its telling.

While Casey's testimony was effective in part because of its personal, emotional qualities, it also conformed to the narrative expectations and desires of her audience, who expected and received a climate catastrophe story. Casey's narrative equated climate change and melting sea ice with the erasure of individual lives and the disruption of Inuit knowledge transmission. She used the strongest possible term — the threat of extinction — to make it clear to the audience that the stakes were incredibly high. In this context, the threat encompassed both individual bodies and collective identity, thus conforming to the framework of human rights.

Casey's narrative and her reflections on it help us understand how individuals shape their stories to match their perceptions of public expectations. In Casey's case, her understanding of what her audience expected elicited a narrative that conformed to the "human rights and climate change" framework — a kind of witnessing of loss and bodily harm that fits within the framework of rights violations. In Sheila Watt-Cloutier's public speeches about the petition, too, a similar theme of endangerment and risk created a bridge between public understandings of climate change and public expectations of human rights testimonies. As I have argued above, while this way of framing climate change offers access to the legal protocols and frameworks created for human rights, and while it harnesses public indignation unleashed by rights violations, it also displaces local agency and casts Inuit as vulnerable and powerless. Under

Casey's configuration, crafted to prompt a sense of responsibility on the part of global decision-makers, the power was all in their hands.

Not all Inuit who serve as spokespersons in global climate change discussions follow this narrative, and those who do adopt a range of orientations toward Inuit identity and agency, as I describe further below. In particular, a short film on climate change that was screened at COP 15 offered a vision of Inuit identity rooted in both modernity and tradition, and a corresponding vision of Inuit as both part of the problem as individual consumers, and thus as having some personal agency that could help address climate change.

5.2.2 "Inuit Youth Speak Out on Climate Change"

As I describe in Chapter 4, Inuit youth are strong advocates for the importance of Inuit knowledge, even though they recognize that their knowledge of the land is based on a different reality than what their grandparents and great-grandparents experienced. Because of the diverse skills and experiences these younger people bring to climate change engagements, they embody a very different perspective than the one elicited by the human rights and vulnerability frameworks described above.

A film presented at COP 15 entitled "Inuit Youth Speak Out on Climate Change" (Alivaktuk 2009) offers a good example of the different ways that youth understand and relate to climate change. Julie from Pangnirtung, a community on Baffin Island in Nunavut, was a participant in the Inuusivut project, which teaches young people about using filmmaking and photography to support mental health expression and awareness. Julie decided that she wanted to make a film that would depict climate change in a satirical, humorous and empowering way.

The result is a 12-minute, silent, black and white film in the style of the classic Hollywood films of Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton. It tells the story of a young woman who enjoys all the benefits of modern life in Pangnirtung: television, Internet, microwave popcorn, and a toaster oven all feature prominently in the opening scenes. A friend tries to warn her about her wasteful

practices, but she just takes a bite of her toast and mouths “whatever,” and goes back to watching TV from the comfort of a cushy armchair.

The young woman falls asleep, and in the dream sequence that follows, a series of vignettes illustrate the predictive science of climate change. Three friends trudge up a snowless hill with their sled and try to scoot down over rocks and dirt. The film cuts to a black screen with white letters that read: “Arctic warming is taking place and in some regions is double the global average.”

The friends find a small patch of ice and try to play hockey, but the puck gets stuck and they throw down their sticks. The screen states: “Inuit communities are concerned that climate change may adversely affect their land-based hunting culture.” After several more experiences of this sort, the young woman goes inside and wipes her face with a rag - she is sweating from the heat, and goes to a large chest freezer and opens to door to get some relief, only to find her brother sitting inside the freezer reading a book with his headlamp and grinning. The screen reads: “For the Arctic and Inuit climate change is a real nightmare.”

When she wakes up, the young woman takes immediate action, turning off all the lights and the TV. She then mobilizes her friends, who gather together and write the script for a film: “Speaking Out on Climate Change.”¹⁵ As Julie explained her film to me:

The main message is: we are not going to be able to do what we used to. Like, let’s say there’s going to be less snow in the future. Then we won’t be able to go sliding or skidooing as much, or skating. Because it even effects the hockey team in Pang, because it [the hockey season] opens later and closes earlier (Personal interview, 19 March 2010).

Inuit youth in Pangnirtung do not routinely go on the land as their grandparents used to, so their experience of climate change is based primarily on life in the settlement. This does not mean that climate change does not or will not affect them; but the impacts that Julie describes on hockey, skidooing, and sliding are

¹⁵ The film can be viewed online at <http://www.isuma.tv/hi/en/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change/silent-film-climate-change>

likely to appear less exotic to southern Canadians and others worldwide than hunting on the sea ice.

Julie is concerned about the cultural impacts of climate change, particularly about its impact on her ability to learn the skills of her grandparents' generation. When I asked Julie if she thought youth were as affected by climate change as elders are, she responded:

I think they [youth] could be more affected because we might not do what they used to do, like how they used to live - we might know a little but we might not learn all of them. And if you don't learn all of them before they're gone, we might not teach our kids and our grandkids.... I would really want to know more about my elders so I could teach the next generation, I think that is really important to keep our culture (Personal interview, 19 March 2010).

Julie said she had not learned as much about how Inuit lived in the past, during her grandparents' generation, as she would like. Her grandparents had a camp that her family visited in the summer, and she participated in a spring culture camp through her school where she learned about hunting. She described a recent experience of travelling on the land where she and an elder, her cousin's grandfather, were photographed for a series of posters on Inuit and health, sponsored by the Government of Nunavut. In between photos, the elder told her stories about travelling by dog team in the past. "I just loved hearing him talk about olden days!" Julie said. "It makes me think I want to live how they used to live."

For Julie, then, climate change did pose a risk to Inuit culture, but the risk was of a different nature than what was presented in the vulnerability and human rights discourses. Rather than threatening food security by limiting hunting, climate change created new challenges for transmitting culture as heritage.

Julie's film about climate change diverged from the dominant "vulnerability" narrative described in the sections above. She did not know the land in the same intimate way that her grandparents' generation did, but she was nevertheless personally aware of and concerned about climate change as a threat to culture in a number of ways. Climate change stood to impact her ability to learn the skills that elders know, already a daunting logistical challenge.

It also would affect her in more ordinary ways by limiting the amount of time she had to play hockey or go sledding near town. In training her camera lens on contemporary life within an Inuit settlement, complete with toasters, remote controls, and chest freezers, Julie framed Inuit culture as based in modernity as well as tradition. Her film suggested that Inuit participate in creating climate change and can also participate in finding solutions to it; they are not merely passive victims of other people's actions, as vulnerability narratives suggest.

For Julie and other Inuit youth at COP 15, climate change was the backdrop to their coming of age, and climate change politics and negotiations were one of the political contexts in which they were learning about identity, rights, and political engagement, much as the land claims negotiations had been for their parents and grandparents generations. A young woman I met at COP 15 named Tina, for example, had been to a Young Leaders' Forum on climate change, held in Inuvik, where she participated in a mock UNFCCC negotiation where she had to advocate for a particular country's position. When I asked her what opportunities she saw emerging from climate change, she responded:

I think the elders know how life used to be on the land before moving into communities, and they have the perspective of what actually is more physical changes. The adults, they have shifted by being the first employers and being the first people to create and sustain our economy, and they are the ones that are saying: maybe we should be mining, maybe we shouldn't... The youth – we are becoming more populated with our youth. I think we need to have a strong voice with our youth because we are the future as many people say.

