Master's Thesis

Melting Security – Indigenous Livelihood in the Canadian Arctic

An analysis of the presence of Inuit societal security matters in Canadian climate policies aligned to the Paris Agreement

Key Words: Paris Agreement, Climate Change, Inuit, Nunavut, Societal Security

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Abstract

The COP21 Paris Agreement is considered a milestone on the way to limiting global warming to 1.5°C. For the first time in history, a climate convention is signed by all 198 members of the UNFCCC, with each signatory state being responsible for developing their own climate strategy that considers the national circumstances.

Given Canada's colonial history, the Canadian government has a special responsibility for ensuring that Nunavut's Inuit communities experience adequate protection of their cultural identity in times of changing environmental conditions. While studies on Inuit vulnerability to climate change are manifold, research on the political protection of Inuit cultural identity is still fragmentary. Therefore, this thesis seeks to uncover how Inuit perceptions of societal security are assured within Canada's climate policies by carrying out a text-based analysis of Canada's nationally determined contributions to the Paris Agreement. The research question this study aims to answer is: *How are societal security matters of Nunavut's Inuit communities addressed in Canada's climate change policies aligned to the Paris Agreement?*

The analysis finds that the needs expressed by Nunavut's Inuit communities throughout the coded publications are not adequately approached within the government's climate strategies. Although the needs of Canada's indigenous communities are not entirely left out, a strong focus on industrial challenges can be identified, with Canada seemingly afraid to lose its economic strength while transitioning to net-zero emissions.

Word count: 19.790

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Reading Note

Within the scope of this thesis, the term *Arctic* intends to include all individuals of Inuit Nunangat.

List of Abbreviations

AMP	Arctic Monitoring & Assessment Programme
BMWK	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Klimaschutz
COP21	Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC
GHG	Greenhouse gases
GOV	Government
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Council
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
NLCA	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement
NTI	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated
NWP	Northwest Passage
OAG	Office of the Auditor General of Canada
PA	Paris Agreement
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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1. Introduction

"Dear friends, humanity is on thin ice — and that ice is melting fast" - António Guterres (UN 2023)

The COP21 Paris Agreement of 2015 went down in history. For the first time, 198 parties commit to changing the global economy towards a more climate-friendly way (UN 2021). By aiming to limit global warming to 1.5°C compared to the pre-industrial era, the agreement puts forward international targets for mitigation and adaption. Here, Article 4 (2) requires each signatory state to develop its own climate strategies, considering national circumstances (UN 2015: 4). And so did Canada.

Given the fact that the country has the longest Arctic coastline in the world (Oceans North 2022: 7), it is facing additional challenges in fighting climate change, with the Arctic warming up to three times faster than the rest of the world (Spiegel Wissenschaft 2022). For more than 50 years, climate scientists have been observing the Arctic Sea ice, finding that it declined steadily. Until today, around 40% of the Arctic Sea ice cover have disappeared (ITK 2019: 3). Furthermore, the annual Arctic surface temperatures from 2014 to 2018 have surpassed those of any year since 1900. The rise in air, surface and sea temperatures effects the Arctic's interlinked "physical, chemical, and biological systems in direct and indirect ways" (AMAP 2017: 4). It is crucial to underline that those environmental changes will continue at least throughout the first half of this century in consequence of the warming that is already locked in the global climate system – even if "drastic near-term cuts in emissions" are achieved (ibid.: 5).

This is of particular relevance to Canada's indigenous communities, like the Inuit, who have inhabited the Arctic region for millennia, making it their traditional homeland *Nunangat* (Hossain et al. 2017: 53). As most Inuit depend on the Arctic's eco-systems for subsistence, they are exposed to new insecurities arising from the rapidly changing environment (ITK 2017: 60). The 2023 IPCC report warns, crossing the tipping point of 1.5°C could trigger more hazardous weather events and cause irreversible environmental damage (IPCC 2023a: 6). Touching upon this, the World Meteorological Organisation predicts that the 1.5°C target could already be exceeded as early as 2026 (WMO 2022).

