Indigenous Rights in Environmental Justice
Examining Decolonization and Human Security in the context of Inuit seal hunting

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ABSTRACT

In the current era of environmental activism, campaigns to address the impending impacts of climate change and global warming are increasingly visible and effective at making their positions known. Simultaneously, the advent of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and a growing concern for indigenous rights has amplified the social movements of indigenous groups seeking access to, and recognition of, their rights. These movements often intersect with environmental justice campaigns over protections of land, environment, and against the encroachment of extractive resource industries. However, the relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous campaigns are not always cooperative, and subsequently can infringe upon the rights of indigenous communities. The following research uses decolonization theory to frame understandings of indigenous rights and to underscore the necessity of indigenous inclusion and participation in environmental movements. Furthermore, it posits that environmental justice campaigns have failed to adequately address indigenous rights within their activism, which can contribute to a further marginalization of indigenous concerns and purport to an extension of colonial power dynamics. In light of this, the thesis recognizes a need for environmental justice organizations to recentralize indigenous rights within their movements, and explores to what extent a human security framework can be utilized to achieve this aim. Finally, a case study on the interactions between environmental organizations and Inuit during the anti-sealing campaigns of the 1970s is undertaken to demonstrate the impact of environmental movements operating without adequate understandings of indigenous rights, and the need to utilize alternate approaches in constructing environmental justice campaigns.

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"If you are easily frozen, if you go out hunting you have to be mindful, you have to be careful because if the seal doesn't descend itself, then you go hungry home, you cannot feed your family, and there is no oil for the lamp."
-   *Aaju Peter, Inuit Activist*

"This is the way we have always existed, using seals. I don't think our ancestors would have survived if there had been no seal."
-   *Johnny Meeko Sr., Sanikiluaq, Nunavut*

"There's a peaceful battleship, the Rainbow Warrior, sailing 'round the world to the shore, where the seals are cudgelled by them nasty furriers 'till there ain't no more."
-   *Lyrics to 'Greenpeace', a 1979 single released by the Dutch Eurovision-winning pop group Teach-In, which also featured a voiceover by Greenpeace's own David McTaggart.*

"Where justice is denied, where poverty is enforced, where ignorance prevails, and where any one class is made to feel that society is an organized conspiracy to oppress, rob and degrade them, neither persons nor property will be safe."
-   *Frederick Douglass*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, it is necessary to recognize my privilege to have been able to pursue a life of dignity, freedom, and happiness, throughout my childhood, youth, and adulthood in the beautiful environment and nature of the west coast of the United States. In doing so, I recognize that these wonderful places that enriched my growth were historically inhabited by the Puget Sound Salish, Duwamish, and Ohlone who faced subsequent displacement from settlers and are still dealing with inequity and seeking recognition of their rights and lands today.

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14.07.2017

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Context

In the last 20 years, the prominence and urgency of environmental protections and climate change mitigation have grown exponentially. Climate change and global warming have begun to produce visible and measurable impacts on the environment and ecosystems.[1] In response governments, organizations, and activists alike have begun to develop a groundwork for protecting the environment and advancing social movements to push for the conservation and protection of wildlife and nature. Contemporary movements advocate for a global responsibility to respond to climate change, which has spurned much debate on the equality and equity of enforcing a global responsibility to act. Developed countries have benefited from the situation prior to environmental regulation, and have to a large degree contributed the most to the degradation of the earth.[2] Scholars have focused considerably on the necessity for scaled responsibility that does not impose equal restrictions on developing countries as developed countries.[3] However, these discussions do not seem to have completely integrated conversations of inequity into the local discourse of environmental change. Considering inequity within regions, states, and communities, several questions come to mind. Who is in a position of privilege to reduce their environmental impact? Who is responsible? Who will bear the economic and cultural costs of a decision on environmental protection or climate change mitigation, and to what extent? This is not to say that these questions are easily answered or undebated, but rather to highlight them as underpinning dilemmas in

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[1]IPCC, 2014: *Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* [Core Writing Team, R.K. Pachauri and L.A. Meyer (eds.)]. IPCC, Geneva, Switzerland, 2015, pp 2-26. www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/syr/SYR_AR5_FINAL_full_wcover.pdf

[2]Ibid.

[3]Agyeman, Julian, Robert Bullard, and Bob Evans (eds.) *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an unequal world* London: Earthscan, 2003.

decision-making that require weighing potential consequences for humankind in both action and inaction with more nuance.

In addition, a global acceptance of climate change as a universal threat has brought social movements campaigning to enforce urgent changes related to environmental protection, conservation, and wildlife resilience to the forefront of local, national, and international politics.[4] The relationship between humans and their environment is complex and interrelated with industry. Therefore tensions arise when human activity clashes with environmental protection, as is witnessed in the increasing resistance movements to contemporary resource extraction industries. As scholars note:

> "Climate change is far more than an environmental challenge. It is a profoundly human issue with immediate and far-reaching implications for jobs, homes, health, food, and lives… it is also increasingly seen as a justice issue as climate change undermines the realization of a host of internationally recognized human rights, has asymmetrical impacts on the poor and vulnerable, and increasingly requires disproportionate action from developing countries"[5]

In alignment with such realizations, the position of indigenous groups and their relationships with states and the international community over the governance of resources and environments they also utilize for cultural, subsistence and traditional needs, are becoming more prominent within social movements. Indigenous populations are also increasingly susceptible to human rights violations and are subject to greater inequality and inequity through generations of oppression and colonialism.[6] In current demonstrations, indigenous populations have coincided with environmental activism as a means for furthering their human rights, reclaiming the myth of

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[4]Hindery, Derrick. *From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia.* University of Arizona Press, 2014. Print.
[5]Atapattu, Sumudu A. *Human Rights Approaches to Climate Change: Challenges and Opportunities*, Routledge, 2016. p. 97.
[6] IPCC: 2014 *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability, Summary for Policy Makers* IPCC, Geneva, 2015; https://ipcc-wg2.gov/AR5/images/uploads/WG2AR5_SPM_FINAL.pdf

the 'Ecological Indian'[7] and appropriating it for social justice. This mobilization can sometimes overlap with the goals of an environmental movement, when indigenous rights are concerned with environmental or resource governance. Simultaneously, indigenous movements have increasingly mobilized in the international sphere in an effort to regain control of their natural resources and defend their rights to self-determination, culture, and traditional livelihoods, in an attempt to participate at the level of decision-making where such universal responsibilities are being created.[8]

Although scholars have noted the symbiotic relationship between indigenous rights and climate change prevention or environmental movements,[9] tensions arise when indigenous rights are not incorporated into environmental movements or in cases in which indigenous rights are in contradiction to environmental movements. At the heart of these debates lie competing ideologies of how the environment should be utilized, by which actors, and to what extent. In the late 1980's, environmental justice was established to intersect with civil rights and social justice movements to address human concerns previously marginalized by environmental activism.[10] They sought to challenge traditional environmentalist approaches that ignored inequality as a factor impacting individual and collective relationships to nature and the environment.[11] Despite this, current environmental justice movements in the West seem to have failed to appropriately reflect and include human rights for vulnerable communities, and in particular for indigenous communities.

There have been several examples over the past few decades highlighting this lack of initial reflection on the part of environmental movements and activists. For example, in the 1970's the

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[7] Krech III, Shepard *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* W.W. Norton & Company Ltd.; New York, 1999. Print.
[8] Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003. pp. 1-44.
[9] University of Washington, Department of Environmental & Occupational Health Sciences, Sustainable Communities: Environmental Justice, Seattle, 2016. http://deohs.washington.edu/environmental-justice
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

International Fund for Animal Welfare, in conjunction with other actors such as Greenpeace and later the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, ran a controversial campaign attempting to prohibit the hunt and sale of seal and seal skin products. Their campaign failed to acknowledge that Inuit communities in Greenland and Canada not only hold seal hunting as an integral part of their cultural traditions, but rely on the industry and economic demand of seal skins for their economic, environmental, and personal security.[12] Some organizations, including Greenpeace, have since taken responsibility for the negative impact their campaign had on indigenous communities in the Arctic, yet continue to oppose commercial seal hunting.[13] Inuit communities continue to attempt to change the negative impacts these ingrained narratives have had on the consumer conscience and by extension their collective prosperity and human rights.[14]

Recently, environmental activists in the United States opposed the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that would carry oil from North Dakota to a refinery in Illinois. Initially, environmental organizations and protesters challenged the construction of the pipeline on the basis of moral necessity to move towards clean energy and curb reliance on fossil fuels.[15] However, at the naissance of protests, activists failed to recognize that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe was simultaneously protesting the construction of the pipeline on the basis of rights violations,[16] as it ran directly through their sacred burial sites; territory protected by the Fort Laramie treaty delineating Native American rights to the land.[17] Furthermore, the pipeline had originally been

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[12]Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

[13] Burgwald, Jon *Where does Greenpeace stand on seal hunting?* January 21 2016. www.greenpeace.org/usa/where-does-greenpeace-stand-on-seal-hunting

[14]Arnaquq-Baril, Alethea *Angry Inuk* Unikkaat Studios Inc. 2017, Film Trailer. Web. available at: https://vimeo.com/181059386 (last visited 12 July 2017)

[15] Hayes, Kelly "Remember this when you talk about Standing Rock" Yes! Magazine, Seattle; October 2016. www.yesmagazine.org/how-to-talk-about-standing-rock-20161028

[16] Ibid.

[17] NYC Stands with Standing Rock Collective. "#StandingRockSyllabus." Lenape Territory, 2016. https://nycstandswithstandingrock.wordpress.com/standingrocksyllabus/

redirected to run through their treaty land after communities in Bismarck, North Dakota, representing a predominantly white constituency, protested its construction out of concerns over the impact of the pipeline's construction on their access to clean water.[18] Indigenous criticism was eventually heard and environmental activists refocused their advocacy to centralize indigenous rights; however, the initial lack of representation of the pipeline's impact for indigenous rights and the narrative represented in the media underline a problematic tendency for environmental activism to overlook indigenous rights issues that interact with their movements.

This tendency to overlook indigenous rights can be explained through the lens of decolonization theory, which describes the power relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous actors as a continuation of the systemic oppression of colonized peoples by colonizers.[19] Its goal is to provide an emancipatory theory for colonized (and in this case specifically indigenous) peoples to reclaim the power they lost upon the initial colonization of their land and way of life.[20] To this extent, the legacy of colonialism and the action of decolonization are implicit parts of understanding indigenous human rights. In addition, decolonization prioritizes indigenous participation in decision-making regarding their rights and, by radical extension, disrupting or deconstructing existing institutions of power that negatively impact indigenous rights.[21] Therefore, in approaching a decolonized environmental movement inclusive of indigenous rights it also reflects a need for indigenous participation within its naissance and implementation. A framework that centralizes indigenous participation and attempts to meet human rights concerns by focusing on context-specific, people-oriented, and comprehensive

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Wilson, Angela Cavender, and Michael Yellow Bird, eds. *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005. Print.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

dialogue across all actors (local, regional, national, international), could lend itself to potentially begin working towards a decolonized/ing arena, requiring indigenous participation within the foundations of any approach.

Such qualities are put forth in the UN's Human Security Framework, which serves as a guide for the planning, implementation, and assessment of policies and projects addressing risks, threats, and capabilities in communities. It involves a people-centered, context-dependent, and broad human rights approach.[22] In this way it strives to provide a comprehensive and community driven approach to collaborating with authorities and activists to address emerging threats. In addition, human security relies on careful analysis to determine the coherence of policies, approaches, and interventions in the name of protection or empowerment.[23] The Human Security Framework therefore offers a self-reflexive mechanism for any organization, movement, or policy to determine the reality of actualizing certain initiatives for individual groups and communities.[24] Furthermore, human security recognizes that indigenous populations and other vulnerable groups are at the greatest risk of being impacted by the environmental effects of climate change and therefore prioritizes their involvement in developing responses.[25]

Given the increasingly globalized threat that climate change presents, the growth in environmental justice movements in the West, and the existing power that such movements have to encourage change, this thesis recognizes the need for human rights, in particular for indigenous rights, to play a greater role in the dialogue on environmental decision-making at all levels. In addition, it recognizes a need for environmental movements to understand and reflect the impact

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[22] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. p. 7. www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf
[23] Ibid. p. 17.
[24] Ibid. p. 24.
[25] Ibid. pp. 8-9.

of colonialism and value of decolonization for indigenous rights, especially in relation to environmental issues, and examine how indigenous rights can be best represented within contemporary environmental movements.

1.2 Research Problem

This thesis will examine the following research question: to what extent could a human security framework ensure that environmental justice movements include indigenous human rights and support efforts towards decolonization? Considering the interrelatedness of environmentalism and human rights, especially for indigenous peoples, there is a necessity for inclusive representation in decision-making. When environmentalist organizations fail to recognize the colonial history behind the human rights concerns that communities are attempting to address and the impacts environmental activism may have on these concerns, it represents an extension of power asserted in colonial relationships and negates the agency of indigenous actors. This poses a serious problem for the interactions between indigenous communities and environmental advocacy organizations both supportive and unsupportive of indigenous claims. As human rights campaigns and environmental activism grow in attempting to mitigate the impacts of climate change, it will continue to be an important discussion at all levels of discourse. In addition, the international community has at its disposal many existing frameworks of reference that could be utilized to meet this problem, but subsequent research into their merits for indigenous rights through the lens of decolonization does not currently exist. To this end, human security as a broad and all-encompassing framework is a good starting point, as it maintains functionality across local, regional, national, and international levels and focuses on a people-centered approach. However, the merits of other potential frameworks or the comparison of their actual implementation by

organizations or non-indigenous actors within an environmental campaign are areas that would need to be examined in more scrutiny and are outside the scope of this thesis.