It may be a hard debate to say if we should start or stop mining, because the resources and the employment we can get from mining, might be beneficial, but it might not be beneficial in our future because we might really affect our land, our water, our animals, if we exploit too many of our resources. And if we utilize all of it, what are we going to have in the future? We really have to think beyond 20, beyond 40 years from now. That's when we will be elders (Personal interview, 16 December 2009).

Tina's statement reflects an understanding of climate change as simultaneously environmental, social and political. Rather than situating climate

change impacts on the land, as vulnerability discourses do, her perspective encompasses employment opportunities and development decisions that will impact future generations just as profoundly as environmental change.

The prevalence of vulnerability narratives in representative spaces like the UNFCCC shapes the representative strategies that Inuit spokespersons use; their narratives are shaped and elicited by non-indigenous publics and the UNFCCC, itself. As Beth Conklin (2002) has noted, these strategies are produced in the confluence of two contemporary phenomena: 1) the stereotypical images of native peoples produced, circulated, and reproduced by media representations, advocacy publications, and – I would add – UN agencies; and 2) the “continual need to validate the legitimacy of Native concerns” (Conklin 2002:1053).

The latter speaks to the role of liberal state laws and norms in bracketing indigenous experiences, histories, and lives in such a way that they must perform a kind of continuity of collective being in order to be recognized as an authentic Other (Coulthard 2007; Povinelli 2002; Simpson 2010). Combined, these phenomena require indigenous actors to frame their causes using metaphors that will draw support from wider publics that have a diffuse yet important role in counteracting the hegemony of state power (Conklin 2002).

When invoked in the context of global institutions, indigeneity engenders stereotypes. These stereotypes, in turn, limit the agency of indigenous groups, since they must then manage public expectations that they should conform to these particular stereotypes. For ICC, this contradiction surfaced in the climate change work the organization undertook leading up to and during COP 15 in Copenhagen.

5.3 Part III: Climate change, oil and gas, and the limits of global indigenism

In the years leading up to COP 15, following Sheila Watt-Cloutier’s successes at mobilizing publics around human rights and climate change, ICC held an unofficial leadership role in global indigenous organizing on climate change. Patricia Cochran of ICC-Alaska, who succeeded Watt-Cloutier as Chair, led the

ICC in organizing a major international gathering of indigenous people, the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change. The goal of the summit, held in Anchorage in April of 2009 and attended by 400 indigenous participants from 80 countries, was to come up with a shared declaration on climate change that would help influence the outcome of COP 15.

The summit, however, did not go entirely as envisioned. Some of the participants, particularly members of the youth caucus, wanted the declaration to call for a moratorium on oil and gas development (CBC 2009; Pemberton 2009). ICC felt that they could not support this position, since the Inupiat in Alaska had benefitted from oil and gas development, while other regions, including the Inuvialuit region of western Canada and Home Rule government of Greenland, were poised to invest in new resource development projects. Indeed, since its inception, ICC had worked to protect the Arctic environment while still supporting regional efforts to benefit from non-renewable resources, a position that Frances Abele and Thierry Rodon have argued "reflects the traditionally pragmatic approach of Inuit, who recognize the need for economic development even while they seek to limit and manage its negative effects (Abel & Rodon 2007:58).

This pragmatic orientation, based on the hard-won rights guaranteed in northern land claims agreements, was not shared by all participants at the Indigenous Peoples' Summit. At the declaration signing ceremony, attended by then UN General Assembly President Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, several of the regional delegates announced from the podium that they could not sign the declaration. Their objections were based on the fact that the declaration, which represented a compromise text agreed on in a late-night drafting group session, did not take a clear stance against oil and gas development. The final declaration, agreed to after the official close of the Summit, contains two options in relation to oil and gas, suggesting that delegates were unable to reach a shared position:

A. We call for the phase out of fossil fuel development and a moratorium on new fossil fuel developments on or near Indigenous lands and territories.

B. We call for a process that works towards the eventual phase out of fossil fuels, without infringing on the right to development of Indigenous nations (Anchorage Declaration 2009).

This bump on the road to a smooth summit reflects the wider challenges of international indigenous organizing, including a double standard in which indigenous spokespersons are expected to simultaneously conform to the cultural norms of international institutions and the cultural stereotype of the environmentalist native (Brosius 1999; Conklin 2002; Doolittle 2010; Li 2000). Based on standards set by themselves and imposed by host institutions, indigenous spokespersons comply with the protocols that have evolved in the context of UN meeting spaces, including following a strict schedule and using breakout group sessions to produce a collective written statement or declaration.

At the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, plenary sessions were interspersed with working groups based on region and topical interest, with a representative from each region participating in a text drafting committee. The process mirrored the drafting groups at UNFCCC meetings. Participants wore nametags, kept minutes, and drafted text collaboratively on large notepads supplied in breakout room spaces.

One of the summit's funders, the Christiansen Fund, brought in staff from the United Nations University's new Traditional Knowledge Initiative to help write a report of the summit proceedings (Galloway, McLean et al. 2009). UNU staff members were displeased when ICC brought a prepared draft declaration text with them to the summit. While the preparation of draft documents by host states is a common practice at UN gatherings, usually in consultation with other parties, in this case, UNU staff appeared to expect a more participatory model from the indigenous hosts of the summit. They preferred a process in which the text would be drafted entirely on the spot through input from the different regional groups. ICC, on the other hand, often prepares draft declarations in advance of its General Assembly meetings, so this practice reflected their own institutional norm. While ICC's model conformed in many ways to international institutional norms, this conflict with UNU staff revealed the degree to which

indigenous peoples are often expected to meet a double standard of displaying solidarity with one another while simultaneously employing the organizational practices of international meetings.

The expectation that indigenous peoples should demonstrate solidarity based on shared values of sustainability and earth stewardship also created tensions within the space of the summit. In the context of climate change, this perspective reflects vulnerability discourses that position indigenous peoples as living in harmony with the environment. An article published on National Geographic's website, written by a former staff member at the Christiansen Fund who later went on to work for the UNU-Indigenous Knowledge initiative, offers a good example of this discourse:

Indigenous peoples are the ones affected by the climate change the most, although they have contributed little to its causes. This is largely a result of their historic dependence on local biological diversity, ecosystem services and cultural landscapes as a source of their sustenance, wellbeing, and resilience (Raygorodetsky 2012).