In the Canadian context, global warming embodies a threat multiplier to its Inuit communities, as they are still facing societal marginalization and inequalities through power-imbalances rooted in Canada's colonial legacy (Greaves 2016: 463). The literature review has, nonetheless, shown that the majority of existing research exploring Inuit exposure to climate change neglects the political aspects of it, by primarily investigating interventions for mitigation. The fact that the Paris Agreement will determine national climate policies for decades to come, stresses the need for uncovering Inuit representation in it.

For relating political inequalities to climate change, I am going to apply the prism of societal security to the process of global warming in the Canadian Arctic. By moving beyond the state-centred approach of security, this thesis seeks to identify potential incongruities between insecurities and challenges the Canadian Inuit experience in the light of a warming Arctic and the actions taken by the federal Canadian government for addressing those.

To do so, I have chosen the case study of the Nunavut territory, as it represents Canada's newest territory emanating from decades of indigenous suppression and struggles for self-determination. Moreover, Nunavut is mainly inhabited by Inuit communities and thus provides for in-depth information on the issue. For the scope of this research, all three regions, namely Qikiqtaaluk, Kivalliq and Kitikmeot, will be included (Canadian Geographic 2023).

Additionally, it is important to note that this study is not aiming for top-down adaption proposals, but rather seek to bridge the gap between Inuit community needs and climate policies and contribute to building the grounds for the development of more informed Arctic climate policy frameworks. In this regard, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami organization emphasizes "[t]he social and cultural challenges that exist today can similarly be undone in large parts through policies that support and empower Inuit institutions, families and communities" (ITK 2023).

1.1 Research Question:

Based on the state of research presented later in this thesis and on the political chances of Inuit empowerment as expressed by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, I decided to examine Inuit publications on climate change with regards to evolving

insecurities and compare them to Canada's climate actions. By doing so, the thesis will answer the following research question:

How are societal security matters of Nunavut's Inuit communities addressed in Canada's climate change policies aligned to the Paris Agreement?

For approaching the research question, I will conduct a hybrid thematic analysis in a qualitative fashion using the coding software Nvivo. The methodology chapter will provide further details on this. Within the scope of this work, the Paris Agreement (PA) functions as departure point for analysis, but the work's focus is placed on Canada's nationally determined contributions under the PA. Central documents here will be the "Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change", "Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework" as well as "Canada's Nationally Determined Contribution". The time period under investigation stretches from 2010 to 2023, during which Canada was governed by Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Prime Minister of Canada 2023). The material chapter will further elaborate on the time frame choice. Likewise, the empirical background and methodology section will elaborate on the case study and the case selection. For the scope of this work the term "government" is representative for ministries and state institutions involved in the development of Canada's climate strategy.

1.2 The Problem to be Examined and Academic Motivation

Greaves highlights that Canada needs to be viewed as a colonial settler state in which the Indigenous peoples-government-relation remains strongly defined by "settler-colonial values" and institutions. Based on that he finds that indigenous inclusion in politics is still limited (2016: 463)

While the field of international relations (IR) has begun to acknowledge the political salience of Indigenous peoples, the closely linked field of security studies has not yet significantly incorporated Indigenous claims (ibid.: 461). Large parts of research on security in the Arctic still place *traditional* security issues in their centre, such as threats to the "military, political, and economic sectors" which concern the state (Hossain et al. 2017: 52). However, as impacts of environmental

changes are becoming "central to Inuit articulations of (in)security" (Greaves 2016: 466), the traditional approach is no longer in keeping with the times.