1.3 Method & Content

As noted, this thesis will explore to what extent a human security framework can serve as a tool to contextualize and involve indigenous rights within environmental movements and, in doing so, provide a space to begin engaging in decolonizing environmental advocacy. Therefore, an overview of decolonization theory will provide a basis for understanding the impact of colonialism as well as the interactions and power dynamics between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous actors.[26] In addition, it will discuss the value for indigenous peoples of participation in decolonization and the subsequent need for this to occur in environmental justice movements. To this extent, decolonization theory can provide a critical lens to deconstruct the agendas of environmental movements and discuss why certain power dynamics may be problematic in promoting certain relationships, policies, or lines of argumentation. This deconstruction will be used to highlight the key elements necessary for indigenous groups to engage in decolonization work, expressed in the language of existing indigenous rights. Furthermore, an examination of environmental justice, as the dominant framework behind environmental campaigns, will be done to determine whether it has been able to recognize and incorporate decolonizing narratives and indigenous rights.

Following an overview of decolonization and the examination of its relationship to indigenous rights and environmental justice, this thesis will examine human security and its potential for centralizing indigenous rights. This involves examining the existing human security

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[26] Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonna S., & Tuhiwai Smith, Linda (ed.) *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* Thousand Oaks, California; SAGE Publications, 2008. pp. 1-21.

framework in the UN system and the practical elements of the framework that support indigenous participation and human rights. In addition, work by Wilfrid Greaves will be highlighted to show how decolonization and human security are being utilized by scholars and indigenous populations in the Arctic to articulate human rights concerns. Their work specifically also serves as a form of contextualizing current literature on security and human rights in the Arctic to add dimension to the subsequent case study. To this end, the chapter will explore which aspects of a human security framework could be an effective tool in constructing environmental movements to centralize indigenous rights.

In addition, this thesis seeks to explore whether a human security approach can be compatible with environmental justice movements and whether it could centralize indigenous rights through requiring participation, a vital step in supporting decolonization. In order to support this claim and synthesize the discussions of previous chapters, a specific case study regarding the intersection of human security, decolonization, environmental justice, and indigenous rights will be explored. This thesis will analyze the case of seal hunting in Greenland and Canada and subsequent debates between Inuit communities and environmental organizations such as Greenpeace, WWF, and IFAW. Furthermore, this case study will address the outcomes of these protests and movements, reflect on the centrality of indigenous rights, and implications of using a human security approach. Following this analysis, a discussion on the effectiveness of utilizing a human security approach to decolonize environmental justice will reflect on potential implications for contemporary or future movements.

1.4 Limitations

Although this thesis is intended to illuminate broader trends in environmental justice movements, it is by no means exhaustive and, given the context-driven approach of human

security, implicitly argues for context-based problem solving without a "one-size-fits-all" approach. Furthermore, this thesis focuses predominantly on post-colonial Western environmental justice movements and may not address all specific or unique contexts internationally. In addition, two philosophical debates influencing the engagement of the author on this topic will not be directly addressed within this thesis, but are of significance to anyone seeking to further their knowledge of issues raised in the thesis regarding climate change and human rights. First, the debate regarding reconciling collective indigeneity and human rights approaches within the urgency of impending global adaptation and climate change.[27] Second, specific commentary on the paradox revolving around indigenous communities' interaction in colonized spaces of participation in order to protect their human rights.[28] Both of these questions underpin interesting and complex philosophical debates and, while relevant to the understanding of contemporary indigenous rights and potential implicit references, are outside of the pragmatic scope of this thesis.

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[27] *For examples of identity politics and indigeneity in human rights, see:* Niezen, Ronal *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003
[28] *See* Lowenhaupt Tsing, Anna, Agrarian Allegory and Global Futures in Greenough, Paul & Lowenhaupt Tsing, Anna (ed.), *Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and Southeast Asia* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003. *See also:* Lindroth, Marjo, and Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen. "Adapt or Die? The Biopolitics of Indigeneity—From the Civilising Mission to the Need for Adaptation." *Global Society* 28.2, 2014. pp. 180–194.

CHAPTER 2: Decolonization and Indigenous Resistance

Establishing the context for this thesis requires a critical understanding of the systemic dynamics of power that are entrenched in the history of indigenous populations[29] inhabiting the land and nature that environmental organizations seek to conserve and protect. Recently, narratives of decolonization have entered into the social justice sphere of protecting indigenous self-determination, as a means of challenging unequitable systemic oppression.[30] In order to contextualize decolonization, it is important to first define the role of colonization in spurning indigenous resistance and participation in contemporary politics.

2.1 Colonialism and Decolonization

There is a large body of work surrounding the effects of colonization on the indigenous communities, displaced and oppressed by the machinery of colonialism that carries into contemporary narratives of indigenous rights movements. The legacy of colonialism from a traditionally Western historic perspective is considered as beginning with a period of land and resource conquest in late 1492 and generally ending after the second world war,[31] when the United Nations officially adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, granting rights to decolonization and self-determination.[32] However, the declaration was aimed towards territories that had been previously controlled by colonial powers and did not extend to indigenous populations displaced by settler states.[33] Indeed, social scientists continue to debate whether the Western world can in fact consider itself in a post-colonial sphere, or whether

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[29]In the context of this thesis, Indigenous populations are defined as non-dominant communities inhabiting land prior to the arrival of settlers in North America during the colonial period.
[30]IdleNoMore Manifesto, available at http://www.idlenomore.ca/manifesto (last visited 11 July 2017)
[31]Schwarz, Henry, ed. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005. Print. p. 2.
[32] "The United Nations and Decolonization," available at http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/ (last visited 11 July 2017)
[33] Ibid.

the legacy of colonialism continues to manifest itself in more subversive and nuanced ways. In the realm of academic scholarship, scholars such as Fannon,[34] Du Bois,[35] and Ngugi wa Thiong'o[36] note that their participatory existence in the post-colonial sphere as colonized peoples still adheres to a certain prioritization of Western-centric argumentation, eliciting a 'doubleness'[37] of identity in the formation of their subjectivity.[38] They articulate a paradox of being; in order for them to articulate best their experiences with colonialism, they do so within the knowledge structures that colonialism promotes and adheres to, which can be seen as an extension of the colonial harm these authors seek to liberate themselves from. This underlies a tendency to put the modern subject and the colonial subject at odds. Postcolonial scholars such as Williams and Chrisman, Ato Sekyi-Otu, and Benita Parry argue that decolonization is incomplete.[39] Yang and Tuck argue that postcolonial ideals and the metaphorization of decolonization, regardless of intention, may still have the potential to reinforce the contemporary legacy that colonialism has left on the cultures, communities, and individuals it has oppressed.[40] Others argue that while we have surpassed the historic age of colonialism, its legacy remains in forms of neo-colonialism that enforce uneven interactions between post-colonial states and indigenous communities.[41]

This thesis will not engage directly with this debate, but considers that these arguments reflect a necessity to recognize the continued legacy of colonial rule into the contemporary social,

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[34] Fanon, Frantz, and Charles Markmann. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Nachdr. London: Pluto Press, 2000. Print.
[35] Du Bois, W.E.B *The Souls of Black Folk* in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* eds. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997. Print. pp. 613-615.
[36] Ngugi wa Thiong'o. *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publications. 1996. Print.
[37] Du Bois, p. 615.
[38] Quayson, Ato "Postcolonialism and Postmodernism" in Schwarz, Henry, ed. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005. Print. Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies 2. p. 96.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Tuck, Eve (Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is Not a Metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society* 2012, pp.1-40.
[41] *See:* Ato Quayson supports this claim under the assertion that postcolonialism must be supported by postmodernism and vice versa. Quayson, pp. 87 – 111.

political, and economic spheres of interaction between communities. As Maaka and Fleras note, "although the most egregious expressions of colonialism have been discredited […] what remained untouched are those 'colonial agendas' that have had a controlling (systemic) effect in privileging national (white) interests at the expense of indigenous rights."[42] Furthermore, the legacy of colonialism remains an active agent for indigenous communities seeking to assert their rights through participation in the political sphere:

> "Indigenous peoples, often stigmatized as inferior, are, like other marginalized collectives, usually situated within the frontier space of postcolonial states. States characterized as postcolonial may in fact still exercise neocolonial forms of control. To the extent that they do, they are by definition incapable of allowing indigenous peoples 'to freely represent themselves as equal members of a political community"[43]

In other words, the presence of colonialism remains a tangible operator in contemporary social and political interactions and inhibits a subsequent reclamation of rights by indigenous groups.

In light of this, decolonization has offered an analytical framework within which indigenous communities can address subsequent systemic inequality and contemporary entrenchments of colonialism. The concept in and of itself was developed by colonized peoples for their own utility and benefit. The centrality of this context must therefore be respected. As Yang and Tuck note, decolonization is not a metaphor and in discussions surrounding the need for decolonization, many "make no mention of Indigenous peoples, our/their struggles for the recognition of our/their sovereignty, or the contributions of Indigenous intellectuals and activists to theories and frameworks of decolonization."[44] The crux of discussion amongst indigenous

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[42]Maaka, Roger and Fleras, The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), 12. citation from Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, pp. 461–480.

[43] Harvey, Neil. *The Chiapas Rebellion: The struggle for Land and Democracy.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 1998. p. 227. citation in Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 11.

[44] Tuck, Eve (Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is Not a Metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society* 2012, pp. 2-3.

scholars tends to center on critical inquiry around the dynamics of colonizer and colonized.[45] For example, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Michael Yellowbird have been at the forefront of developing critical indigenous methodologies that centralize on decolonization as an element of understanding in indigenous academic, activist, and social spheres of knowledge dissemination and work. Their arguments comprise of a need to recognize institutional frameworks of interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous communities as inherently defined by a history of colonialism and a dedication to pursue the successive deconstruction of interactions entrenched in colonial agendas.[46] As Michael Yellowbird notes:

> "Decolonization is the intentional collective, and reflective self-examination undertaken by formerly colonized peoples that results in shared remedial action. Such action traces continuity from "traditional" (pre-colonial) experiences even as it embarks on distinctive, purposeful, and self-determined (post-colonial) experiences. The key to decolonization is community emancipation from the hegemony of outside interests."[47]

This fundamentally involves the ways in which participation and protest are organized to protect indigenous culture, livelihood, and land. To this extent, applying the legacy of colonialism to activism or to political interaction, inequity again emerges as power dynamic in determining organization: "The settlers are generally viewed by the colonizing authority as racially superior to the previous inhabitants, giving their social movements and political demands greater legitimacy than those of colonized peoples in the eyes of the home government."[48] Furthermore, considering

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[45] "By bringing into question the simple equation of master-servant or colonizer-colonized, ambivalence, like hybridity, tends to destabilize the authority of colonial discourse, and thus it is an important site for critical inquiry" in Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 33.

[46] Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonna S., & Tuhiwai Smith, Linda (ed.) *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* Thousand Oaks, California; SAGE Publications, 2008, p. 1-21.

[47] Wilson, Angela Cavender, and Michael Yellow Bird, eds. *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005. Print. School of American Research Native America Series. *citation in* Yellow Bird, Michael. *Decolonizing The Mind: Healing through Neurodecolonization and Mindfulness*. Portland State University: 24 January 2014. Video Lecture. available at: https://vimeo.com/86995336

[48] Yellow Bird, Michael. *Decolonizing The Mind: Healing through Neurodecolonization and Mindfulness*. Portland State University: 24 January 2014. Video Lecture. available at: https://vimeo.com/86995336

that the contemporary sphere of social movements and political protest exists in the context of the settler state's authority, it is impossible to ignore that the "rules of engagement" to achieve political and social outcomes are thus also potential conduits in extending the same inequities they originally produced, as the arena is the same. Through this lens, the dynamics of interaction between settler-state institutions and the colonized require an active reversal, in which organizations are responsible for respecting the agendas of indigenous representation, rather than indigenous activists appealing through the structured agendas of the colonizer.

As mentioned above, the extended legacy of colonialism, the subsequent lens of decolonization, and indigenous resistance are inherently linked concepts. Indeed, scholars note that "there is a long and bumbled history of non-indigenous peoples making moves to alleviate the impacts of colonization. The too-easy adoption of decolonizing discourse (making decolonization a metaphor) is just one part of that history and it taps into pre-existing tropes that get in the way of more meaningful potential alliances."[49] An extension of these claims suggests that when non-indigenous environmental organizations engage in collaborative or environment-driven advocacy on indigenous issues there is a necessity to also engage in understanding decolonization as an important part of indigenous lead resistance. Furthermore, it underlines a need to re-frame environmental movements to interact in coordinated and supportive roles, but also to understand the subsequent need to separate decolonization as a methodology that non-indigenous environmental organizations cannot claim, but must respect. To this extent, Western environmentalism must extend the scope of its human lens and relationships between individuals, state, and the environment must be re-examined with an understanding of colonial dominance.

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[49]Tuck, Eve (Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is Not a Metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society* 2012, p. 3.

"Under the guise of modernization, development, and national prosperity, political elites have auctioned off indigenous peoples' homelands to multinational corporations, irrespective of the detrimental impact on the environment and well-being of local communities. Without a recognition of the historical impact of colonialism and the various forces of global modernity - including the conflation of spatial, temporal and cultural boundaries - it is virtually impossible to comprehend the creation and conceptual import of indigenousness, whatever else the term conveys about rootedness and complex ties to the land"[50]

Considering these claims in light of Western environmentalism, ensuring solidarity with indigenous rights stems from an understanding and internalization of the impact of colonial legacy and a commitment to respecting decolonization as an inherent process in environmental justice movements engaged with indigenous issues. Furthermore, understanding that decolonization is an inherently indigenous process and can therefore not be led by environmental justice movements. It is important to understand how environmental justice has evolved and to what extent it may be limited in addressing indigenous rights and decolonization.