While the Anchorage Summit was based on the idea that indigenous peoples' power within the UN system is based on unity and common cultural traits, in practice, these groups have tremendous variation in experience, degree of political autonomy and self-government, cultural and religious traditions, and just about every other dimension of human experience. Aqqaluk Lynge, President of ICC Greenland, voiced this sense of plurality:

Indigenous peoples are diversified a lot both in the context of geographical space, and also in the context of the history of European contacts and the differences of these historical experiences which in many cases lead directly to the reduplication of the system of political and administrative practices; their views are sometimes as different as those of the agrarian cultures and hunting and gathering cultures; nomadic and settled cultures; the role of some of the important concepts in the cultural heritages, like religion, the role of gender, and which the authorities might have been then and now (Aqqaluk Lynge, interviewed by Shadian 2006:201).

The Anchorage Summit politics reflected a conflict engendered by the double standards of indigenism, which require indigenous peoples to conform to

the land-based identities represented in the vulnerability and human rights discourses described above. These contradictions reflect what Stewart Kirsch (2007) terms the “risks of counter globalization” – his term for indigenous politics that make use of global networks – which create pressure for indigenous communities to position themselves as anti-development, even when in reality they may have more complicated agendas. Those that voice openness to development “run the risk of being seen as greedy rather than green” (Kirsch 2007:314). Ronald Niezen makes a similar point, suggesting that: “The ennoblement of those seen to suffer, particularly those seen at the same time to inherently possess the highest environmental and political virtues, leaves no room for nuance or ambiguity” (2010:136).

As I describe below, these politics led to a shift in the way that ICC approached its engagements with other indigenous groups in the wake of the Anchorage Summit. They were also visible in different approaches by Inuit leaders to engaging publics at COP 15.

5.3.1 Oil and gas and the problem of publics at COP 15

On December 10, 2009, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) ran a news story entitled “Exempt northerners from emissions cuts: Inuit leader” (CBC 2009b). The article cited ICC Chair Jimmy Stotts as stating that Inuit had needs “similar to developing nations when it comes to making their economies grow via such activities as mining and oil and gas exploration” (CBC 2009b). According to the article, Stotts was requesting a “softening of the rules for northern peoples” when it came to emission reduction figures. The article concluded: “Stotts said he doesn't believe his call for an exemption undermines the Inuit Circumpolar Council's call for strong action to combat climate change” (CBC 2009b).

The position attributed to Stotts in this article echoed arguments made by the G77 developing countries at COP 15, who emphasized the need for a “common but differentiated responsibility” in developing a mitigation framework

to replace the Kyoto Protocol.¹⁶ The phrase “common but differentiated responsibility” was first articulated in the Kyoto Protocol; it refers to the perspective that since the United States, Europe, and other developed nations have been the largest emitters historically and continue to have a much higher emissions footprint than developing countries, they should be held to higher emission reduction levels. The United States, which never ratified Kyoto, rejected this perspective, insisting that unless new heavy emitters like China, Brazil, and India also signed onto an emissions reduction plan, that the United States would refuse to do so.

Developing countries, on the other hand, felt that they had the right to pursue development. Development was an ideal first thrust upon them by colonizing powers, then strictly reinforced by the Bretton Woods institutions of the post-WWII era, which insisted that developing nations model their economic policies, markets, and governments on American and European prototypes. The G77 countries thus pointed out the self-serving hypocrisy of the US, Canada, and Japan, who now insisted that developing countries should limit their emissions to the same extent as developed nations.

Three days after publishing its initial story, CBC ran a follow-up article suggesting that a “rift” was developing among the Inuit at COP 15 in relation to oil and gas development (CBC 2009a). The article referenced the pro-development position of the Greenland Home Rule government, which had announced plans to develop oil and gas resources as part of its efforts to achieve full independence from Denmark. For the opposing viewpoint, the article quoted Sheila Watt-Cloutier, who stated that Inuit, too, would need to make emissions cuts (CBC 2009a).

The day before the second article was published, Watt-Cloutier gave a speech at a COP 15 side event in which she directly took pro-development Inuit leaders to task (Watt-Cloutier 2009). She warned that Inuit were at risk of losing

¹⁶ Stotts claimed that his comments were misrepresented by the CBC journalist who interviewed him, and that the article did not reflect his actual comments about oil and gas and climate change.

their “moral high ground” by “adopting quick fixes to our economic and social problems,” rather than “relying on our ancient sense of principles that sustained us for millennia.” She continued:

As we call on the world to change its ecologically degrading practices, we must not accept those practices at home no matter how desperate our need for jobs or economic development. Economic gain must not override the existence and well being of a whole people whose way of life is already being severely taxed. We must not let the prospect of development in the Arctic diminish our ability and our region's ability to teach the "life centered sustainability" that Arctic Peoples have practiced for millennia. The people whose lives depend upon the ice and snow for cultural survival must be a central component of all our plans (Watt-Cloutier 2009).

For Watt-Cloutier, extractive development posed a direct threat to Inuit identity. As in her discussions of human rights, her narrative placed significant emphasis on the idea of cultural continuity with the past, which she viewed as threatened by both climate change and extractive development.

Watt-Cloutier's discussion of the “moral high ground” recognized that the influence of Inuit in global politics depended upon representational strategies based on ethics of sustainability, which offered an alternative moral vision to the dominant paradigm of self-interest that animated national politics on climate change. Without these ethics, it was hard to have any leverage; Inuit risked being dismissed as hypocritical. Her comments thus combined a deep belief in the significance of culture with a savvy understanding of its value as a tool for public engagement.

They also point toward a different consideration of the role of publics in shaping particular enactments of identity. In this case, Watt-Cloutier was addressing multiple publics simultaneously. Her speech was delivered amidst a crowd of diverse indigenous peoples from different parts of the world as well as sympathetic non-indigenous supporters, journalists and other members of the public. Her comments, however, are directed at her fellow Inuit leaders. Whereas her human rights petition sought to cultivate popular indignation through making a moral argument in the language of human rights, here, she uses a similar

moral framing to try to reorient other Inuit towards a particular way of thinking about and enacting Inuit identity.

ICC leaders had the chance to respond to the media representations and to Watt-Cloutier's comments when they hosted "Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Day" as a special side event to COP 15. Held at the historic North Atlantic House ("Nordatlantens Brygge" in Danish), the event featured speeches from political leaders and performances from two Greenlandic choirs, as well as refreshments of *char* and *mattaq* (narwhal skin).

Among the event highlights was a speech by Kuupik Kleist, the Premier of Greenland, who shared his vision that Greenlandic cultural continuity was dependent on the development of natural resources.¹⁷ In 2009, the island nation reached a new phase in its quest for independence from Denmark, of which it became a colony in 1814, replacing the Home Rule government that was established in 1979 with Self-Government. Kleist explained that Self-Government was a kind of "enhanced autonomy" that recognized the right of Greenlandic peoples to self-determination and made Greenlandic language the official language of government. Among the new government "competencies" that Greenland took over from Denmark under Self-Government was control over oil and mineral resources. Gaining control over a new area of government required funding that area, which Kleist interpreted as an "imperative to develop our economy and to promote growth" in order to "transform the material riches that we have in Greenland – living and non-living – into human welfare" (Kleist 2009).