The IPCC Synthesis Report of 2023 points to the fact that "vulnerable communities who have historically contributed the least to current climate change are disproportionately affected" (IPCC 2023a: 6). Among them are the Inuit communities of Nunavut who are facing the potential loss of societal identity and livelihood through increasing global warming (Hossain 2018: 7). Apart from this, Wilson et al. point to aspects of Inuit mental health and well-being which are tightly connected to the land they live on, providing them with "a sense of peace, wholeness, calm, healing, and enriches the soul" (2021: 528).

The IPCC reinforces the fact that the "loss of ecosystems and their services has cascading and long-term impacts on people globally, especially for Indigenous Peoples and local communities who are directly dependent on ecosystems, to meet basic needs" (IPCC 2023: 16). Meanwhile, the global interest in the Arctic is growing, as melting ice makes numerous raw materials accessible, causing additional pollution in the Inuit homeland through extractive activities (Köhne 2021). Here, the 2023 IPCC Synthesis Report warns, "the choices and actions implemented in this decade will have impacts now and for thousands of years" (IPCC 2023: 25). In this regard, Hermann argues that

> "Empowering native culture of the North as a reason for acting on climate, but not empowering its security through tangible financial, legal, or technical commitments creates post-colonial inequality in power in societal security discourses and commitments" (2017: 66-67).

Buzan et al. back this concern by finding that "unequal social power" confine certain actors to make their voices heard and securitize their matters (1998: 3). Touching upon this, Sjöstedt underlines that identities can take on the role of a gatekeeper or function as a catalyst when it comes to security – based on power and dominance (2013: 153; Greaves 2016: 463). The identity of many Inuit is shaped by a sum of cultural values and communal practices that are tightly connected to the environment of their traditional homeland, from which they obtain a sense of security (Hossain et al. 2017: 53).

Assuming that threats to the security of Inuit communities do not originate from military dangers but from the "interactions between climate change, environmental

degradation, rapid economic development […], erosion of cultural traditions, disputes over political autonomy, or conflicts over land" (Hossain et al. 2017: 53), this research aims to shed a light on how Inuit are assured societal security through climate action, while being politically marginalized.

2   Empirical Background

In order to emphasise the relevance and urgency of this work's research problem, the following section will highlight the social, geographic, and climatic realities of the case study Nunavut. The chapter is followed by a literature review that elaborates the discourse of security in the context of climate change and examines existing research on Inuit exposure to climate change.

As there are multiple definitions of what constitutes the Arctic, for the further course of this study, I will refer to the latitude of 66°30′ N as the Arctic's southernmost point (Ostenso et al. 2023).

2.1 Colonial Past & Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

Nunavut embodies the largest and most sparsely populated of all the provinces and territories in Canada, stretching over large parts of the Canadian Arctic. Indigenous communities account for 85.8% of Nunavut's total population. The territory was created in 1999 based on the Nunavut Land

Figure 1 Political Divisions Canada [adapted] (GOV Canada 2022a)

Claims Agreement (NLCA), which was signed by the Government of Canada, the Government of Nunavut. Through the agreement Inuit are officially recognized as aboriginal people of the region. The establishment of Nunavut, which means "our

land" in Inuktitut, must be viewed from the perspective of Canada's colonial legacy (Rea 2022; Statistics Canada 2022: 3).

The arrival of the European settlers in the 16th century marked the beginning of indigenous marginalization and the execution of cultural suppression for the local indigenous peoples, including forced displacement (Kikkert 2023). Shortly after, Christian missionaries started indoctrinating indigenous children with European values by establishing the Indian Residential School System (IRS) (Reconciliation Education 2023).

Besides the IRS, the Canadian government has exploited resources on indigenous land and practised forced displacement. Inuit have been massively harmed and deprived of their traditional way of life. Through forced assimilation, multiple Inuit generations were denied the adaption of *Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit traditional knowledge) (Wilson et al. 2021: 526).