2.2 Environmental Justice

Environmental justice[51] emerged as a human and social centered approach in response to environmentalism and the protection of nature. It sought to expand definitions of environment and environmentalism to establish a mechanism for including human realities as a function of the environment. Current descriptions and definitions of environmental justice are varied, as it is a flexible concept that can be rooted in time, place, and perspective and therefore lends itself well to advocating in cases of injustice.[52] However, "[environmental justice] usually refers to the belief that all citizens, regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic class, should equally share in the benefits

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[50] Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 11.
[51] Environmental Justice is also sometimes referred to as Climate Justice, which has been popularized with the advent of climate change discourse.
[52] University of Washington, Department of Environmental & Occupational Health Sciences, *Sustainable Communities: Environmental Justice* Seattle, 2016. http://deohs.washington.edu/environmental-justice (last visited 11 July 2017)

of environmental amenities and the burdens of environmental health hazards. Most definitions have common "themes" of justice in distribution, procedures, and process"[53] and it has been noted that "different groups adopt different definitions of climate justice. Everybody, however, agrees that there are core minimum obligations inherent in the notion of climate justice linking environmental protection, development (or poverty alleviation) and social justice."[54] However, environmental justice still situates itself implicitly within the existing frameworks of individual/collective interaction with operators of power, such as the government, and have defined justice within this framework, which inherently avoids dealing with a decolonized indigenous perspective. Examples of definitions environmental organizations give for environmental justice include, "the Mary Robinson Foundation believes that climate justice links human rights and development to achieve a human-centered approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly."[55] While this aim provides significant recognition for the systemic and institutional inequity that defines certain relationships between humans and their environment, it does not expressly nor adequately address the legacy of colonialism, and therefore the roots of indigenous rights and injustices, in its message. Indeed, it has taken organizations such as Greenpeace over 60 years to even acknowledge how colonial legacies have impacted indigenous groups and subsequently reflect this in their institutional policies.[56]

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[53]University of Washington, Department of Environmental & Occupational Health Sciences, *Sustainable Communities: Environmental Justice* Seattle, 2016. http://deohs.washington.edu/environmental-justice (last visited 11 July 2017)

[54]Atapattu, Sumudu A. *Human Rights Approaches to Climate Change: Challenges and Opportunities*, Routledge, Print. 2015. p. 93.

[55]Ibid.

[56] Kerr, Joanna. "Greenpeace Apology to Inuit for Impacts of Seal Campaign." *Greenpeace Canada*. 25 June 2014. Web. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/greenpeace-to-canadas-aboriginal-peoples-work/blog/53339/ (Last visited 12 July 2017)

To this extent, the problem with environmental justice is that it does not explicitly internalize the differences in power relationships between indigenous groups, their colonizers and settler governments. Although, intrinsically the argument is that "environmental injustice cannot be separated from economic inequality, race and gender subordination, and the colonial and post-colonial domination of the global South,"[57] in practice this is often or overtly not reflected in environmental movements. Organizations and activists are careful to provide inclusive outlining in articulating the principles of climate and environmental justice, but fail to explicitly describe histories of colonial oppression. In turn they therefore prioritize westernized perceptions of managing the environment and ignore the root causes prevalent in supporting justice for indigenous rights. Again, this discrepancy has been articulated and criticized by indigenous activists, for example: "Yes, everyone should be talking about climate change, but you should also be talking about the fact that Native communities deserve to survive, because our lives are worth defending in their own right -- not simply because 'this affects us all.'"[58] While environmental justice can elevate the centrality of humanity within environmentalist thinking, it does not take into consideration the necessity for internalized review, and change, of the roots of injustice in the system it promotes, namely by not adequately examining the colonial power hierarchies environmental justice may promote through its actions. In addition, the incorporation of indigenous issues into any overtly non-indigenous agenda can become a complex undertaking: "Numerous scholars have observed that Indigeneity prompts multiple forms of settler anxiety, even if only because the presence of Indigenous peoples - who make a priori claims to land and ways

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[57]Atapattu, Sumudu A. *Human Rights Approaches to Climate Change: Challenges and Opportunities*, Routledge, 2015. p. 96.

[58] Hayes, Kelly "How to Talk About #NoDAPL: A Native Perspective," Truthout; October 2016 http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/38165-how-to-talk-about-nodapl-a-native-perspective

of being - is a constant reminder that the settler colonial project is incomplete."[59] This anxiety or unease has the potential to keep the messaging and activism of environmental movements from acknowledging their own complicity in systems of injustice, as well as recognizing indigenous perspectives in environmental justice as imperative approaches to decolonization, and the necessity of decolonization for adequate understandings of indigenous rights.

The advent of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)[60] and the articulation of indigenous rights to self-determination and free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) over matters affecting their land, resources, culture, and livelihoods has led to increased indigenous movements across the globe to protect their respective rights.[61] Indeed, in the last 50 years, indigenous political organization as a means to facilitate the protection of rights and reclaim aspects of governmental control and power at local, national, and international levels are prevalent.[62] In accordance with this, indigenous and non-indigenous organizations have at times been able to work together effectively and with respect to indigenous rights at the international level under the premise of furthering human rights.[63] However, in matters concerning climate or environmental justice movements, subsequent attention by environmental organizations to indigenous issues involved in environmental agendas has been insufficient or ineffective in incorporating, understanding, and centralizing indigenous rights to self-determination and free,

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[59] Tuck, Eve (Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is Not a Metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society* 2012, pp. 2-3.

[60] General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, UN Doc. A/Res/61/295, 2007, printed declaration available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

[61] Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 11.

[62] This includes, for example, the Saami Parliaments in Finland, Sweden, and Norway, as well as the Government of Nunavut in Canada.

[63] Benjamin, Craig; Preston, Jennifer; Leger, Marie, "The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Partnerships to Advance Human Rights" in Davis, Lynne (ed.) *Alliances: Re/envisioning Indigenous Non-Indigenous Relationships* University of Toronto Press, 2010. Print. pp 60-65.

prior, and informed consent within their agendas. For example, during protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) in the United States, Native American communities leveraged complaints regarding the messaging and goals of non-indigenous organizations, noting that:

> "In discussing #NoDAPL, too few people have started from a place of naming that we, as Indigenous people, have a right to defend our water and our lives, simply because we have a natural right to defend ourselves and our communities. When "climate justice," in a very broad sense, becomes the center of conversation, our fronts of struggle are often reduced to a staging ground for the messaging of NGOs."[64]

In this way, movements can perpetuate the marginalization of indigenous rights, should they fail to adequately prioritize indigenous activism in their agendas and, in doing so, effectively infringe on the agency of indigenous populations to assert their rights.

To this degree, environmental organizations hold significant power in their ability to advocate intersectional issues of environment and indigenous rights, as they are established and wealthy institutions adept at operating within defined advocacy systems that can lend support to broadening the scope under which indigenous rights are currently discussed. In this way, environmental organizations are in a position to elevate discussions surrounding the injustice and inequities faced by indigenous populations into environmentalist dialogues occurring at the international, national, and local levels. However, in recognizing such power, subsequent actions without adequate participation, consultation, and involvement of indigenous leadership in defining such agendas, environmental organizations may continue to enforce a form of justice defined and articulated by non-indigenous actors, and to this extent may effectively act as an extension of colonial dominance. Again, Tuck and Yang note that decolonization, "which we assert is a distinct project from other civil and human-rights based social justice projects, is far too often subsumed

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[64] Hayes, Kelly "How to Talk About #NoDAPL: A Native Perspective," Truthout; October 2016 http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/38165-how-to-talk-about-nodapl-a-native-perspective

into the directives of these projects, with no regard for how decolonization wants something different than those forms of justice,"[65] and to this extent emphasizes the need for a re-centralization on indigenous articulations of justice. Furthermore, understanding the link between settler colonialism and indigenous rights, and the contemporary positionality of environmental movements and organizations must recognize that:

> "the most important concern is land/water/air/subterranean earth...land is what is most valuable, contested, required. This is both because the settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence. This violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation."[66]

To this extent, environmental organizations operating under the protection of the environment (which includes land, ecosystems, etc.) are implicit actors in colonization/decolonization projects where their movements coincide with indigenous subject matter. Therefore, it is a necessity to re-formulate the thinking and missions of environmental justice movements and organizations to underscore the urgency of decolonization, and importance of indigenous participation and leadership in defining resistance, progress, and negotiation of the impacts that environmental movements have on indigenous rights. In addition, environmental justice requires an understanding of indigenous rights to allow its subsequent decolonization through indigenous representation and centralization of indigenous rights, as they are articulated by indigenous peoples themselves. In essence, a framework to re-formulate indigenous rights into the dialogue of environmental justice movements is necessary to fulfill its commitments to equity, combat environmental racism, and in turn support decolonization work. This thesis explores the viability of one such framework, human security, in guiding environmental organizations to approach

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[65] Tuck, Eve (Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is Not a Metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society* 2012, p. 2.
[66] Ibid, p. 5

decolonization and indigenous resistance by re-centralizing indigenous perspectives and rights.

<u>CHAPTER 3: Human Security & Indigenous Rights</u>

As discussed in the previous chapter, rather than seeking to address rights-based issues for indigenous peoples, essentializing context-specific relationships, and positing a generalized approach to involving indigenous peoples in dominant legal frameworks, this thesis seeks to turn a critical lens to non-indigenous environmental organizations. Such organizations are often sources of influence and power in supporting environmental justice campaigns that often run concurrent to indigenous issues and have been effective in enforcing widespread international action and awareness in the past.[67] In light of this, and considering clear links between decolonization and indigenous rights as well as the sustained trend of collaboration and clashes between environmental justice organizations and indigenous communities, examining the potential of existing international frameworks is necessitated. One such framework is human security, aimed at engaging with indigenous peoples regarding threats to their communities is an important step exploring how environmental organizations can begin to engage with indigenous rights from a position of solidarity.

3.1 Human Security

Human security was developed to deepen contemporary and traditional conceptions of

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[67] *See for example:* "The World Wildlife Fund (WWF), though recovering from a damaged reputation, was still able to use its international clout and history criticising Shell in Nigeria to secure high-level meetings with the corporation and state institutions in the United States and Bolivia. But while concerted actions by Indigenous groups and allies proved critical in compelling the companies to mitigate adverse environmental and community impacts, pressure from non-Indigenous groups and allies proved critical in compelling the companies to mitigate adverse environmental and community impacts, pressure from non-Indigenous monitoring committees - organized by the PROBIOMA- and from other organizations was also important." in Hindery, Derrick. *From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia*. University of Arizona Press, 2014. Print. p. 127.

security and to turn perspectives of security from a focus on the protection of the state to the security of individuals. The term is broad sweeping and can apply to any urgent or systemic threats that may be inhibiting an individual's capabilities or a community's collective resilience. Human security relies on the interdependence of five fundamental principles as both an approach and an operational tool: people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, prevention-oriented, and protection and empowerment.[68] The application of these principles in programmes and national plans is articulated as:[69]

People-centered	- Inclusive and participatory. - Considers/engages/ensures the participation of individuals and communities under stress in defining their needs, vulnerabilities, and capacities in responding to their insecurities. - Collectively determines which insecurities to address, and identifies priorities and available resources, including local assets and indigenous coping mechanisms. - Manages expectations and strengthens social harmony
Comprehensive	- Comprehensive analysis of root causes and manifestations of a particular threat across the different components of human security. - Develops multisectoral/multi-stakeholder responses by promoting dialogue among key actors from different sectors/fields/communities/groups (includes actors and sectors not previously considered relevant to the success of a policy, programme, or project). - Helps to ensure coherence and coordination across traditionally separate sectors and fields thereby strengthening resilience.
Context-specific	- Requires in-depth analysis of the targeted situation. - Focuses on a core set of freedoms and rights under threat in a given situation. - Enables the development of more appropriate solutions that are embedded in local realities, capacities, and coping mechanisms. - Takes into account local, national, regional and global dimensions and their impact on the targeted situation.
Prevention-oriented	- Identifies risks, threats, hazards, and addresses their root causes. - Focuses on preventative responses that are proactive and not reactive.

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[68] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. p. 7. www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf
[69] Ibid, p. 17.

From a general perspective, human security emphasizes a bottom-up approach to identifying threats and thereby lends itself well to encouraging environmental movements to consider the human impacts of their campaigns and encouraging dialogue with indigenous communities. Furthermore, it has potential to elevate such dialogues into the global sphere, as it can be utilized to address systemic issues leading to tangible inequities within communities, by strengthening protections articulated at the national and international level, as "the political, economic, social and cultural conditions for human security vary significantly across and within countries, and at different points in time, human security strengthens national solutions which are compatible with local realities;"[70] A counter-argument can also be made: The linkages between the human security approach and its subsequent entrenchment in the international system, that recognizes "full respect for the sovereignty of States, territorial integrity, and non-interference in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States", render human security a potentially incompatible tool to deal with indigenous populations and their rights as colonized peoples as these principles reflect an implicit understanding of indigenous territories as the land of settler states. However, this argument negates the reality of the positionality of indigenous issues as related to the modern state, essentializing indigenous issues to centralize on territorial sovereignty and, as discussed in the previous chapter, placing the indigenous subject and modern

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[70] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. p. 6.
www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf

subject at odds with each other. Furthermore, such a counter-argument negates the potential tools

at hand for indigenous populations to utilize in accessing their rights that are a part of modern state

arrangements, such as existing sub-state and (non)territorial autonomy arrangements,[71] and

existing political organizations and legal treaties to fulfill indigenous rights to self-determination,[72]

and the basic assurance that human security incorporates indigenous perspectives and

participation. In addition, "highlighting Indigenous leaders' articulations of (in)security that

emphasize social and environmental factors may contribute to *de*colonization by pushing back

against the dominant construction of (insecurity as military violence, territorial borders, and the

national interests of sovereign states."[73] Furthermore, indigenous scholars such as Yellow Bird

and Smith recognize that the relationship between indigenous rights and Western legal frameworks

and modern states cannot be separated as uniquely oppositional forces, acknowledging that

decolonization, as much as an unsettling process,[74] requires a centralization of indigenous thought,

practice, and knowledge, and a recognition of indigenous positionality within existing

frameworks.[75] To this extent, a discussion of the value of human security for indigenous rights and

decolonization work, and in contrast to other frameworks, is pertinent.

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[71]Suksi, Markku "Non-Territorial Autonomy: The Meaning of '(Non-)Territoriality'" in Malloy, Tove H., and Francesco Palermo, eds. *Minority Accommodation through Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy*. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015. Print. pp. 83-115.

[72] Cambou, Dorothee "The Right to Indigenous Self-Determination with Specific Emphasis on the Sami Rights" in *The Role of the EU in UN Human Rights Reform.* Nowak, M. & Hofstätter, T. (eds.). NVW, 2003. Print. p. 137-143

[73] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 464.