Kleist's position reflected what Tania Li has termed the "will to improve" (2007), which she described as a kind of diffuse, cultivated desire that underscores projects of improvement in the context of state and NGO-sponsored development. Li juxtaposed development's long history of failure with the genuine interest in improvement held by actors at all levels of scale who are

¹⁷ Greenland's population is made up predominantly of Greenlandic Inuit (88% as of 2010, according to the CIA's World Factbook), with a minority European population made up predominantly of Danes.

involved in development schemes. She described the role of the trustee in the practice of development, “a position defined by the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need” (2007:5). Trusteeship involves directing the will and capacity of action of others, not through strategies of domination, but by enrolling them in particular projects and visions. In Greenland, then, the will to improve is a political project shepherded by Kuupik Kleist in his role as trustee.

The idea that natural resources must be appropriated and used for public betterment has been a core ideology of nationalism, so much so that resources come to be viewed as an essential quality of the nation (Ferry and Limbert 2007). As Elizabeth Ferry and Mandana Limbert write, “These natural resources ground the political body of the nation by demonstrating its emergence or growth from that territory and its ‘natural’ endowments” (2007:11). That Greenland should tie its succession from Denmark to the development and use of natural resources is thus a familiar strategy, modeled on the logic of economic growth articulated in the ‘modernization and development’ framework of the 1950s and 60s (Rostow 1960). The entanglement of Inuit identity in Greenland’s project of national sovereignty also has parallels in the more recent “neo-extractivist” politics in Latin America, where indigenous identity and class politics are significantly intertwined.

Like the transition to Self-Government in Greenland, the election of Bolivian President Evo Morales, an Aymara Indian, appeared to usher in a new era of indigenous power. Drawing on popular concepts of indigenous identity, Morales’ government passed a new set of laws giving legal rights to Mother Earth or “*pachamana*”, including the right “not to be affected by mega-infrastructure and development projects that affect the balance of ecosystems and the local inhabitant communities” (Vidal 2011). Morales also took a strong stand against global inaction on climate change in the UNFCCC, hosting an alternate summit in April, 2010, in the wake of COP 15 called the “Global Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth” (Mueller 2012).

Morales' *pachamama* rhetoric received increasing criticism, however, when his government initiated a series of government projects that involved extraction of timber and oil resources on indigenous peoples' lands. This, in turn, prompted a rejoinder from Morales: "What, then, is Bolivia going to live off if some NGOs say 'Amazon without oil?'" (cited in Wood 2010).

Morale's turn to extractive development in this context reflects Nancy Grey Postero's assertion that his election "was motivated less by recognition of indigenous rights than by a rejection of the neoliberal economic practices that kept the majority of citizens in poverty" (Postero 2007:6). Similarly, progressive governments in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Brazil have overturned neoliberal policies in favor of greater investment of state revenues in social programs, yet they still rely primarily on extractive development to fuel economic growth.

Uruguayan academic Eduardo Gudynas has referred to this as the "new extractivism," (Gudynas 2010), critiquing the model based on its negative social and environmental impacts and its continued dependency on foreign demand for exports. Another major issue related to neo-extractivist practices is the fact that in pursuing development, states ignore local community concerns, appropriating resources based in particular territories as "national *patrimonio*" (Wood 2010).

Greenland's Self-Government approach to oil and gas development parallels the rhetorical and material practices of neo-extractivist governments in Latin America, including the appropriation of natural resources to improve the well-being of the nation. Like Morales, Kleist engaged with conceptions of indigenous identity in his project of improvement. In contrast to Morales' *pachamama* rhetoric of earth stewardship, however, Kleist explicitly linked extractive development to Greenlandic identity, reinterpreting identity to fit the forward-looking temporality of the not-yet-realized riches promised by offshore oil and gas. He stated:

We want to see new generations of healthy, well-educated, innovative and resourceful Greenlanders. Greenlanders who feel secure and well-rooted in their ancestry, whether it's an Inuit or one blended by other cultures, while they navigate confidently about, make new friends and finds new solutions for a sustainable living... in a world that is increasingly globalized (Kleist 2009).

Kleist made it clear in his speech that Greenlanders, particularly those actively involved in hunting and fishing, a mainstay of the Greenlandic economy, had been affected by climate change. His proposed solution to assist those affected in investing in new equipment, moving to new fishing and hunting grounds, and “in some cases, finding new occupations.”

In Greenland, fishing and hunting are treated as commercial as well as subsistence activities that are centrally regulated by the state (Dahl 2000). Kleist’s “will to improve” logic therefore suggested that the state could step in and replace one type of economic activity with another; his speech failed to acknowledge the central role that hunting and fishing practices have traditionally been understood to hold in Inuit culture. Kleist’s narrative therefore displaced the vulnerability narrative and the sense of future threat posed by climate change by reinterpreting Inuit identity in the discourse of modernity, with its forward-oriented sense of temporality, and by suggesting that the material benefits from oil and gas would compensate for economic and livelihood losses. Jens Dahl (2010) argues that Kleist’s political speeches have introduced a new form of political identity management in Greenland, shifting from an emphasis on rural experience and land-based tradition to embracing a more urban identity that reflects demographic trends and greater autonomy from Denmark.

Of course, Greenland’s citizens do not all share the government’s position that offshore oil and gas should fuel the wealth of a new era of independence. Aqqaluk Lynge, President of ICC Greenland, offered a different vision for Inuit and Greenland in his remarks at Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples’ Day. Lynge spoke of the “paradox of development” in which “those that are the most vulnerable, in particular indigenous peoples, are the ones that need sound sustainable development the most. And we are told by the colonizers and the developed part of the world we can’t” (Lynge 2009b). He invoked the historical trajectory of colonialism in the Arctic, through which whalers had depleted the stock of whales and environmental groups then tried to protect whales and seals from Inuit hunting. Lynge concluded that viewed through the lens of human

rights, “there is no one that could challenge Inuit... in our quest for a sustainable Inuit Nunaat.”¹⁸ However, Lynge also emphasized that human rights also guided the way that Inuit, themselves, should act, creating a “a right and a responsibility to maintain our culture.” Lynge stated:

While I believe we Inuit have a moral right to develop as we see fit, I do not believe that this translates into developing without thought. If we develop as the colonizers and polluters have done before us, without regard to our environment, we may have a moral argument to do so, but this approach will destroy us, and deny us the survival of our own Inuit culture.

What I am saying is that I am more concerned with the loss of our own identity, our language, and our own beautiful, wonderful way of living and moving forward through time, than I am with the possibility of being left behind the developed world and their increasing globalizing and conforming ways (Lynge 2009b).

Like Watt-Cloutier, Lynge framed his commentary in the language of human rights, but he reinterpreted this discourse through the lens of postcolonial sovereignty for Inuit. For Lynge, having the right to development, pursued through and guaranteed by sovereignty, did not mean that development was always the right approach. Like Watt-Cloutier, Lynge introduced a moral register in his examination of Inuit as well as *qallunaat* actions, and he appeared to side with her in her critique of Greenland’s approach to offshore oil and gas development. Unlike Watt-Cloutier, however, his speech invoked a sense of Inuit identity as tied to both the past and the future. The temporal registers of “moving forward” and “being left behind” invoked a vision of Inuit identity that was distinct from Kleist’s globalized, hybrid identity, but that was not necessarily framed only in relation to land-based practices.