Starting in the 1980s, IRS survivors reinforced indigenous activism and eventually sued, both, the Canadian government and the United Church of Canada (ibid.). Inuit started to mobilize against the government's assimilative policies and the use of traditional land. The strong desire for self-government and decision-making rights put pressure on the federal government (Rea 2022). Eventually, NLCA was achieved, granting the Inuit a degree of autonomy by transferring control over their land (350,000 km²) and resources (Freeman 2013). It is "the largest comprehensive land claim settlement ever reached between a state and Indigenous Peoples anywhere in the world", enabling the Inuit "to take their rightful place in Canada" (NTI 2022: 5).

The NLCA is not without controversy. On the one hand it is considered a key piece of Canada's reconciliation process with the Inuit and helped to promote land rights. Critiques argue that the land ownership of 350,000 km² combined with financial compensation does not make up for all the crimes and harm committed by the state. Even though the NLCA guarantees Inuit competences in decision making, the Canadian government still holds considerable power over the area and can influence decisions on resource extraction in the territory (Rea 2022). The rocky road to the NLCA underlines the Inuit history of oppression as well as struggles for the implementation of indigenous rights through the Canadian government. By

investigating the consideration of Inuit insecurities within Canada's current climate policies, this research will reveal whether the trend of Inuit struggling for recognition and acknowledgement has changed to date.

2.2. Administrative Structures in Nunavut

The 2021 census registered 36,858 Inuit living in Nunavut, hence having the largest Inuit community in the country. Nunavut's population is significantly younger than the rest of Canada with one in three being younger than 15 years (Statistics Canada 2022).

The capital Iqaluit hosts the newly created territorial administration consisting of a commissioner who is nominated by the Canadian government, the legislative assembly which is elected by Nunavut's population and has 22 seats. Nunavut does not have a party system – all assembly members are elected as individuals. The government works on a consensus basis by which principles of a parliamentary democracy are mixed with values of the Inuit community. In addition to its local administration, Nunavut sends one representative to the Canadian parliament in Ottawa for advocating Inuit concerns (Rea 2022; Kikkert 2023).

2.3 Climate Change in Nunavut

Nunavut is located in the Canadian North and extends between latitude 60°N and 85°N, thus lying entirely within the Arctic climate zone. Nevertheless, the Canadian climate statistics showcase that in the period of 1948 to 2016, average temperatures in Nunavut rose by 2.7°C, while the rest of country saw an increase in 1.7°C (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2018, henceforth OAG). This warming trend has major effects on the Arctic seasons with extreme weather events, like storms, becoming more regular. This is enhanced by an increase in Nunavut's precipitation by 8% (Nunavut Climate Change Secretariat 2023). The annual snowfall has increased too, nonetheless, the snow starts to disappear earlier in the year (OAG 2018).

Besides new challenges caused by melting sea ice, Nunavut is experiencing a reduction in permafrost. This process extends the "active layer" which builds the top layer of the ground, freezing and thawing according to the seasons. A reduction

in permafrost, therefore, goes along with a weakened soil functioning as a catalyst for ground erosions. This, in turn, has negative effects for Nunavut's infrastructure, like roads or buildings (Nunavut Climate Change Secretariat 2023). As the major ice sheet, that covered the region for more than 10,000 years vanishes, Nunavut is exposed to isostatic rebound. The land masses which used to be pushed down by ice and glaciers are now beginning to rise so rapidly that, although glaciers and sea ice are melting, Nunavut is predicted so see a drop in sea levels (ibid.).

Furthermore, iceberg calving is increasing. It is the abrupt breaking off of ice pattern from icebergs or glaciers dropping in the ocean. The event can be dangerous for coastal communities close to the site, as the break off causes large waves and can impact the water quality. Based on these events, it is crucial that Inuit climate concerns are adequately addressed in Canada's national climate policies.

3   Literature Review

As global warming progresses, the issue of climate change is becoming increasingly prominent in research across disciplines. Here, the discourse relating climate change to security is also gaining momentum. With the UN and the IPCC repeatedly emphasizing the special need for protection of children, elderly people and indigenous communities in the context of climate change (IPCC 2023a), manifold publications dealing with indigenous realities of climate change can be detected at current times (Collings et al. 2023; Greaves 2016; Huntington et al. 2019; Ready & Collings 2020; Wenzel 2009; Wilson et al. 2021, Young 2021).