[74] Yellow Bird, Michael. *Decolonizing The Mind: Healing through Neurodecolonization and Mindfulness*. Portland State University: 24 January 2014. Video Lecture. available at: https://vimeo.com/86995336

[75] Tuhiwai, Smith L, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* London: Zed. Print. 1999.

3.2 Utilizing Human Security over a Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA)

The resurgence of indigenous rights in the attention of the international community, coupled with increased access to information, technology, and the spread of ideas, have contributed social movements an increasingly effective tool in securing human rights for indigenous communities.[76] Through this engagement, the international community has developed several human rights based legal frameworks for addressing the difficult positionality of indigenous peoples at the international level, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, International Labour Organization's Convention 169, and the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues.[77] While these documents and frameworks have had success in promoting access to human rights through legal dimensions, this does not always extend far enough to address local contexts or historical oppression at the national level. From the surface, a Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) to development offers similar tools to address discrimination and marginalization of communities in the development process.[78] However, the use of a HRBA alone at its core focuses on an understanding of development as a necessity to

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[76] "Thus for the first time in history, there is a growing global awareness that indigenous peoples are entitled to rights and recognition they have long been denied. From the earthen patios of Chiapas, Mexico, to the Palais Wilson in Geneva, indigenous peoples are mobilizing new social movements and ethnic federations both within and between states in order to take advantage of these historic political openings" citation in Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. (ed.) *At Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial Studies* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 2

[77] "A growing readiness to acknowledge the rights of indigenous peoples is reflected in changing sensibilities in the international community. The International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) was proclaimed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and resolved by the General Assembly in December 1993." citation in Dean, Bartholomew & Levi, Jerome M. p. 2

[78] UN Practitioners' Portal on Human Rights Based Approaches to Programming, "The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation: Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies" UN Development Group. Web. available at: http://hrbaportal.org/the-human-rights-based-approach-to-development-cooperation-towards-a-common-understanding-among-un-agencies (last visited 12 July 2017)

adapt or assimilate and does not adequately integrate the legacies that colonialism has had on contemporary development. The concept of development itself has been critiqued as a neo-colonialist or imperialistic device from the West, rooted in a white-savior complex.[79] Such claims assert a certain perspective of temporality, as development implies that growth is necessary on all fronts and towards particular directions and is easily used to perpetuate mythologies of "civilized vs. savage"[80] in its implementation.

While human rights are an important element in articulating the social realities of indigenous issues, they may not be exhaustive and they have not been effective in permeating discourses of environmental justice that support adequate participation of indigenous perspectives and decolonization work. However, human security offers flexibility in defining the scope of actions, which can avoid the funneling of justice as a solely legal concept, a potential product of the HRBA, by discarding a direct link to development thinking, and thereby the premise of the civilizing. In this way, human security offers the element of urgency and authoritative legitimacy to articulate existing systemic inequities as imminent threats and addresses such concerns in a scope, methodology, and voice determined by indigenous populations. It may well be that indigenous populations participating as securitizing actors chose to articulate needs and seek implementation of certain actions through a HRBA and this flexibility provides an ample avenue

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[79] Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2012. Print.

[80] Torgovnick, Marianna. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*. Nachdr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 19. Print.
See also: Ashcroft, Bill et al. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. London ; New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.

for non-indigenous organizations to consider utilizing human security as a means to expand critical outcomes of justice. To this extent, Wilfrid Greaves' work reflects an important point regarding security and decolonization, namely that indigenous communities may also choose not to utilize and produce securitizing work through existing frames of reference, should they align with the community's goals.[81] Bearing this in mind, utilizing a broad and participatory approach to incorporating concerns articulated by indigenous communities into Western civil society organizations and movements can be receptive to such rejections.

3.3 Centralizing Indigenous Rights in Human Security Frameworks

While the human security approach in a practical sense is used traditionally as a framework to integrate cross-agency and multi-stakeholder involvement at the UN level, it has also developed into an operational tool that can be implemented at national, sub-national, and local levels to fit the contexts within which it may be operating in. Its utility has therefore been extended as an analytical framework at the national[82] and local organizational level. The human security approach as an operational tool breaks down into three phases that implicitly integrate the principles of people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, prevention oriented, protection and empowerment into program implementation. These phases break down further to provide guiding principles and stages with which to identify root causes of insecurity, establish strategies, and

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[81] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, pp. 473-476.

[82] Greaves, Wilfrid (b). "For Whom, from What? Canada's Arctic Policy and the Narrowing of Human Security." *International Journal*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2011, p. 219. *JSTOR*, available at: www.jstor.org/stable/23265975. (last visited 12 July 2017)

implement solutions at local and national levels. As human security deals specifically with the existence of insecurity, and by extension inequity, the approach focuses heavily on broad conceptualizations of needs and vulnerability, capacity and capability, and assessment of strategies and outcomes. Human security phases are articulated as follows:[83]

Phase	Goals and Tasks
Phase 1: Analysis, mapping and planning	• Establish participatory processes and collectively identify the needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of the affected community(ies). • Map insecurities based on actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities with less focus on what is feasible and more emphasis on what is actually needed. • Establish priorities through needs, vulnerabilities and capacity analysis in consultation with the affected community(ies). • Identify the root causes of insecurities and their interlinkages. • Cluster insecurities based on comprehensive, integrated and multi-sectoral mapping, and be vigilant of externalities. • Establish strategies and responses that incorporate protection and empowerment measures based on the four principles of human security. • Outline short, medium, and long-term strategies and outcomes even if they will not be implemented in the particular programme. Outlining strategies at different stages with the community is an important foundation for sustainability and for managing expectations. • Establish inclusive multi-stakeholder planning to ensure coherence on goals and the allocation of responsibilities and tasks.
Phase 2: Implementation	• Implementation in collaboration with local partners, ensuring that actions do not unintentionally undermine any other human security component and principles, and respect the local norms and practices of the affected community(ies). • Implementation that considers the changing dynamics of risks and threats and is flexible to adjust to such changes as necessary for the protection and empowerment of the affected community(ies). • Capacity-building of the affected community(ies) and local institutions. • Monitoring as part of the programme, and the basis for learning and adaptation.
Phase 3: Rapid assessment	• Are we doing the right thing as opposed to whether or not we are doing things right? • Does the programme alleviate identified human insecurities while at the same time avoiding negative externalities? • Deriving lessons learned from failures and successes, and improving the programme.

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[83] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, pp. 18-19 January 2016.
www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf

While the UN Framework establishes the principles of human security as mutually reinforcing, the main components that particularly support the centralization of indigenous rights on an operational level for organizational actors are aspects of contextualization, participation and partnership, and assessment.[84] In the articulation of these elements, a clear link to participatory and consent-based work is referenced,[85] aligning with indigenous rights articulated in the UNDRIP to Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)[86] in any interaction with state or local actors. In addition, principles in contextualization and within the assessment process include references to self-articulation and formulation of capacity, capability, and community needs, which also provide a foundation for indigenous participation to take a central position in developing a strategy or policy through a human security framework.

From a broad perspective, human security can focus on both collective, individual, and community issues, as well as global governance, and can move the discussion from solely state-collective relationships. It can open the dialogue to broader collective responsibility for issues such

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[84] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. pp. 9-10.
www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf

[85] "encourages participatory processes, reinforces peoples' ability to act on their own behalf, and supports local and national ownership to manage current and future challenges" *see also* "builds on processes that are based on peoples' own perceptions of fear and vulnerability; identifies the concrete insecurities and needs of populations under stress" UNTFHS, pp. 9-10.

[86] The concept of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent is articulated as a principle of governance in working with indigenous populations, and operates in conjunction with the principles of equality and non-discrimination. For further information, *See:* Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Free Prior and Informed Consent of Indigenous Peoples" *Indigenous Peoples and Minorities Section: OHCHR Rule of Law, Equality, and Non-Discrimination Branch* 2013. available at:
http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/FreePriorandInformedConsent.pdf

as climate change and for considerations of the societal realities that arise from securitized policy development. The broad conceptual base of human security as related to traditional securitization is consistently reviewed amongst scholars. The predominant conceptualizations are articulated through Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde and a cohort of colleagues at the Copenhagen School that posit "the exact *definition* and *criteria* of securitization is constituted by the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects,"[87] and furthermore, that the "[essential quality of security] is the staging of existential issues in politics to lift them above politics."[88] This conceptualization has been extended by Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones of the Aberystwyth School, whose approach includes a more radical and Marxist conceptualization of security closely aligned with other existing critical theories, and which since has been classified as Critical Security Studies (CSS).[89] In particular, Booth posits that "[critical security studies] rejects, in particular: the definition of politics that places the state and its sovereignty at the centre of the subject; the moral authority of states; the belief that the state is and should be the key guardian of peoples' security;"[90] To this degree, Booth recognizes a dominant positionality of the state in relation to the political positionality of peoples, and the undercurrents of this line of reasoning support the re-framing of securitization to prioritize

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[87] Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. 12. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print. p. 25.
[88] Ibid. p. 26.
[89] *See:* Diskaya, Ali "Towards a Critical Securitization Theory: The Copenhagen and Aberystwyth Schools of Security Studies" *E-International Relations*. 2013. Web. available at: www.e-ir.info/2013/02/01/towards-a-critical-securitization-theory-the-copenhagen-and-aberystwyth-schools-of-security-studies/#_ftn26
[90] Booth, Ken "Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist" *YCISS Occasional Paper Number 26* Toronto, 1994. p. 15.

the power of peoples in articulating threats. In this way the subsequent re-conceptualizations of security, and in particular human security that are abundantly occurring in academic discourse today, may in some cases have the potential to align and add support to critical indigenous methodologies that hold emancipatory potential for decolonizing work. Especially considering the focus of CSS on advancing conceptualizations of security beyond the state and returning to support the emancipatory potential of security for humans as the referent object, it is possible for indigenous perspectives on decolonization to enter and become centralized in such critical scholarship. However, this thesis will not extend an in-depth analysis engaging these theories in the contemporary realm of securitization, but will rather consider whether the application of human security frameworks, with hindsight to critical conceptualizations, could be utilized by environmental organizations to engage with decolonizing work.

In practice as well, it is important to consider whether indigenous populations are themselves securitizing human rights concerns and local issues. A securitizing move or action is described as, "The process [of securitization] occurs when an actor employs (in)security grammar and vocabulary-security, insecurity, threat, danger, existence, survival, etc. – to claim that something threatens the continued existence or wellbeing of a specific *referent* object,"[91] which become "successful securitizations only when accepted by an *authoritative audience* with the

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[91] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 462.

power to respond to the threat."[92] As discussed above, traditional conceptions of security recognize the 'authoritative audience' as traditionally meaning a State actor, and this is the position Greaves departs from. Greaves conducted such a study, comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway, and found that while Inuit in Canada were articulating human rights and other community issues through the lens of security and securitizing actions, Sámi in Norway did not.[93] The main reasoning given to articulate this difference centers around access and achievement of rights from inequity and inequality within the state and the immediacy of threats to the wellbeing of Sámi in Norway.[94] Inuit representatives in Canada were seen as securitizing actors, given that they articulate their concerns through the language of security within public policy and discourse and having made appeals to the Canadian state through the lens of security to address such concerns.[95] Greaves notes that while individual representatives may be articulating Sámi societal issues in relation to human security in Norway, they do not move to actively use securitizing language in public discourse to address such claims, therefore they do not actively utilize security as a framework to deal with articulated insecurities.[96] Greaves posits several reasons for this occurrence, specifically including the differences in the stronger political positionality of Sámi in Norway than Inuit in Canada, and the subsequent disproportionate need between the two for recognized rights through other avenues,

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[92] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 462.
[93] Ibid. pp. 461–480.
[94] Ibid, pp. 473-476.
[95] Ibid, p. 468.
[96] Ibid, p. 473.

such as human security.[97] This realization, for the purposes of this thesis, remains the most important conclusion that human security, in cases where indigenous political positionality and the realization of rights not as effective, can offer an avenue to address these gaps. In addition, Greaves' work underlines that indigenous actors do, at times, use securitizing language to address threats in their communities: whether this means becoming securitizing actors, or whether this is just used for the purposes of articulation and furthering of human rights through alternate methods. To this extent, the choice of participation remains the strongest factor connecting human security frameworks to the centralization of indigenous rights in any non-indigenous development sphere or social movement and is therefore well placed to be adopted by environmental organizations.

3.4 Combining Environmental Justice & Indigenous Security

In order to examine the role of indigenous security and rights in existing environmental justice campaigns, it is important to consider how human security and environmental justice relate and whether they are compatible concepts. Environmental justice, as previously defined, fundamentally seeks to address social concerns overlooked by traditional environmentalism and re-orients the human perspective within such constructions of justice. It also posits that different groups will define environmental justice based on their needs. Current global environmental movements have been effective in articulating the impacts of global warming and climate change, and highlighting in particular the increased risk for vulnerable populations.[98] In light of this,

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[97] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016.pp. 461–480.

[98] *See, for example:* "Climate Justice and Energy Explained - Friends of the Earth International." Friends of the Earth International. Web. available at: http://www.foei.org/what-we-do/climate-justice-and-energy-explained (Last visited 12 July 2017)

environmental issues such as climate change have increasingly been viewed through the lens of human security, beyond environmental security.[99] To this end, and in light of discussions in previous paragraphs, scholarly discourse extends also to understanding the utility of human security as a possible framework for indigenous communities:

> "For indigenous peoples, [Human Security] is, however, argued as gaining a strengthened role to play in the decision-making process – a greater voice, which goes hand in hand with the understanding of a right to self-determination. The right is invoked to enhance a more democratized exercise security in the promotion of the governance of human security. The indigenous peoples as actors prioritize their view on which of the security concepts to be endorsed for them and for their own benefits."[100]

In reference to Wilfrid Greaves' work, in practice the use of human security as posited in the above quote does exist: Inuit communities are actively securitizing human rights concerns in order to attempt to provide a pragmatic avenue to address issues at the local level of policy, advocacy, and resistance.[101] To this extent, the securitization of human rights by indigenous communities can be complemented by the use of human security frameworks by environmental justice organizations, as they can ultimately articulate the same inequities that environmental justice underlines, but in addition do so in solidarity with indigenous communities, offering a base of mutual resistance. In turn, a broad human security approach also opens the dialogue for indigenous populations to articulate concerns to environmental organizations without the constraint of directly or specifically

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[99]Atapattu, Sumudu A. *Human Rights Approaches to Climate Change: Challenges and Opportunities*, Routledge, 2015. p. 97.