Other ICC leaders at COP 15 voiced a similar sense of Inuit identity. In his opening remarks at Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples’ Day, Jimmy Stotts

¹⁸ Inuit Nunaat is a term that has been adopted by Inuit political leaders to refer to Inuit homelands; according to ITK, it is a Greenlandic word that ‘describes the land but does not refer to the water or ice.’ Because of this, there was a move in Canada to use “Inuit Nunangat” instead of “Inuit Nunat,” since the former also includes water and ice (ITK n.d.).

remarked: “Despite having its roots in prehistoric times, present day Inuit culture is quite modern. Inuit have no desire to end up as an exhibit in some museum as just another extinct culture. We will leave our children and grandchildren a better life” (Stotts 2009).

These speeches by Inuit political leaders demonstrate the very real tension between the “will to improve,” and the desire to maintain traditional practice. This dilemma is hardly a new one for indigenous peoples; and Inupiat in Alaska, for example, have walked this line in relation to oil and gas development since the 1970s. Climate change introduces an additional layer of complexity to these discussions for Inuit, since oil and gas development may potentially help address some of the problems of poverty that plague Inuit regions, but they also feed the environmental changes that are exacerbating infrastructural inequities and making the continuity of some land-based practices more challenging.

In Chapter 3, I argued that Inuit knowledge is emergent in politics as well as land-based practices; from this perspective, these discussions take on an additional dimension. Inuit leaders are clearly aware of the strategic role of Inuit knowledge in global climate change politics. They must balance this role, and the land-based construction of identity that publics within the UNFCCC demand, with their own understanding of Inuit sovereignty and their need to identify economic resources to help lift Inuit out of poverty. However, if it is the case that Inuit knowledge is informed by diverse practices including the representational role of leaders within the UN, then the moral talk about stewardship and cultural continuity does more than just *represent* Inuit in these global spaces. These discussions also, in some way, help to inform what Inuit identity is to Inuit, themselves, in the complex and globalized context of multi-level governance that has emerged over the past decades.

5.3.2 A regional approach to climate change politics

Two observations might be made in relation to the speeches at Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples’ Day described above. The first is that Inuit leaders

addressed climate change in its widest possible political and social context. Within the forum of the UNFCCC, with its strong focus on mitigation and adaptation, Inuit actors were more limited in how they framed and approached climate change, emphasizing traditional knowledge and subsistence hunting; in contrast, in this more intimate, regional venue, issues of economic development quickly came to the fore. This is not to suggest that traditional knowledge and hunting are not important issues to Inuit; indeed, these were also addressed and discussed in the Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Day Forum. Rather, what I want to highlight here is that the space of dialogue created by and for Inuit leaders, along with the media controversy prompted by Jimmy Stott's remarks earlier in the week, freed participants to conceptualize climate change from a much wider perspective, a perspective consistent with greater levels of sovereignty and authority over decision-making.

The second observation stemming from Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Day is that it demonstrated the productive nature of an Arctic regional approach for Inuit political engagement. ICC was founded in the 1970s based on the perception that just as Inuit were spread across circumpolar nations and might benefit from political unity, Arctic environmental issues crossed national borders and boundaries and might be best addressed regionally (Abele and Rodon 2007; Shadian 2010; Wilson 2007). ICC also supported global indigenous rights and organizing through the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, and other forums. In the context of supporting Inuit rights and perspectives, however, ICC's greatest success may have been its involvement in the creation of the Arctic Council as a regional forum for states and indigenous peoples' organizations to engage in collective decision-making (Abele and Rodon 2007; Shadian 2010).

Based on the success of Sheila Watt-Cloutier's advocacy on climate change, ICC enjoyed a period of global leadership on climate change, leading to the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change in Anchorage. In the wake of the messy politics of the summit, however, ICC leaders came to believe that the specific priorities and issues they faced were distinct from those of

indigenous groups from other regions. At COP 15, while an Indigenous Caucus officially represented indigenous peoples' groups within the UNFCCC process, ICC worked primarily on their own in coordination with other Arctic indigenous peoples' organizations, particularly the Sami Council and RAIPON (the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North).

Reflecting on Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Day in the context of COP 15 as a whole, Jimmy Stotts felt that this regional approach offered the best chance of supporting Inuit in the context of climate change. "COP15 is such a big thing and we are having dialogue with other parts of the world we don't even know anything about, other countries," Stotts said. "I would hope that not only climate change but other things – that the conversation could be kept within our area. There are a number of issues on climate change and other stuff too, that we should be talking closer to our national governments" (personal interview, 17 December, 2009).

This regional framework for indigenous organizing also related to the way that Inuit leaders understood and framed Inuit identity. In the speeches at Inuit and Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Day, Kleist, Stotts, and Lynge each responded in their own way to Watt-Cloutier's comments earlier in the week, when she had suggested that Inuit culture was directly threatened by both climate change and oil and gas development. The point was not to adopt a shared definition or understanding of Inuit culture, or to agree on whether or not resource development would hinder or support cultural continuity. Rather, just as the space of the event enabled a broader engagement with climate change, it also supported a dialogue about the relationship between Inuit identity, land-based knowledge, and the hybrid influences of modernity and globalization.

After the event, I asked Carl Christian Olson (known as "Puju"), Vice President of ICC-Greenland, why ICC had chosen to work separately from the Indigenous Caucus at COP 15. He responded: "The difference in the view is that we don't view our culture as... we recognize the dynamic character of our culture." He continued:

Our culture is changing all the time. And our language is changing all the time. While the others are kind of protecting the culture from any kind of impact from outside. We are taking some of the impact from the outside, incorporating it, keeping our own culture on the traditional manner and the new manner, and then make a synthesis out of it so that we keep our Inuit identity in the midst of global change (Personal interview, 16 December 2009).

What the Inuit leaders seemed to share, then, was a sense that Inuit culture was tied to their political and economic engagements, and that they needed to grapple with these issues in a proactive, hands on way.

5.4 Epilogue

In 1999, Michael Fischer introduced the notion of “emergent forms of life” into the anthropological lexicon as a way to conceptualize the subject matters and ethical and philosophical challenges of “anthropologies of late or postmodernities.” He wrote about the need for anthropologists to “explore connections between changing subjectivities, social organization, modes of production, and symbolic or cultural forms” (1999:472). Fischer’s use of the term “emergence” reflected the notion that new social forms and technologies arising in the early years of the 21st century reflected something fundamentally different than what had come before.

While environmental change is certainly nothing new — the history of the earth, and even of human habitation on the earth, is marked by periods of significant climate and environmental change — the era of anthropogenic climate change marks a departure from the climatic stability of the past 10,000 years. In the first decade of the 21st century, climate change emerged as a critical and intractable problem that concerned publics and their leaders; just before COP 15, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon referred to climate change as “the greatest collective challenge we face as a human family” (Ki-moon 2009).