Pursuant to the problem examined within this work, the following will, at first, elaborate the development of the Arctic security discourse to then link it to the newly emerged climate change – security discourse. From there, available research exploring Inuit exposure to climate change in the Canadian Arctic will be critically assessed to outline the ground for my analysis.

3.1 Security in the Arctic

Buzan et al. stress that "the referent object for security has traditionally been the state and, in a more hidden way the nation. For a state, survival is about sovereignty,

and for a nation it is about identity" (1998: 36). This also applies to an Arctic setting: A broad range of research exploring security in the high North focuses on traditional security matters by examining threats to the state arising from military, political or economic factors (Charron 2019; Harris 2013; Lundestad & Tunsjø 2015), whereby socio-environmental threat to Arctic communities are not considered (Hossain et al. 2017: 52-53). Looking at a map, eight states with Arctic territories (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the USA) can be determined with national jurisdictions and international law governing the area that encompasses the Arctic waters (Arctic Council 2023a).

Already in World War II, the Arctic became the scene of major happenings, with the superpowers USA and Soviet Union both being Arctic Ocean states. Exner-Pirot goes as far as labelling the region a "military theatre" (2020: 93-94). The legacy of the prevailing military focus in Arctic security research thus stems from the region's geopolitical relevance in the second World War and the Cold War era.

In his article "The Post-Cold War Arctic", Heininen outlines three major trends in IR and geopolitics in the 21st century: (1) enhanced circumpolar cooperation, especially by indigenous communities and non-governmental organizations, (2) "region-building", meaning the establishment of an Arctic that represents a "distinctive region discourse" with actors joining forces. One example of this is the foundation of the Arctic Council. The third trend is embodied by (3) newly built relations "between the Arctic and the rest of the world" with growing Arctic interests of non-Arctic actors (Heininen 2022: 114). These assumptions are backed by a continuously rising number of non-Arctic states releasing Arctic strategies, like China, South Korea or India, hence challenging the sovereignty of Arctic states like Canada (Arctic Council 2023b; Government of India 2022; People's Republic of China 2016). Although the era of Arctic militarization has come to an end, new Arctic security matters are on today's agenda. Here, Griffiths (2011) and Heininen (2022) underline the globally growing interests in extracting Arctic resources, thus creating a new Arctic that is heavily politicized.

3.2 Climate Change and Security

This section will introduce different non-traditional security concepts that are becoming increasingly relevant in the context of climate change. Based on assessing their characteristics and strengths in regard to my research question, I have chosen the approach of societal security as the framework for this thesis.

"Global climate change has been increasingly defined as a security threat by a range of political actors and analysts" (McDonald 2013: 42). In 2013, the Arctic Council for the first time linked environmental pollution and security in its legally binding "Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic", conscious of the consequences for the Arctic ecosystems and local livelihoods (Arctic Council 2013: 1). However, climate change represents a new kind of threat – one that is complex and cannot be combatted by military means (Kalliojärvi 2020: 9-10).

During the first UN Security Council debate on the impacts of climate change on security in 2007, Beckett, British Foreign Secretary at the time, names climate change a "security issue" of "a new dimension" that requires collective action (UN Security Council 2007). In line with Beckett, Åtland outlines global warming as an "instability accelerator" that could cause inter-state tensions based on Arctic resource access or access to new Arctic shipping routes (2013: 205). Tying in with Åtland, Palosaari focuses on climate change ethics in the Arctic, stressing how the new accessibility of oil and gas will accelerate concerns of environmental degradation. He argues that there is hardly any way for policy makers to ignore ethical aspects of global warming (2020: 53).