[100]Hossain, Kamrul. "Governance of Human Security of Arctic Indigenous Peoples Necessitates States' Affirmative Actions, Says Dr. Kamrul Hossain at ASSW 2015." 8 May 2015. Web. available at: https://husarctic.org/en/news/governance-human-security-arctic-indigenous-peoples-necessitates-states%E2%80%99-affirmative-actions-0 (Last visited 12 July 2017)

[101] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, pp 473-476.

articulating them within a defined relationship to the environment, which may be counterproductive to the decolonization and identification process of the community.[102]

Furthermore, the flexibility that definitions of environmental justice allow, coupled with the open and broad approach of human security, can allow a certain level of nuance in the priorities of environmental movements or guide emphasis of certain important priorities over others, in this case, the positionality of indigenous rights. In addition, the assessment and self-reflexive components of a human security approach can, in practice, ensure indigenous security concerns are prioritized and centralized within the foundations of the frame and outcome itself. Where human security prioritizes indigenous participation and needs over program feasibility and understands specific and broad threats in context and over time, it may allow local communities to shape these discussions in alignment with their complex and interrelated positionality. Ultimately, again, it is important to recognize the need for environmental organizations to recognize the impacts of past relationships between indigenous groups and governments and the need for indigenous participation in decision-making in the political arena to occur. For example, as Greaves notes in regards to contemporary relationships between governments and indigenous peoples in the Arctic:

> "despite this progress, relationships between Arctic Indigenous peoples and governments remain structured by settler-colonial values, institutions, and interests...domestic acknowledgement and reparation for certain historical wrongs reflect state efforts to reconcile with Indigenous peoples,

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[102]While many indigenous communities still express many environmental concerns, there is a tendency for this narrowed approach to direct conversations of indigenous identity into dominant narratives of conceptualizing indigenous actors as mythologized environmental actors. *See* Krech III, Shepard *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* W.W. Norton & Company Ltd.; New York, 1999. Print.

but the terms of Indigenous political inclusion remain constrained."[103]

In order to best illustrate how discussions of decolonization and human security can provide organizations with the tools to re-centralize indigenous rights in their campaigns, a subsequent case-study of a past campaign is necessary to underscore its practical value.

CHAPTER 4: Case Study - Examining Inuit Rights and Anti-Seal Hunting Campaigns

In the 1960s, an environmental campaign, founded by animal rights and environmental organizations, against the hunt and trade of seals and seal skin began in an effort to raise awareness and activism to end the killing of white-furred seal pups. It was followed by a second campaign wave in the 1970s against all sealing, which continued into the late 1980s. The main actors involved in pushing the campaign forward included the International Fund for Animal Welfare, Greenpeace, and later Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, by circulating video of traders and hunters killing seal pups and purporting a statement that the hunting, killing, and sale of seal skin was an example of wealthy extravagance built on the suffering of animals. The impacts spurred a temporary ban on seal skin products by the European Economic Community (EEC) and had devastating impacts on the sealing industry. While this campaign affected the entire seal skin industry, it was the Inuit and indigenous populations within the Northwest Territories of Canada and Greenland that faced the greatest consequences and leveraged a counter-campaign to protect their way of life.

Following the first campaign, details emerged that the method used by Inuit hunters to track and kill seals was in fact sustainable[104] and many organizations like the World Wildlife Fund

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[103] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 464.

[104] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 48.

withdrew their support for the conservation campaign after a regulatory regime, including quotas and catch limits, was enforced in 1971.[105] However, the impact of the environmental campaign upon the collective consciousness of consumers was impressive and caused the entire seal industry to collapse, leaving Inuit populations with depressed economic opportunities to sell the seals they were hunting at an adequate price.[106] In addition, the economic impacts weighed heavily on the methods and means by which Inuit hunters carried out their work:

> "Under the full weight of the new protest, Inuit cash income from sealing dropped by nearly 85 percent. The immediate effect was a decline in all types of Inuit harvesting because the same equipment [snowmobiles, guns, canoe and motor] used for seal hunting was important to almost all wildlife harvesting. As a result, the overall quantity of country food normally available to Inuit communities also declined."[107]

These facts, in the context of the campaign's effectiveness, were disastrous for the relationships between Inuit and such organizations. The controversy continues today, however, as the European Union's seal regime continues to suppress the sealing industry and, regardless of exceptions for Inuit,[108] domestic livelihood concerns continue to plague Inuit communities.[109] Despite later efforts on the part of governments and organizations alike to make amends or changes to the narrative of the original campaign and produce policies more inclusive of indigenous voices, Inuit activists still express great concern over the treatment of their peoples and culture in the processes that make their perspectives heard.[110]

The purpose of this case study will be to examine whether decolonization can shed new

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[105] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p.47
[106] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. pp. 52-53.
[107] Ibid, p. 53.
[108] European Commission, and Directorate-General for the Environment. *The EU Seal Regime.* Brussels: European Commission, 2016.
[109] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 475.
[110] Ibid, pp. 468-469.

light on the conduct and construction of the environmental justice campaign and whether human security could act as a frame of reference for environmental organizations to support a more indigenous-centered approach to the environment and assessing which rights are in jeopardy. In doing so, it will not only underline the importance of critical theory in developing campaigns, but extend the conversation to address a broader need for decolonization across academic and organizational thinking in relation to human rights and environmental justice.

4.1 Setting the stage: An Environmental Justice Campaign

Before introducing the role of Inuit resistance to environmental organizations, the environmental campaign itself will be discussed, in an effort to illustrate a generalized perspective of the campaign that was most visible to the broader public. The International Fund for Animal Welfare began organizing to protect seals in the Arctic in 1970, and drew partnership and support from other organizations such as Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. Their claims were fundamentally geared towards the protection of seals and the immorality of the seal industry in the Western world, with the purchase of seal-skins as valued luxury items, and they were motivated predominantly by an ethnocentric perspective of deep ecology and environmentalism[111] that will be discussed in the following section. At first, the campaign focused on the protection of seals from endangerment, but as evidence emerged that they were not an endangered species, the campaign re-centered to focus on the killing of seals as inhumane.[112] Throughout the campaign, the image of white harp seal pups was widely distributed and exploited[113] as a means of building public sympathy for the cause. The subsequent impact of

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[111] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. pp 41
[112] Ibid, pp. 46-47.
[113] Ibid, p. 35.

the campaign was widespread and effective in raising awareness and action and campaigners named the 'enlightened' public as a reason for its sweeping success.[114] Even today, despite contemporary reports supporting the non-endangerment of seals and the classification of seal-killings as humane,[115] the impact of the campaign has had broad consequences for Inuit communities, who are struggling to revive the market for sealskin.

Their campaign was met with outrage from Inuit communities, which understood the implications of the campaign on their livelihoods and also did not benefit from the white coat harp seal skin industry that was the initial target of environmental organizations. In addition, the widespread response of the international community to the campaign had spurred the development of a temporary ban on seal skin products by the EEC. Initially adopted for two years from 1983-1985,[116] it was subsequently extended until 1989[117] and then indefinitely extended in 1988[118] under the reasoning of renewed public pressure, doubts regarding the effects of non-traditional hunting on seal conservation, and vaguely defined 'negative consequences' should the ban not be extended.[119] The Canadian government formed a Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada and released a report in 1985, "Seals and Sealing in Canada,"[120] covering some of the concerns raised by environmental organizations in their persecution of the sealing industry. They found that seals were not in fact endangered, underscored the importance of sealing for Inuit

[114] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. pp. 48-49.

[115] Daoust, Pierre-Yves et al. "Animal Welfare and the Harp Seal Hunt in Atlantic Canada." *The Canadian Veterinary Journal* 43.9, Print. 2002, pp. 687–694.

[116] Council Directive 83/129/EEC, available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31983L0129&from=EN

[117] Council Directive 85/444/EEC, available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31985L0444&from=EN

[118] Council Directive 89/370/EEC, available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31989L0370&from=EN

[119] Ibid.

[120] Malouf, Albert H., eds. *Seals and Sealing in Canada: Report of the Royal Commission. Volume 1* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986. Print.

traditional livelihoods, and assessed the morality of killing seals by comparing the industry to two

other industries focusing on animal killing: hunting big game, and slaughterhouses.[121] Despite the

Canadian government's attempt to overturn the development of the ban, their efforts were

ultimately unsuccessful, with the political lobbying strength of coalitions of anti-sealing

environmental organizations, such as the International Fund for Animal Welfare, cited as one of

the main influencers in upholding the ban.[122]

As a result of the campaign and subsequent temporary ban by the EEC, Inuit communities

faced a dwindling market to sell seal skin between 1982 and 1983, as public demand for sealskin,

and inadequate attention to the comprehensive impacts this contraction of the market might mean

for them. As was observed, "The Government of the Northwest Territories estimated that 18 of 20

Inuit villages in the N.W.T. lost 60 per cent of total annual community income because of the EEC

ban, a loss that affected 1500 Inuit hunters and their families."[123] Furthermore:

> "The argument Canada offered missed the essential features of Inuit sealing: that the money income earned in 1976 from the sale of 3,000 sealskins at Clyde River covered half the operating costs of all hunting done by Clyde's full-time hunters; that seals supplied 100,000 kg of meat with a replacement value of one million dollars in imported foodstuffs to that community's 450 residents; that Inuit subsistence hunting is part of an ideology that provides each Inuk with social support, relatedness, and individual cultural identity"[124]

The government of Canada had failed to extend its understanding of the sealing debate beyond the

non-economic value and dignity of the sealskin industry for Inuit resilience, community, and

culture.

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[121] Malouf, Albert H., eds. *Seals and Sealing in Canada: Report of the Royal Commission. Volume 1* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986. Print. p. 20.

[122] Barry, Donald. *Icy Battleground: Canada, the International Fund for Animal Welfare and the Seal Hunt*. Print. 2005. pp 51-71.

[123] Shelagh Jane Woods, "The wolf at the door: The anti-harvest campaign strikes at the heart of northern aboriginal economies", Northern Perspectives 14(2), Print. 1986. p. 4.

[124]Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 54.

In light of the ban and subsequent resistance and backlash they faced by commercial sealers and governments, environmental organizations responded and evolved the campaign in different ways. The three most notable organizations involved in the campaign were the International Fund for Animal Welfare, World Wildlife Fund, Greenpeace, and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. The founding organization of the anti-sealing campaign was the International Fund for Animal Welfare, and shortly thereafter Greenpeace joined, which had just conducted its founding Arctic voyage to protest thermonuclear bomb testing in Amchitka.[125] One of the members of Greenpeace would eventually leave to form the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, a more hardline organization against all sealing in the Arctic in 1977.[126] Over the course of the campaign, lasting over 30 years and into the present, some organizations have been more receptive to indigenous concerns than others, but their participation during the early and middle stages of the campaign still underscored a relative dismissal of genuine understanding of the impacts and contradictions leveraged against Inuit hunters. In addition, a practice of countering or ignoring Inuit concerns, rather than incorporating them was and remains prevalent.

For example, the principles guiding the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) include a recognition of animals' intrinsic value as sentient beings, policy based in science with an ethical animal framework, and conservation guided by ecological and biological sustainability.[127] In addition, other than a one-page allocation differentiating IFAW policy on commercial seal-hunting from Inuit seal hunting and dismissing the broader legitimacy of

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[125] Erwood, Steve. *The Greenpeace Chronicles: 40 Years of Protecting the Planet*. Amsterdam: Greenpeace International, 2011. Print. p. 9.
[126]"Paul Watson and Greenpeace." *Sea Shepherd Conservation Society*. Web. available at: http://www.seashepherd.org/who-we-are/paul-watson-and-greenpeace.html (last visited 12 July 2017)
[127] "About IFAW." *IFAW - International Fund for Animal Welfare*. available at: http://www.ifaw.org/european-union/node/10 (last visited 12 July 2017)

Canada's support for the sealing industry,[128] the IFAW does not include any references, support, or acknowledgement of the existence of Inuit cultural life as dependent on the seal-trade, nor the impacts their campaign may have had on Inuit communities. In fact, they go so far as to suggest, that the "IFAW has never campaigned against Inuit seal hunting — period."[129] This is an understanding that doesn't extend to recognizing the connection between Inuit hunting and the commercial hunt, and distances themselves from any responsibility for the effect of their campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s on the industry including Inuit hunts. Greenpeace stood with the IFAW in the early 1970s and its anti-sealing policy explicitly included Inuit sealing in 1977.[130] Throughout the 1980s their stance did not change despite the Home Rule government of Greenland's request that Greenpeace differentiate publicly between Inuit and commercial sealing during the European Community's review of the seal boycott.[131] Greenpeace eventually openly clarified their position in 2014, taking responsibility for not differentiating between industrial and traditional seal hunting in their original campaign and recognizing the impacts this had on Inuit sealing, and clarifying that their current position is only opposed industrial hunting.[132] The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, however, continues to hold a more hardline stance to this day:

> "The only reason that makes sense is that they are doing it at the behest of the government of Canada...It must be remembered that Native communities and fur companies like the Hudson Bay Company have been in partnership for hundreds of years. Together they have killed hundreds of millions of animals. Native communities in Northern Canada continue to have a working relationship with the Hudson Bay Company and with other fur companies,"[133]

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[128] Fink, Sheryl. "Differences between Inuit, Canada's East Coast Seal Hunts." *IFAW - International Fund for Animal Welfare*. Web. 27 March 2017, available at: http://www.ifaw.org/european-union/news/differences-between-Inuit-canada%E2%80%99s-east-coast-seal-hunts

[129] Fink, Sheryl. "Differences between Inuit, Canada's East Coast Seal Hunts." *IFAW - International Fund for Animal Welfare*. Web. 27 March 2017, available at: http://www.ifaw.org/european-union/news/differences-between-Inuit-canada%E2%80%99s-east-coast-seal-hunts

[130] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 46.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Burgwald, Jon. "Where Do We Stand on Seal Hunting?" *Greenpeace Danmark*. Web. 21 January 2016. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/denmark/da/nyheder/blog/where-does-greenpeace-stand-on-sealing/blog/55358/

[133] "Seals FAQ - Sea Shepherd FR." Web. 2012. available at: http://www.seashepherd.fr/seals/seals-faq.html#17

This misrepresents the colonial relationship between Inuit and the industries of Canadian settlers and focuses exclusively on the impact of human activity on the seal population, without nuance or hindsight to Inuit communities.