In her exploration of endurance, Elizabeth Povinelli asked: “What techniques... allow nonperceptual quasi-events to be transformed into perceptual events, even catastrophes?” (2011:13-14). For Inuit, climate change gives new

life to questions of endurance that have framed engagements with *qallunaat* for nearly a century. In global negotiating contexts, Inuit representatives use questions of endurance and cultural continuity to craft narratives that will appeal to publics and to shape the way their interventions are received. At their strongest, these narratives invoke the specter of extinction, a threat that hovers beneath many activist engagements in the UNFCCC, as in the case of the WWF tent at COP 15. As Robin Globus Veldman has suggested (2012), apocalyptic narratives of environmental catastrophe can play a role in mobilizing action. Endurance and continuity, cultural loss and extinction, are polarizing tropes that serve as useful rhetorical tools in a market saturated by competing climate change narratives.

In the case of offshore oil and gas drilling, for years a routinized, largely invisible practice, the Deepwater Horizon explosion on April 20, 2010, turned an ordinary day of drilling into a catastrophic event for the fish, mammals, and birds of the Gulf of Mexico, for the humans whose livelihoods depend on them, and, briefly, for the Obama government, which found itself dependent on the expertise of the corporations who had created the mess in the first place. Depending on your perspective, exploratory drilling off the coast of Greenland might be a catastrophe in waiting, threatening marine life and the future viability of Inuit hunting and fishing practices. Or it might be the ticket to a golden future, they key to cultural endurance, to projects of improvement such as new housing developments, subsidized higher education, and better health care, which will, indeed, offer the children and grandchildren of current generations a better life.

The political environment of COP 15 also begged the opposite question: when and how do catastrophes become something ordinary? Clearly this happens with some frequency. Today's headline appears below the fold tomorrow, the nuclear meltdown at Fukushima falls out of the US news, the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico has less of an impact on wildlife than once feared. Environmental crisis narratives have a way of becoming routinized, displaced in the media by the next big thing - the economic crisis of the late 2000s, for example. Today's apocalypse is tomorrow's way of life (Buell 2003).

In this sense, the climate change crisis has not disappeared from the global agenda, but has slowly been rendered less visible, in part due to the leaden bureaucratic process of UN politics. When in the years following COP 15, the UNFCCC continued to fail in its goal of replacing Kyoto with a new agreement, commentators declared a global solution to climate change impossible. Ban Ki-moon's "collective challenge" became a collective failure, and the Secretary General washed his hands of the climate agenda and turned his attention to clean energy and sustainable development (Goldenberg 2011). Mirroring ICC's turn towards a regional approach to addressing climate change in the Arctic, climate activists and political leaders began to call for more regional and sub-national efforts to address climate mitigation and adaptation.

Meanwhile, ICC and other Inuit leaders continued to pursue the question of resource development. The Deepwater Horizon explosion significantly, if momentarily, increased public awareness of the risks of offshore drilling, including among Inuit living in the Canadian Arctic. In late June of 2010, delegates at ICC's General Assembly meeting in Nuuk, Greenland, approved a declaration that called on Inuit leaders to organize a special summit focused on resource development in order to come up with a "common circumpolar Inuit position on environmental, economic, social, and cultural assessment processes" (ICC 2010).

In February 2011, ICC held a resource summit in Ottawa, attended by representatives from the four circumpolar Inuit countries. They consulted a variety of scientific advisors about the state of offshore oil and gas technologies, and collected examples of best practices in mining and resource development. The resulting "Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat" (ICC 2011) referenced Inuit sovereignty and the right to involvement in all questions of development in the Arctic, and emphasized the need to place environmental stewardship above development, and to make considerations of cultural and social health central to development decision-making and planning.

The ICC statement did not arrive at any definitive conclusions about offshore oil and gas development, but struck a note of caution. As Jimmy Stotts noted during a panel on oil and gas at the International Polar Year conference, “I cannot say that everyone feels exactly the same about oil and gas development. Our society, like any other society, has differences of opinion amongst its members.” Jimmy then proceeded to make it clear that where he came from on Alaska’s North Slope, Inupiat leaders had concluded that offshore oil and gas was too risky at present, stating: “We need to take the time to get it right” (Stotts 2012).

In this sense, the Inupiat have not changed their position since the founding of ICC in the late 1970s, when concerns about US government and industry interests in offshore oil and gas development in the Beaufort Sea led North Slope Borough Mayor Eben Hopson to call for a new, circumpolar Inuit assembly, which led to the Inuit Circumpolar Council. What has changed in the intervening period is the development of many new institutions that have clarified Inuit rights in the specific, national contexts of the US, Canada, and Greenland, as well as new international and multilateral institutions that have solidified a regional approach to addressing environmental issues in the Arctic.

Unfortunately, when it comes to mitigating climate change, a regional approach can only go so far, as Watt-Cloutier and other former and current ICC leaders understand. An alternative strategy, which ICC has largely followed, is to engage with political actors and publics at different scales, from regional, Inuit-only gatherings to the Arctic Council meetings of Arctic states and indigenous peoples, to the messy, diverse gatherings of the UNFCCC. The ability to adapt to and engage with these very different political contexts and environments is an important component of Inuit “adaptation” to environmental change, one that is under-recognized and virtually un-theorized in the adaptation literature to date. Through engaging with and articulating in these political arenas, Inuit leaders demonstrate qualities of both transmutation and endurance in the context of ongoing change.

Conclusion: Inuit knowledge as endurance

At around 5 o'clock on a foggy evening in late April 2010, I joined a growing crowd of Clyde River residents on the ice-covered harbor below the hotel and playing field where, in the summer, baseball games are fielded. We were waiting at the finish line of the Nunavut Quest, a regional dog sled race organized by and for Inuit, to welcome the *qimuksiit* (dog teams) that we anticipated would be completing their 400 kilometer race from Pond Inlet, which they had begun five days before, within a few hours. Each year, the race starts and ends in different locations, and it was a point of pride and excitement for Clyde River to be the "finish line" host that year.

Travelling by dog team has many advantages in the Arctic, including the ability of dogs to provide protection against bears, the fact that their "fuel" can be replaced by hunting, and their skill at finding their own way home in an emergency. In spite of these strengths, in the context of settlement, snowmobiles proved to be a superior technology. Hunters had to travel much farther to reach the areas where animals could be found, and snowmobiles were considerably faster than dog teams.

As a result, after Inuit moved to permanent settlements in the 1950s and 60s, snowmobiles replaced dog teams as the primary mode of transportation. For many years, residents of Clyde River had only a few *qimuksiit* among them, but over the past decade, the number has been slowly growing; in 2010 there were 12 teams in the community. Iga Sanguya, a Clyde River resident who works with her husband, Joelie, to care for their dogs, sees this as part of a process of reclaiming traditional knowledge. She explained, "Our ancestors, our parents, traveled only through dog team. Although we don't travel with them all the time, at least we have a little grasp of what they experienced."