Today, a renewed ban in the European Union from 2009 against seal skins remains intact, with exceptions for the Inuit sealskin trade in place. While Inuit have reiterated the value of the sealskin to their culture and attempted to reframe the narrative[134] of the past environmental campaigns to underscore the importance of the sealskin trade for the community's economic and social resilience, the depth to which the animal rights campaigns reached the consciousness of the Western public continues to challenge their success. Environmental justice organizations, such as Greenpeace, have attempted to make amends by supporting Inuit sealing, meeting with and conducting discussions with Inuit, and provisionally admitting a certain level of responsibility for the impact of the anti-sealing campaign on Inuit livelihood.[135] However, they continue to oppose the commercial sealing industry and uphold a general anti-sealing policy. Although this may seem like a compromise, it dismisses the comprehensive role of such policy on the human rights of Inuit, as it continues to protect a Western imperialistic perspective of and inadequately address the positionality of indigenous environmental, cultural, and human security.

4.2 Contextualizing through Decolonization

Decolonization must inherently be an indigenous process, as Michael Yellowbird notes:

(last visited 12 July 2017)

[134] Kassam, Ashifa. "'It's Our Way of Life': Inuit Designers Are Reclaiming the Tarnished Sealskin Trade." *The Guardian* 11 May 2017. Web. available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/sealskin-trade-inuit-fashion-designers-greenpeace (last visited 12 July 2017)

[135] Kerr, Joanna. "Greenpeace Apology to Inuit for Impacts of Seal Campaign." *Greenpeace Canada*. 25 June 2014. Web. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/greenpeace-to-canadas-aboriginal-peoples-work/blog/53339/ (Last visited 12 July 2017)

"Decolonization is the intentional collective, and reflective self-examination undertaken by formerly colonized peoples that results in shared remedial action."[136] However, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, indigenist research "borrows freely from feminist research and critical approaches to research, but privileges indigenous voices"[137] and therefore decolonization, as a frame, can highlight certain power dynamics existing between the Inuit and other actors that provide a critical basis for further discussion and understanding. Considering this, contextualizing the seal-skin debate also requires a historic perspective of Western imperial relations with Inuit communities, and their implications on current relations and social realities.

The Inuit have inhabited the northern parts of Alaska and Canada, as well as Greenland for over 4,000 years.[138] In parts of Northern Canada and Greenland, sealing has been at the center of livelihoods, culture, and tradition for Inuit long before the arrival of European traders and explorers came. Before they became a source of economic growth and viability, seals were used by Inuit to sustain all aspects of life: the meat is incredibly nutritious and feeds many families, oil from seals was used in fires and candles, seal skin and fur were used for clothing and materials, and the passing of Inuit knowledge, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit,* and cultural values were preserved through the seal hunt.[139] With the arrival of European whalers in Canada in the 1500s and the establishment

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[136] Wilson, Angela Cavender, and Michael Yellow Bird, eds. *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005. Print. School of American Research Native America Series.

[137] Tuhiwai, Smith L, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* London: Zed. Print. 1999. p 147.
See also: Michael Yellowbird's work also supports measures of solidarity by non-indigenous scholars and activists to address decolonization work, as he separates decolonization into three distinct spaces: the mass, the mind, and the metropole. In aspects of the mass and the metropole, it is possible for non-indigenous individuals to engage in decolonization work. For further detail, please see: Yellow Bird, Michael. *Decolonizing The Mind: Healing through Neurodecolonization and Mindfulness*. Portland State University: 24 January 2014. Video Lecture. available at: https://vimeo.com/86995336

[138] Duffy, R. Quinn. *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988. Print. p. xv.

[139] Government of Nunavut – Department of Environment, "Culture & Tradition | Nunavut Sealing." Web. available at: http://www.sealingnunavut.ca/Culture_Tradition (last visited 12 July 2017)

of permanent whaling stations in the Arctic, constant contact between westerners and Inuit and an economic dependency on the whale trade was established, and following its demise, "Inuit, many of whom had lost their self-sufficiency and become dependent on the white men and their manufactures, turned to trapping foxes and hunting seals for individual traders or for companies."[140] This was the start of European conquest of native lands in North America, and the subsequent periods of Western conquest in Northern Canada proved to impact all aspects of Inuit life:

> "The introduction of the English language, syllabic script, and formal education greatly altered the basis of Inuit thought and communication. The work of Anglican missionaries, who first came to the EAstern Arctic at the behest of the whalemen early in the twentieth century, accelerated these ideational changes. Missionary work also led to abandonment of the traditional religious beliefs of the Inuit, who converted to Christianity en masse. The exchange of furs and labour for Euro-American food and manufacturers introduced to the Arctic new economic arrangements that tied the formerly self-contained Inuit culture into the global market economy. This was to have serious repercussions in the Eastern Arctic in the mid twentieth century. Another social change, yet to be fully resolved, was that the white man in the Arctic represented a new political force that destroyed the political independence of the Inuit as surely as trapping and wage labour destroyed their economic independence"[141]

In the subsequent centuries that followed the European introduction and conquest of North America, Inuit experienced drastic changes in the governance of their communities and expression of their cultural traditions. In the 1950s, Canada enacted a settlement policy that finalized the end of the fur trade, concentrated Inuit settlements around previous hunting posts, and subjected communities to well-intentioned government programs that sought to abate the starvation and health concerns that followed the collapse of fur trade industry, but that instead enforced an erasure of Inuit culture and livelihood in an attempt to assimilate Inuit into Canadian society.[142] These programs not only were implemented without the consent or participation of Inuit leaders, but also

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[140] Duffy, R. Quinn. *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War.* Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988. Print. p. xvi.
[141] Ibid. p. xvii.
[142] Ibid. pp. 22-23.

removed the authority of existing community governance structures in Inuit society by deferring decision-making to government administrators rather than Inuit elders and leaders.[143] Government schooling policies were culturally invasive and further eroded the cultural value of Inuit communities in contemporary Canada:

> "Whether in residential or in settlement schools, children now had little opportunity to learn the complex land-based skills, knowledge, and perspectives of their culture. Inuit adults' roles as educators were weakened, if not entirely usurped, and the education of Inuit children, until now the responsibility of parents and close family members, was largely assumed by schoolteachers who knew little or nothing of Inuit culture or language. In school, Inuit children were taught English, which then became the language of instruction, and led through a curriculum that, at best, reflected little or nothing of their native culture, and at worst, actively suppressed it."[144]

At the root of these issues lies an inability to reconcile responsibility in not only creating dependency for Inuit communities on the fur trade, but also enacting policies and cultural decisions on behalf of the communities inhabiting land the Canadian government had settled on. Furthermore, scholars and activists alike seemed unable to frame Inuit perspectives in reference to the modern realities of indigeneity without defining them as self-victimizing. "Watson (1985), for example, initially saw Inuit as historical victims of Europe's mercantilism in North America, but by actively abetting this commerce by continuing to supply the modern fur trade they are maintaining their own colonial victimization."[145] This is also related to broad-sweeping narratives in development discourses at the time that understood indigenous positionality within states as assimilatory at best:

> "Humanitarian anthropologists, politicians, and missionaries predicted the demise of indigenous peoples and attempted to alleviate the suffering of those people with ethnocentric programs of limited protectionism and civilizing 'uplift' which effectively denied any possibility that indigenous people might maintain their independence. The crucial point is that not even those who

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[143] Freeman, Milton M. R., ed. *Endangered Peoples of the Arctic: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, "Endangered Peoples of the World" Series. Print. 2000. p.102.

[144] Freeman, Milton M. R., ed. *Endangered Peoples of the Arctic: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, "Endangered Peoples of the World" Series. Print. 2000. p. 100.

[145] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p 54.

were sympathetic with the 'plight' of indigenous peoples were not yet willing to either challenge the legitimacy of colonialism or recognize cultural autonomy as a basic human right"[146]

Indeed, such thinking was prevalent in the Canadian government's approach to Inuit between the 1930s and 1950s, and reflects the promotion of state interests (such as mineral resource extraction) above the articulation of community needs and cultural practices:

> "Adoption of programs that acculturated and assimilated Inuit to southern Canadian culture with the goal of creating wage-earning Canadian citizens is evidence of federal perception that Inuit could not continue to live self-sufficiently from the land. There were several issues motivating the development of such programs, including the need to provide employment alternatives to the fur trade, which had largely collapsed; ensuring that Inuit had a reliable food supply and access to healthcare; and defence and sovereignty concerns related to the Cold War for which Inuit habitation in remote regions of the North was encouraged. Additionally, the federal government wanted to expand programs for exploiting mineral resources in the North, which required educated employees with sedentary housing."[147]

To this degree, Inuit communities were placed in the difficult position of survival through assimilation to the Canadian government's programs, with no other reasonable options other than complicity as a means for the preservation of the lives that they had built since the introduction of the fur trade and industry settlement in Canada.

In the work produced by the government to deal with the anti-sealing issue, it is notable to point out the relative silence on indigenous dependence on the sealing industry and Canada's responsibility in the creation of such a dependency. In the Royal Commission's report on Seals and Sealing in Canada, references to indigenous culture depending on the sealing industry were made, but it does not reference the systemic or comprehensive impacts this could have for indigenous communities and the role of the Canadian settler government or corporations in creating a modern dependency, nor does it seek to invite meaningful participation of indigenous peoples into the

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[146] Bodley, John H. *Victims of Progress*. 4th ed. Mountain View, California: Mayfield Pub. Co, 1999. Print. pp 1.
[147] Bonesteel, Sarah, and Erik Anderson. *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008. Print. p. 10.

production of its report.[148] An example of the lack of meaningful participation surrounding indigenous issues and the sealing industry is visible in the scheduled public meetings the government organized. Multiple meetings take place in non-indigenous territory[149] and only three meetings are held in the Northwest Territories, specifically geared towards engaging the Inuit communities, despite a broad recognition that it was Inuit sealers, and not the sealing industry, that were bearing the highest burden of the declining industry.[150] In addition, the Canadian government, as protests moved further into the European and International realm, "in its defense of sealing, lost sight of the unique attributes of the Inuit seal harvest, its meaning for the Inuit autonomy, self-determination, and cultural history."[151] Therefore, Inuit perspectives were subsequently lost in the international arena.

The basis of animal and environmental activist responses from these perspectives follows an ironically ethnocentric viewpoint that does not take into account the differences in power relations and dynamics between Inuit communities, the Western world, and the organizations and activists themselves. The underlying philosophy behind most of the organizations' involvements were based in deep ecology, which proves problematic for indigenous communities.

> "Many proponents of deep ecology, especially in the movement's early states, put emphasis on Western man's need to recapture environmental values best exemplified by Native Americans. The force of this depiction among deep ecologists is typified in the 'founding myth' of the Greenpeace environmental organization. As proclaimed in a pamphlet circulated by Greenpeace, 'An ancient North American Indian legend predicts that when the Earth has been ravaged and the animals killed, a tribe of people from all races, creeds, and colours would put their faith in deeds, not words, to make the land green again. They would be called 'The Warriors of the Rainbow', protectors of the environment."[152]

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[148] Malouf, Albert H., and Kanada, eds. *Seals and Sealing in Canada: Report of the Royal Commission. Volume 1* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986. Print.
[149] Ibid. p. 7.
[150] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 52-53.
[151] Ibid. p. 54.
[152] Ibid. p. 41.

This irony in the appropriation of Native American mythology to promote a mythology of environmentalism that undermines the rights and livelihoods of another indigenous community, namely the Inuit, is hard to miss. In addition, this appropriation continues to be mythologized in the founding of Greenpeace and distributed today in connection to the sealing campaign: "Throughout Greenpeace's early days, we often referred to ourselves as 'Rainbow Warriors', inspired by the prophecy from the book. We staged a harp seal campaign that spring, and on Sunday, 13 June 1976, we launched a second whale campaign."[153] With complementary irony, the ship utilized by Greenpeace activists to disrupt the activities of the sealskin trade, and draw media for the cause, was named "The Rainbow Warrior."[154] This reference to the appropriation of Cree mythology to justify anti-sealing campaigns targeting Inuit communities underscores the ignorance and extent of indigenous silencing within environmental justice organizations and movements. The roots of such appropriation have been discussed in the book "The Ecological Indian: Myth and History," which critiques the Western construction and widespread appropriation of the myth of the "Ecological Indian," in which Western organizations and campaigns exploit indigenous articulations of connections to nature in order to further their own campaigns and without differentiating between these actions and the re-appropriation of such myths by indigenous communities.[155]

The methods and tactics, used and continued to be supported by organizations to justify the campaign in the contemporary resurgence of the debate, represent a clear imbalance in the power dynamics between indigenous Inuit perspectives and those of settler and dominant state

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[153] Erwood, Steve. *The Greenpeace Chronicles: 40 Years of Protecting the Planet*. Amsterdam: Greenpeace International, 2011. Print. p. 19.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Krech III, Shepard *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* W.W. Norton & Company Ltd.; New York, 1999. Print.

narratives and perspectives. As discussed in Chapter 2, an example of a colonized space reflects the dynamic of upholding dominant and settler-state perspectives over those of indigenous or colonized peoples. The power dynamic abundant throughout the sealing campaigns showcase environmental justice and animal rights organizations' inherent necessity to protect their worldview rather than negotiate their perspective to deconstruct and understand how their campaign was impacting a non-dominant minority group, and nuance their campaigns to reflect this. Wenzel describes this phenomenon as such: "The protest movement, while it cast aside speciesist attitudes, was unable to categorize Inuit seal hunting other than through its own ethnocentrically derived universalist perceptions of animal rights and values"[156] and to this extent the activism of the anti-sealing organizations represents the extension of colonial imperialism in a space of indigenous resistance that seeks not only to impose a Western perspectives above that of Inuit, but also avoids taking responsibility for the role that governments and organizations play in furthering an ignorance of indigenous rights at all levels of debate. Given that decolonization work has been present since the start of physical decolonization, what measures can be taken by environmental organizations to recognize the importance of indigenous perspectives in the environmental justice movements they leverage?

4.3 Utilizing Human Security

In order for environmental organizations to leverage campaigns that incorporate the perspectives and unique positionality of indigenous communities, a frame of reference to address the basic human rights and collective community needs of indigenous peoples is necessary. In addition, as mentioned at the end of the last section, the need for a framework to extend dialogue

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[156]Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 41.

of such perspectives beyond just the local and national arenas to ensure compliance and accountability at all levels is necessary. In this way, human security provides a broad, flexible, and comprehensive framework in which to address the products of systemic oppression and existing threats to indigenous communities that supports decolonizing work to the extent of prioritizing indigenous articulations of rights, threats, and environment. Human security reflects on these existing dynamics and asks the following questions: who is asking what of whom, is that fair and just, and for whom? In dealing with human security in an indigenous context, where relationships to environment may be mired in previous imperial mythology, human security extends the same purpose as environmental justice, but seeks to do so without imposing a necessity to incorporate environment as an overarching and explicit focus for justice.

As discussed in the previous section, the environmental justice campaigns leveraged in contradiction to the seal hunting trade lacked adequate consideration and understanding of the indigenous positionality and local impacts of their campaigns. While decolonization can illuminate the unequal power dynamics that can contextualize indigenous issues and rights as a process and a tool, it must be inherently indigenous-centric and directly prioritize indigenous work in order to avoid a renewed imperialism on the part of other actors. To this extent, human security offers a broad sweeping operational tool to address local concerns and broader systemic trends, that encourage consideration of indigenous decolonization work and that may illuminate more appropriate avenues for the engagement of environmental activists in future campaigns. In further support of the complementarity of these two approaches, scholars working on indigenous issues and aspects of Arctic security, such as Wilfrid Greaves and Scot Nickles,[157] have begun to make

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[157]*See* Nickels, Scot ed, *Nilliajut: Inuit Perspectives on Security, Patriotism, and Sovereignty* Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2013.

room for a decolonization discussions within human security and indigenous resistance discourse, which support indigenous articulations of threat in securitizing work. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, Inuit communities are securitizing threats to their community and society, and have expressed their concerns through securitizing actions and "in terms of the direct and indirect effects of environmental changes,"[158] which support a contemporary consideration by environmental organizations operating in spheres of justice and rights work. To this extent, an exploration of indigenous securitization concerns and a retrospective view of indigenous perspectives of the environmental justice campaigns, leveraged during the sealskin controversy, can illuminate which aspects of human security frameworks are important for the centralization of indigenous rights in contemporary campaigns.

Inuit activists such as Sheila Watt-Cloutier,[159] Aaju Peter[160], and Alethea Arnaquq-Baril[161] have been vocal about the challenges and threats to the survival of the Inuit culture and livelihood the anti-sealing campaign has had on contemporary Inuit resilience, in addition to the threats they will continue to face in the coming decades.[162] Some of the threats articulated center, of course, on the impact of anti-sealing on the economic opportunities for Inuit hunters and the general vilification of seal hunting in Western culture, but other threats also include the high cost of commercial goods, foods, and products for Inuit due to the remote locations of northern

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[158] Greaves, Wilfrid. "Arctic (in)Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway." *Security Dialogue* 47.6 2016, p. 465.

[159] Morin, Véronique, "The Rise of Inuit Activism in a Changing Arctic." *Arctic Deeply*. 16 June 2016. Web. available at: https://www.newsdeeply.com/arctic/articles/2016/06/16/the-rise-of-Inuit-activism-in-a-changing-arctic (last visited 12 July 2017)

[160] Peter, Aaju, et al. "The Seal: An Integral Part of Our Culture." *Études/Inuit/Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2002, pp. 167–174. *JSTOR*, available at: www.jstor.org/stable/42870162

[161] "Angry Inuk Director Alethea Arnaquq-Baril Hopes to Change Minds on Seal Ban" *North CBC News* Web. 4 May 2016. available at: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/q-and-a-alethea-arnaquq-baril-angry-inuk-1.3564994 (last visited 12 July 2017)

[162] *See:* Peter, Aaju "Protecting the Inuit Way of Life." *The Walrus*. 21 April 2017. Web. available at: https://thewalrus.ca/protecting-the-Inuit-way-of-life/
 (last visited 12 July 2017)

settlements, as well as the lack of adequate opportunities and income.[163]

Greaves, Freeman, and Wenzel are all scholars that have also documented threats to Inuit collective survival, confirming the previous threats in their writings as well. In addition, Greaves' work focuses on how Inuit in Canada are operating as securitizing actors to articulate their collective community concerns and to this degree human security can provide a complimentary base for environmental organizations and indigenous rights to mutually organize. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are two aspects to the human security approach that are particularly important for the centralization of indigenous rights. First, the principles by which human security approaches operate (see Annex, Fig.1), and second, the different operational phases to implement programs through a human security framework (see Annex, Fig. 2). One of the main elements of note that transpired during the initial anti-sealing campaign was a complete disregard for Inuit perspectives, their consultation, and acknowledgement of local impacts. While all principles of human security are mutually reinforcing, the first principle of the human security approache requires the inclusion of a people-centered agendas in the construction of actionable campaigns, for the following reason:

> "Attributes equal importance to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of individuals and communities, [and] enables highly localized and disaggregated analyses, thereby helping to reveal the "real" situation of individuals and communities, and allowing for a deeper understanding of how communities and social groups experience different types of threats and vulnerabilities."[164]

In addition, the subsequent principles of a comprehensive and context- and prevention-driven approach provides deepened support for participatory, consent-driven, and rights-driven

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[163] Balogh, Enikö. "An Interview with Inuit Activist Aaju Peter: Nothing Has Been Done to Educate the Europeans about Seal Hunt and Inuit Culture." *Tampere Film Festival*. 3 Mar. 2017. Web. available at: https://tamperefilmfestival.fi/interview-Inuit-activist-aaju-peter-nothing-done-educate-europeans-seal-hunt-Inuit-culture/ (last visited 12 July 2017)

[164] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf p. 8.

interactions between actors at all levels for the communities directly impacted. In this way, a human security campaign and a people-centered approach can account for the differences in priorities and agendas of multiple actors, while privileging the insecurity of the people involved.

The phases of the human security approach are supported by its driving principles to provide a framework to achieve an equitable solution to meet insecurities and threats to communities involved. A common underlying tension within the sealskin debate was the power of environmental organizations in lobbying governments and international organizations to adopt their worldview. Again, human security's principle of participation is vital to this approach, as indigenous communities were not initially included in the environmental campaigns against commercial sealing, nor in discussions with existing international organizations about how to collaborate or show solidarity appropriately for Inuit sealing. Given the power these international organizations hold in lobbying the public sentiment and foreign governments, their ability to ensure the campaign does not infringe on meaningful participation of Inuit communities and does not violate their rights to self-determination and free, prior, and informed consent in the context of resource governance. The three phases of human security (see Annex, Figure 2) enforce the accountability of environmental organizations to reflect on the impacts of their campaigns and assess the most appropriate avenue for their interaction in consultation with indigenous groups. The focus of the guiding questions in each phase attempt to contextualize the actions to be taken in a comprehensive sense across short, medium, and long-term timeframes and avoid reactionary responses that could further jeopardize communities. In addition, it focuses on assessment that forces self-reflexivity on the outcome of the campaign and ensures consistent monitoring of the tangible community impacts. To this extent, human security as an operational tool provides broad-sweeping avenues to implement environmental justice campaigns that consider indigenous rights

beyond essentializing their only involvement to address the insecurity of the environment.

In addition, human security is adaptable to translation into state and government policies that can improve the cohesion between indigenous groups and settler states. As Greaves notes, Canada's foreign policy embraces human security as an approach, yet its domestic policies have yet to reflect an understanding of human security in its contemporary borders and as it relates to the indigenous populations also inhabiting Canada.[165] To this extent, should environmental justice campaigns utilize a human security approach in the formulation of their campaigns, it ensures that the policies produced and the outcomes sought can likely be articulated in the domestic policies produced by the Canadian government. To this degree, and considering the direct involvement of Inuit groups in the formulation of a campaign through a human security approach, the power of environmental justice groups would be utilized in solidarity with indigenous cause.

4.4 Discussion

Today, organizations such as Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and the International Humane Society have officially withdrawn their support for the anti-sealing campaign as it relates to Inuit hunters. Greenpeace released a statement in 2014, officially acknowledging the impact of their anti-sealing campaign on Inuit rights and security, and recognized the need to better incorporate indigenous rights and perspectives into their work, messaging, and campaigns.[166] In 2013 Greenpeace had hosted its first Arctic Indigenous Conference in Russia, where a joint

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[165] Greaves, Wilfrid (b). "For Whom, from What? Canada's Arctic Policy and the Narrowing of Human Security." *International Journal*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2011, pp. 219–240. *JSTOR*, available at: www.jstor.org/stable/23265975. (last visited 12 July 2017)

[166]Kerr, Joanna. "Greenpeace Apology to Inuit for Impacts of Seal Campaign." *Greenpeace Canada*. 25 June 2014. Web. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/greenpeace-to-canadas-aboriginal-peoples-work/blog/53339/ (Last visited 12 July 2017)

declaration of Indigenous solidarity to protect the Arctic was signed,[167] and although this may appear to show a step towards working with indigenous communities, the document centers heavily on Arctic oil drilling and Inuit leaders from the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) rejected Greenpeace's positionality and the document's legitimacy and authority by suggesting it was an interest-driven attempt to gain influence in Arctic Council proceedings that did not reflect Inuit interests nor concerns in the Arctic.[168] In addition, it can be seen as an attempt to build indigenous support for Greenpeace's concerns, rather than as an action of solidarity to support the threats articulated by Inuit communities in particular.

More recently, the Board of Directors of Greenpeace Canada approved on the 5th of May, 2017, a new policy on Indigenous Rights that substantially extends and recognizes indigenous participation in the work of Greenpeace and centralizes indigenous rights to self-determination, participation, and Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC).[169] It also extends beyond rights to acknowledge how other threats are impacting the sustainability of indigenous communities and the role and responsibility they and the government of Canada have played in furthering inequity, through:

> "2. Recognizing that the current state of environmental, economic and social injustice has, in great part, been caused by the heedless exploitation of traditional territories where Indigenous Peoples'

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[167] "The Joint Statement of Indigenous Solidarity for Arctic Protection" *Greenpeace.* May 2013. Web. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/Global/canada/pr/2013/05/statement_postconference.pdf (last visited 12 July 2017)
See also press release: Ambrose, Mary. "Indigenous Peoples Put Arctic Council on Alert as Canada Becomes New Chair." 13 May 2013. Web. available at:
http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/Global/canada/pr/2013/05/Indigenous_Peoples_put_Arctic_Council_on_alert_as_Canada_becomes_new_chair.pdf (last visited 12 July 2017)
[168] "Indigenous Statement Calls for Arctic Oil Development Moratorium." *Nunatsiaq News* 14 May 2013. Web. available at:
http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674indigenous_statement_calls_for_ban_on_all_arctic_oil_development/ (last visited 12 July 2017)
[169] "Greenpeace Canada Policy on Indigenous Rights - Revised." Approved 5 May 2017. Web. available at:
http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/Global/canada/report/2014/03/Greenpeace%20Canada%20Policy%20on%20Indigenous%20Rights.pdf (last visited 12 July 2017)

rights and authority have been marginalized or eroded;

3. Acknowledging the historic role that environmental and conservation groups like Greenpeace have played in undermining Indigenous Peoples' Rights and Title to their lands and waters and their ability to economically thrive;"[170]

Furthermore, the board of Greenpeace Canada has agreed to specific policies that can start to prioritize indigenous rights and voices in decision-making on campaigns that involve their rights. The agreed upon policies directly reference alignment with international law and the UNDRIP, but also extend to local and national contexts in justice and law that are pertinent to land claims and rights:

"7. Greenpeace Canada respects Indigenous rights and supports the just restitution of outstanding Aboriginal Rights and Title issues as an integral part of the process of developing an ecologically and socially sustainable society.

8. Greenpeace Canada acknowledges that Aboriginal and Treaty Rights should be respected and enforced as constitutionally-recognized rights held in Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution.

9. Greenpeace Canada acknowledges that, under international law, Indigenous Peoples have the right to free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) for decisions that will affect their interests, as recognized in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

10. Greenpeace Canada acknowledges that the Governments of Canada, provinces and municipalities, have an obligation to implement UNDRIP and abide by the principles FPIC which includes the right to say no. As entrenched in the Constitution of Canada, provincial and federal governments have a 2 duty to meaningfully consult and accommodate First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities, as upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada

15. Greenpeace Canada commits to continue building strategic alliances with Indigenous communities and organizations where common interests exist and further commits to engage with these communities and organizations in ways that are consistent with the spirit and intent of FPIC. "[171]

This alignment with existing human rights frameworks, in the actual policies produced, and the acknowledgement of Greenpeace's role in furthering the marginalization of indigenous rights and threatening economic and community security is a big step forward. While these actions represent

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[170] "Greenpeace Canada Policy on Indigenous Rights - Revised." Approved 5 May 2017. Web. available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/Global/canada/report/2014/03/Greenpeace%20Canada%20Policy%20on%20Indigenous%20Rights.pdf (last visited 12 July 2017)
[171] Ibid.

big steps in the centralization of indigenous rights in environmental campaigning, it is relevant to note the considerable time it has taken for such rights to be acknowledged and institutionally incorporated: almost 60 years after the first anti-sealing rhetoric began, and nearly 10 years after the initial adoption of the UNDRIP. During this length of time, the environmental, economic, and cultural security of the Inuit in Canada continues to be a relevant, vital, and urgent issue.