Another reason for the increasing popularity of dog teams is the excitement generated by the Nunavut Quest. Nunavut Quest racers are restricted to 10 to 13 dogs, but dog team owners may keep up to 20 to ensure an active, viable team. Training and keeping a dog team of this size requires a tremendous

amount of work. Dogs must be fed a steady diet of seal and char, which means putting out seal and fish nets and butchering the meat. Training a team in the winter and early spring months leading up to the Nunavut Quest, when the sunlight is restricted to a few hours a day, requires taking the dogs out daily in darkness. Some *qimuksiit* owners have full time jobs and must find the time and motivation – two or more hours each day at the height of training – to run their team in the evening after work.

The hosting responsibilities of Clyde River as the 2010 “finish line” community also required considerable organizing and effort. A Clyde River committee, *Isuraqtujuk* (“lead dog”), worked all year to raise the money needed to meet the community’s responsibility as host and to support the five *qimuksiit* from Clyde River that participated in the race. They organized dances on the weekends at the Community Hall, held raffles, sold “pop” after hours when the stores had closed, and organized “cake walks” in which volunteers baked cakes which were then awarded as prizes in games that required entry money to play. In total, *Isuraqtujuk* raised over \$14,000 from residents and local businesses that year. They also purchased and sought donations of 50 seals to feed all the participating dog teams from different Baffin communities for the four or five days they would spend in Clyde River at the end of the race. *Isuraqtujuk* was the only fundraising committee of its kind in Clyde River during the period of my fieldwork that was supported entirely by volunteer labor; in 2010, five out of seven committee members were women, and only two committee members had dog teams of their own.

Isuraqtujuk members and racers also participated in regional conference calls that connected racers and their supporters in communities across the Baffin region. In Clyde River, participants would gather at the Ilisaqsivik Society, where the phone would ring and they would be conferenced in on speakerphone with upwards of 100 other people. These calls served as preparation for the teams to discuss the ground rules for the race, confirm who was participating and what was expected of them, and identify required resources. For example, one topic raised was the question of whether an exception to the rule that dogs could only be fed

traditional food (meat and fish), since this food is heavy and harder to digest than kibble. After significant discussion, racers decided that the rule should stand. In addition to their organizational importance, these conversations helped build a sense of rapport ahead of the race among participants from different communities.

In addition to the five Clyde residents who entered the race as contestants that year, a much larger group of people were directly involved as support workers, helping bring the *qimmit* (dogs) to Pond Inlet by snowmobile in special *qamutiit* (sleds) designed to carry dogs and equipment, and driving their snowmobiles in advance of the dog teams every day during the race to set up the camp, prepare food for drivers, and help care for the dogs when the teams arrived at the end of the day. Each contestant travelled with a team of two to five (or more) supporters, including grandparents, children, grandchildren, and in one case, an infant of only a few weeks old. With 16 teams competing in the race and with 10 – 13 dogs per team, the Nunavut Quest was a marvel of coordination and teamwork, as a menagerie of more than 80 people, 150 dogs, harnesses, sleds, snowmobiles, tents, food, and equipment, packed up each morning and reassembled into a working camp again in the evening, after the day's travels.

For the Clyde residents (and myself) who remained in the community, news of the racers' progress was relayed by long distance radio and then by word of mouth. In this way, I heard tales of their travels, related in frustratingly small sound bites, from friends and acquaintances. One day, we learned that the camp (comprised of all the participants in the Quest) had been hastily moved in the middle of the previous night because the ice they were camped on threatened to break off in high winds. The increasing instability of sea ice during the spring season has made it more challenging to stage certain legs of the journey. In these situations, the racers rely on the judgment of elders and frequent travellers who have a better ability to read the ice and know when a dangerous situation has arisen, as was the case that night.

The support teams were first to arrive at the finish line in a "flag parade" of skidoos. The skidoo at the head of the line waved the Canadian flag, the last waved the Nunavut flag, and in between, flags bearing the logos of all the

participating communities fluttered. Some *qamutiit* carried dogs that had grown too tired or had been injured and were now riding in comfort with their human companions. As the skidoos pulled to a stop, people ran to greet friends and relatives, and then we all settled down to wait for the dog teams, drinking tea and hot chocolate from a booth that someone had set up, stomping our feet to keep warm, and squinting at the horizon to see if we could see anyone approaching.

The sun slipped lower and a fog rolled in; the horizon became blurred with white clouds. I lost feeling in my feet, in spite of two layers of wool socks and thermal boots. Finally, around nine o'clock, someone shouted and pointed—the first team was arriving. This wasn't a race all at once to the finish line, as the scores were tallied based on the cumulative time over the entire race, with points deducted for lost equipment, lost dogs, and other violations. The racers were spread out over a considerable distance. Every time a sled arrived, a cluster of men would surround it, clutching onto the sides of the sled and heaving it — and its driver — in the air, accompanied by cheers and clapping. The racers, some suffering from frostbite, snow blindness, and other aches and pains, seemed grateful to be finished and happy to be greeted by an enthusiastic crowd.

The end of the race launched the beginning of a multi-day celebration. For three nights, there were dances in the Community Hall, with a special group of “jiggers” (a “local” dance form first introduced by Scottish whalers) arriving from Pond Inlet to lead the community in the old-timey dances embraced by young and old alike.¹ Other special events included a community feast and an awards ceremony, where the contestants learned their final race times, and where the “start” and “finish” communities for the following year were announced.

Unlike the formal land-based programs that rely significantly on grant funding and outside support, the Nunavut Quest represents a regional and local

¹ “Jigging” is a dance form introduced by Scottish whalers, along with musical accompaniment that includes the accordion, fiddle, and guitar. Today, it is embraced as a local dance form, although most community dances feature rock music and “southern” style dancing. Like other forms of local knowledge, jigging is also seeing a revitalization of sorts, but it is not a kind of dance that is routinely practiced.

revitalization of *qimuksiit* that operates relatively independently. One benefit of the locally staged and supported production of this event was that organizers never had to articulate this as an “Inuit knowledge” project or to suggest that it would revitalize endangered practices. There was no need to translate what they were doing across scales of understanding or power. Nevertheless, through their interest and excitement in dog teaming and travelling on the land, and perhaps in part through their desire to win a grueling athletic competition, the organizers and participants did give new life to old practices.

The Nunavut Quest shows us what “Inuit knowledge” can mean when it is not articulated as such. It is an example, *par excellence*, of endurance, and of the strategies that support the engagement of past cultural forms in new and meaningful ways in the present. While “rooted/routed” on the land in both meanings of the term, not everyone involved engages with the land in the same way. The dog teamers are much fewer in number than the many others who help to produce this event – the skidoo drivers, fund-raisers, spectators, finish-line erectors, jiggers, feast preparers, etc., who are all essential to the Quest. In this context, “Inuit knowledge” is supported by many kinds of practices undertaken by community members, themselves.

I make three claims about Inuit knowledge in this dissertation: first, that Inuit knowledge, traditionally understood to be knowledge of the land, is today interwoven with many activities that happen within the settlement, such as those that supported the Quest. It is also supported by practices such as grant and report writing and bureaucratic work that link localities to wider networks. This has implications for how Inuit engagements with environmental change should be understood, and what kinds of responses should be supported.