Furthermore, Greenpeace's actions do not seem to reflect an internalization of decolonization as an unsettling and indigenous-led process, and therefore the lengths to which these new documents go as actions of solidarity may still be relatively limited. Indeed, it appears that the formula for Greenpeace's current campaigns has not changed, given that it appears they continue to self-prioritize the interests of their donors over the indigenous rights priorities of the communities in which they operate.[172] Additionally, while they have distanced themselves from their past vehemence against seal-hunting, they still maintain a stance against commercial sealing and benefit from donations to this cause. These are both actions which suggest a deep understanding of their impacts on Inuit does not exist or has not been institutionalized, despite appearances. Greenpeace may have acknowledged Indigenous rights in their environmental campaigns, but does not yet centralize them to the degree necessary to act in solidarity rather than with a dominant agenda. To this degree, a framework to guide the development of a campaign that centralizes indigenous rights, such as human security, may be pertinent for Greenpeace to establish how they might best engage with indigenous rights and voices, rather than to direct indigenous resistance or act in contradiction.

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[172]*See Inuit critiques of Greenpeace's 2013 Indigenous Arctic Conference:* "Indigenous Statement Calls for Arctic Oil Development Moratorium." *Nunatsiaq News* 14 May 2013. Web. available at: http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674indigenous_statement_calls_for_ban_on_all_arctic_oil_development/ (last visited 12 July 2017)

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Concluding Remarks

Inuit communities continue to articulate challenges regarding the social, economic, and environmental security of their communities in the present day. Anthropologists and other scholars have similarly underscored the vulnerability of Inuit positionality in contemporary terms:

"Most Nunavut communities, to a greater or lesser degree, experience a disturbing range of social problems indicative of a society undergoing profound and rapid change at the same time as it experiences cultural loss. High rates of unemployment, dependence on government transfer payments, low standards of educational achievement, poor school attendance, a breakdown in the transmission of Inuit cultural values between generations, alcohol and drug abuse, suicide, and increasing crime rates, are just some of the symptoms of an underlying and complex social malaise."[173]

The collective impact of the anti-sealing campaigns has also brought forth an Inuit understanding of the fundamental hypocrisy and racism underlying the messaging of environmental organizations and the existing ban. They argue that, despite the existence of the Inuit exception, the presence of a ban on commercial sealing, in the absence of such bans on other commercial meat industries, is not only an extension of civil vs. savage colonial narratives[174] that dismiss and subjugate the value of non-western practices as primitive, but also inhibit Inuit from thriving in a modern economy:

"We call the European seal ban the Bambification of Inuit culture. Europeans think that Inuit are a fiction of a Hollywood Movie, something so ancient, something to beautify and not to be changed. Europeans are trying to keep us as eskimos running around on the ice with spears and dog teams and not to be involved in modern life and not be involved in modern economy. We are not living in the stone ages. We are a part of this modern world. We are just as modern and connected to the

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[173] Freeman, Milton M. R., ed. *Endangered Peoples of the Arctic: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, "Endangered Peoples of the World" Series. Print. 2000. p. 103.

[174] Torgovnick, Marianna. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*. Nachdr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 19. Print.
See also: Ashcroft, Bill et al. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. London ; New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.

rest of the world as any European citizen."[175]

Indeed, there was significant debate and tensions during the anti-sealing campaigns as environmental organizations questioned the extent to which Inuit sealing can be considered traditional and struggled to define the differences with the advent of incorporating snowmobiles and other modern tools into the trade. Wenzel provides a solid counter narratives to these claims by placing the complexity of culture into a more dynamic context:

> "Today southern understanding of Inuit is built on that kind of ethnocentric understanding. Absent from it is the recognition that traditional Inuit culture is more than dogteams and harpoons. We recognize that our own cultural traditions are founded on philosophical values, not cars and skyscrapers, yet we fail to make that leap in our appreciation of Inuit culture. Confined to what we can touch, it is not surprising that snowmobiles and rifles diminish Inuit tradition in our eyes. We fail to comprehend the way that Inuit represent their culture to themselves because our attention is distracted by the artefacts and tools that we recognize as our own. Cross-cultural interpretation goes astray because we view Inuit and other aboriginal traditional culture as being exotic, but also 'simple'. The first, as a term of distinctness, is accurate, but the second, connoting as it does the impossibility of misinterpretation of these cultures, is false."[176]

This discourse regarding the existence of traditional livelihoods and culture in light of modern technology and as part of a modern economy is not limited to Inuit in Canada, nor the seal skin industry. It extends to many other indigenous communities negotiating the resilience of a non-dominant culture through the passage of time and within contexts of modernity. Following the political organization of many such indigenous communities will continue to be a relevant discussion amongst governments, the public, and communities alike.

In summary, this thesis sought to explore the complex relationships between environmental justice organizations and indigenous communities. First, an overview of decolonization theory

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[175] Balogh, Enikö. "An Interview with Inuit Activist Aaju Peter: Nothing Has Been Done to Educate the Europeans about Seal Hunt and Inuit Culture." *Tampere Film Festival*. 3 Mar. 2017. Web. available at: https://tamperefilmfestival.fi/interview-Inuit-activist-aaju-peter-nothing-done-educate-europeans-seal-hunt-Inuit-culture/ (last visited 12 July 2017)

[176] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. p. 57.

provided a contextual frame from which to understand existing power dynamics between non-indigenous and indigenous actors, and underscored the importance of decolonization in realizing indigenous rights. Furthermore, decolonization theory was used to highlight specific gaps in environmental justice movements to recognize both decolonization and human rights in their movements. Then, an examination of human security was conducted, in which the participation of local communities was determined as providing the greatest potential to centralize indigenous rights into the construction of a campaign. Furthermore, Wilifrid Greaves' scholarship was highlighted to provide context to the role human security can play in indigenous decolonization work. Subsequent reflections on the limited scope of a HRBA underscored the value of a broad human security approach to centralizing indigenous security articulations in non-indigenous campaigns. Finally, a case study on Inuit rights and the role of environmental organizations during the anti-sealing campaigns of the 1970s underscored the problematic nature of non-indigenous interactions operating without a framework to understand decolonization or centralize indigenous rights.

In the end, the methodology behind animal rights and environmental justice organizations that motivates their activism needs to recognize more flexibility in their understandings of equality and equity and recognize the ethnocentrism of their own movements. The universality of human rights is not undermined by the need to recognize unique and complex contexts, but rather requires it if we consider the need for equity above equality - universality cannot conquer the legacies of conquest in a rigid form, it will become a new imperialism. For this reason, decolonization presents an important and vital key to understanding the rights of indigenous and oppressed communities, as it can represent the negotiations between a community's liminal realities in the present order. While non-indigenous environmental organizations cannot participate in leading the

decolonization process, there are tools, such as human security, that can be utilized to ensure a dialogue between parties that is both rigid enough to provide a framework for operational action and flexible enough to support decolonization work and indigenous resistance. In doing so, environmental campaigns can recognize indigenous rights and support cooperation and equity from a position of respect and solidarity.

5.2 Areas for Further Research

Although this thesis has attempted to provide adequate detail on specific elements relating to indigenous rights, discourses on modernity, indigeneity, and decolonization, there is much more that can be explored in relation to the implementation of such discourses and actions at the level of indigenous political organizations, and non-indigenous NGOs. For example, empirical research exploring how environmental justice organizations comparatively structure and implement campaigns in line with indigenous issues in practice could provide a more in depth view on the saliency of different approaches. In addition, further research linking decolonization and securitization theories, and the implications of such conceptualizations for human security and indigenous rights would be pertinent. Furthermore, this thesis situates itself in a uniquely Western and Arctic geographic context and there is much work being done in the exploration of indigenous and non-indigenous environmental alliances in other areas of the world where an examination of decolonizing practices or frameworks of resistance may also provide valuable insight.

Fundamentally, an exploration of how these ideas transfer or project themselves in a global context are also interesting, for example: Does the same argumentation exist and apply within contexts of animal poaching in developing countries of colonial origin? How are relationships between the state and non-dominant cultures negotiated? How does decolonization enter into the

discourse of indigenous political organizations in a contemporary context? To what extent are indigeneity and modernity compatible or incompatible concepts and how are such discourses used to frame contemporary justice movements?

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ANNEX

Figure 1[177]

People-centred	• Inclusive and participatory. • Considers/engages/ensures the participation of individuals and communities under stress in defining their needs, vulnerabilities and capacities in responding to their insecurities. • Collectively determines which insecurities to address, and identifies priorities and available resources, including local assets and indigenous coping mechanisms. • Manages expectations and strengthens social harmony.
Comprehensive	• Comprehensive analysis of root causes and manifestations of a particular threat across the different components of human security. • Develops multisectoral/multi-stakeholder responses by promoting dialogue among key actors from different sectors/fields/communities/groups (includes actors and sectors not previously considered relevant to the success of a policy, programmme or project). • Helps to ensure coherence and coordination across traditionally separate sectors and fields thereby strengthening resilience. • Assesses positive and negative externalities of each response on the overall human security situation of the affected community(ies).
Context-specific	• Requires in-depth analysis of the targeted situation. • Focuses on a core set of freedoms and rights under threat in a given situation. • Enables the development of more appropriate solutions that are embedded in local realities, capacities and coping mechanisms. • Takes into account local, national, regional and global dimensions and their impact on the targeted situation.
Prevention-oriented	• Identifies risks, threats and hazards, and addresses their root causes. • Focuses on preventative responses that are proactive and not reactive.

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[177] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf pp 17.

Figure 2[178]

PHASE	GOALS AND TASKS
Phase 1: **Analysis, mapping and planning**	• Establish participatory processes and collectively identify the needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of the affected community(ies). • Map insecurities based on actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities with less focus on what is feasible and more emphasis on what is actually needed. • Establish priorities through needs, vulnerabilities and capacity analysis in consultation with the affected community(ies). • Identify the root causes of insecurities and their interlinkages. • Cluster insecurities based on comprehensive, integrated and multisectoral mapping, and be vigilant of externalities. • Establish strategies and responses that incorporate protection and empowerment measures based on the four principles of human security. • Outline short, medium, and long-term strategies and outcomes even if they will not be implemented in the particular programme. Outlining strategies at different stages with the community is an important foundation for sustainability and for managing expectations. • Establish inclusive multi-stakeholder planning to ensure coherence on goals and the allocation of responsibilities and tasks.
Phase 2: **Implementation**	• Implementation in collaboration with local partners, ensuring that actions do not unintentionally undermine any other human security component and principles, and respect the local norms and practices of the affected community(ies). • Implementation that considers the changing dynamics of risks and threats and is flexible to adjust to such changes as necessary for the protection and empowerment of the affected community(ies). • Capacity-building of the affected community(ies) and local institutions. • Monitoring as part of the programme, and the basis for learning and adaptation.

³ The human security phases have been adapted from the first edition of this handbook, which was developed by the UN Human Security Unit in close collaboration with Dr. Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, Ms. Hitomi Kubo and Ms. Elianna Konialis at the Masters of Public Affairs, Sciences Po.   18

PHASE	GOALS AND TASKS
Phase 3: **Rapid assessment**	• Are we doing the right thing as opposed to whether or not we are doing things right? • Does the programme alleviate identified human insecurities while at the same time avoiding negative externalities? • Deriving lessons learned from failures and successes, and improving the programme.

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[178] UNTFHS, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system,* New York: United Nations, January 2016. www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hs_handbook_03.pdf p.18.

Figure 3

Table 2.1 *Events in the anti-sealing campaign[179]*

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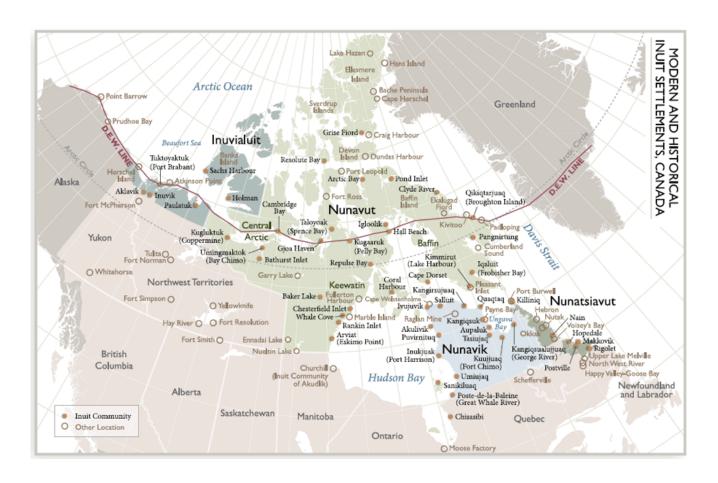
1955   Observers report on the inhuman killing of harp seals.

1964   The film 'Les Phoques' is aired in Europe.

1967   A 'Save the Seals' campaign is launched.

1971   Canada imposes harp seal quotas.

1972   The US passes the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

1977   Greenpeace's seal policy explicitly encompasses Inuit.

1983   The European Community agrees to a binding two-year ban on harp and hooded seal imports.

1984   Canada forms a Royal Commission to investigate the controversy.

1985   The European Community renews its boycott. The Home Rule government of Greenland asks Greenpeace to differentiate publicly between Inuit and commercial sealing. Greenpeace declines.

1989   The EC votes for an indefinite boycott of seal skins.

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[179] Wenzel, George *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. pp 46.

Figure 4

Map of Modern and Historical Inuit Settlements, Canada[180]

This map shows modern and historical Inuit settlements in Canada. It identifies Inuit communities of the four Inuit regions: Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. Modern names are given, with some historic names shown in parenthesis. The map also traces the D.E.W. line and shows other locations around Inuit communities.[181]

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[180]Bonesteel, Sarah, and Erik Anderson. *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008. Print. pp. xvi.
[181] Ibid.