For example, the “vulnerability and adaptation” literature on climate change conceptualizes Inuit experience as almost exclusively local, and Inuit knowledge as primarily land-based. In this context, “adaptation” is a local level phenomenon that encompasses activities like building community freezers so country food can be stored for periods when the sea ice is unsound and travelling

with extra food and equipment in case a sudden storm should arise. What these accounts largely ignore is the fact that political and economic actions taken far from local communities, such as decisions about the conservation of animal species, the creation of adaptation funding opportunities, or incentives for alternative energy technologies, impact the ways that people and institutions in local communities respond to change.

Climate change “adaptation” is therefore as much about understanding how to work with politics and within institutional frameworks as it is about storing country food or travelling with safety equipment. This way of framing adaptation more fully embraces the diverse knowledge practices that shape Inuit engagements with climate change. These include activities such as recording elders’ knowledge; organizing sea ice awareness workshops; making films about elder’s observations of change; making films about sledding and hockey; writing grants, press releases, political statements, and policy documents; giving speeches; and hosting media events.

The diversity of these practices reflects the fact that climate change itself is not only physical and material, it is also constituted by the wide range of social engagements that shape how humans understand and respond to change. Climate change tangles together issues of development, industrial and household emissions, infrastructure, sea ice, animal migrations, human travel, hunting, fishing, knowledge transmission, and many other entities and practices into a giant web. It is this intense entanglement that makes collective action on climate change so challenging. I argue that it is important to begin from this point of complexity when considering Inuit engagements with climate change, rather than being limited to a discussion of Inuit as local actors and land-based knowledge holders.

The second claim I make, drawing on Actor-Network approaches, is that Inuit knowledge is mobilized through *both* material forms (“immutable mobiles” or “technical devices”) *and* through human spokespersons. Excluding either one of these ways of moving knowledge through space and across cultures results in a weak interpretive framework. In this way, although I take the point of Latour and

Callon about not neglecting the translational power of things, in my analysis, human agents play the central role in mobilizing knowledge. As both creators of immutable mobiles and spokespersons for Inuit knowledge, their efforts require fluency in a variety of social contexts and the ability to anticipate and understand the reception of different narratives and representational strategies.

Because knowledge networks have been built in relation to Western science and state governance, these structures often unwittingly limit the mobility of Inuit knowledge or force it to adapt to Western modes of communication and presentation in order to be rendered mobile and palatable for non-Inuit audiences. As a result, although Inuit actors and the knowledge they produce are embedded in global networks, this does not mean that their understandings of change are translated fully through these networks or taken up on equal terms with Western science in policy documents and scientific reports.

My final claim is that Inuit knowledge is animated by affect, and that the affective dimension of knowledge plays a role in political and bureaucratic engagements. The political and bureaucratic uses of affect can take public forms – as when Watt-Cloutier narrated the role of the hunt in shaping the emotional characters of young hunters to an audience at the UNFCCC – as well as more personal and private ones, as exemplified by the importance of land-based experience to individuals employed by institutions in Iqaluit.

This mediating quality of affect is not limited to Inuit knowledge; indeed, affect should be seen as central to *all* knowledge production and mobilization. Knowledge is produced and reproduced in particular environments that are at once social and material. It travels from place to place in the form of immutable mobiles *and* spokespersons and when these representations are then taken up again in different social contexts, affect mediates how they are received and the relative importance they are accorded. Inuit knowledge of climate change therefore reflects intimate knowledge of the land, but it also reflects affective qualities that are called upon or even refined in political arenas such as the Government of Nunavut or the UNFCCC. This approach supports a politics of possibility that is reflected in the way that Inuit employees in bureaucratic

institutions in Iqaluit understand and relate to *Inuit Qaujimajatuqnatig*.

Understanding the affective qualities of Inuit knowledge does not mean taking a naively apolitical approach – indeed, the strength of affect as a conceptual tool is that it allows for critique while maintaining possibilities for action. In other words, it leaves open the potential for Inuit knowledge to inform bureaucratic and political engagements in ways that can actually make a difference in how decisions on issues such as climate change mitigation policy are made.

There is a deeper, underlying question that animates the persistent attention that Inuit and non-Inuit alike pay to Inuit knowledge, a question that comes to the fore in the context of climate change. This is the question of endurance – of what it takes to carry on in the midst of momentous, potentially catastrophic change. “Inuit knowledge” exists in this space of endurance. Thus, though it draws on the comfort and stabilizing force of tradition, it is also informed by the cutting edge of new trends and new political configurations as it is mobilized in non-local spaces.

If one reframes the question “How are Inuit responding to climate change?” as “What personal, political, and material resources does endurance require?” then both Inuit knowledge and climate change become less facile objects of study. The answer, of course, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, is that endurance requires many different kinds of resources. Leaders are essential, from innovating new practices and institutions to bring youth on the land, to working to engage Inuit experience within the territorial government, to representing Inuit at conferences and political gatherings held far from Clyde River. Translation, the ability to negotiate between local and non-local perspectives, and between local priorities and non-local resources, is also important. This work often happens quietly, embodied in routine, institutional practices, and therefore its role in knowledge production and climate change response is rarely acknowledged. For some, religion and faith are important resources in endurance, offering ways of healing from challenges of the past that continue to haunt the present. For most, a sense of community, kinship, and place are essential, even though the meanings and practices of engagement with

community and place change over time.

While I argue that Inuit knowledge should be understood as not *merely* local and place-based, it does represent for many – Inuit and *qallunaat* alike – a particular kind of persistence in a challenging, changeable environment. For example, one teenager in Clyde River, in trying to explain his sense of happiness when he caught his first seal, told me that he was inspired by the importance of hunting in the time before settlement. “Inuit was struggling back then, very struggling – trying to find food 24 hours a day. They wouldn’t come back until they caught the seal.” His sense of joy in participating in the hunt reflected his understanding that endurance was the result of struggle, something that often eludes those who shop for food at the grocery store.

The elders who lived on the land do not romanticize this struggle; many of them told me that life was better and easier in the settled community. And yet, they also do not want to see the strategies of endurance that Inuit developed in the context of struggle disappear. Inuit knowledge therefore represents a kind of long-term engagement with and commitment to both continuity and change. Faced with a range of uncertainties, the struggle to endure, while not a “solution,” offers hope.

The Nunavut Quest illustrates the kinds of leadership, innovation, and engagement that are giving Inuit knowledge new meaning in the 21st century. Several people pointed out to me that in the context of climate change, dog teams provide some security in avoiding dangerous ice, and that unlike skidoos and other gas-dependent vehicles, they do not emit significant greenhouse gases. These are more hypothetical reflections than serious ones, however, and it is unlikely that dog teams will ever become a primary means of transportation again. The function of dog teaming has changed, and not everyone has the time, interest, or resources to keep and train a team. Regardless, the Nunavut Quest and the revival of *qimuksiit* it has engendered offers a hopeful commentary on the potential for land-based knowledge to endure with the help of family, friends, and supportive community, even and perhaps especially during periods of significant change.

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