The ways in which climate change is framed in terms of security are, however, manifold with new concepts emerging (McDonald 2013: 42). Vivekananda, Krampe et al. as well as the UN emphasize abiding risks regarding *human security*, referring, among others, to the "water–food–energy nexus" (Krampe et al. 2021: 250) and threats posed by natural hazards (UN 2016: 34). The UN defines human security as a "powerful, lasting approach to the most difficult deficits in peace and development" ensuring that "people begin to feel safe in all aspects of their lives […]" (UN 2016: 5).

Looking at a human level of security, Booth underscores the fact that "security allows choice" (2007: 104). Krause labels human security the most recent attempt to contest state-centred security concepts and points to its role in shaping foreign policy and security strategies (2013: 76). Touching upon Krause, Barnett et al. urge the fact that "security of some can come at the expense of others" which is why human security can only be fruitful if it does not cause new threats somewhere else (2008: 360). Hossain et al. bring in an additional perspective to the field when arguing that the sustainment of human security in the Arctic is tightly linked to the promotion of societal identity, as for many individual well-being is coupled with a "membership in a group that provides an identity on the basis of language, traditions and customs, spirituality" (2017: 52 after UN Human Development Report 1994: 31).

Relating to the human security aspect of identity, another approach has emerged: *societal security*. It focuses on conditions that enable resilience and well-being of a society within changing contexts, while including aspects of individual and community identity. It, thus, became a valuable tool for investigating impacts of globalization or environmental changes (Greaves 2016; Wæver 2008). The security approaches laid out above are contrasted by works of Weber et al. (2014) and Kaldor (2013) who view security in relation to climate change from a perspective of migration, border securitization and law, fitting the frame of *environmental security* that is also part of the climate change-security nexus. Unlike human security, environmental security focuses on environmental factors that contribute to violent conflicts (Barnett et al. 2008: 356).

In their article "Global Environmental Change and Human Security" Barnett et al. highlight the power of "natural variability" in affecting individual security with a potential to eventually leading to mortality or social disruption (ibid.: 355). This can either be linked to resource scarcity, like access to water or controlled access to profitable natural resources (ibid.: 356). Thus, Kalliojärvi underlines that climate change takes on the role of a threat multiplier (2020: 9).

An additional security frame derived from environmental degradation is *ecological security*. It demonstrates how humans and ecological systems are interlinked. Here, Dalby underlines that "the sheer scale of human activities means that we are living

in increasingly artificial circumstances in a biosphere that we are changing" (Dalby 2009: 11). While environmental-, human- and ecological security can be characterized anthropocentric, ecological security stands out by aiming to decentre the human as the main object of securitization – it rather views "the human as the threat to the rest of nature" making it a component of post-human security (Cudworth/Hobden 2017: 75).

3.3 Security Perceptions of Canadian Inuit

In his study "Arctic (in)security and Indigenous peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway", Canadian scientist Greaves takes a deeper look on indigenous perceptions of security. Firstly, he emphasizes the prevailing settler-colonial relationship between Canada's indigenous peoples and the government in Ottawa that still characterizes "values, institutions, and interests" (2016: 463). Activists at the Indigenous People's Pavilion at COP21 criticize that clauses of "national interest" in Canada still revoke indigenous rights on a regular basis, authorizing extractive projects without indigenous consent (Kaljur 2015).

Already in 1989, Mary Simon, first indigenous governor general of Canada, warns that Canada's Arctic affairs are undermining Inuit interests while simultaneously reinforcing indigenous insecurities. She criticizes the country's military approach in the North, underlining that for Inuit "Arctic security includes environmental, economic and cultural, as well as defence, aspects" (1989: 67 in Greaves 2016: 467). Rooted in his first finding, Greaves, secondly, demonstrates how numerous Inuit leaders describe the policies of the federal government as "detrimental to their security" (ibid.: 467) while, thirdly, Inuit representatives of ICC and ITK keep underscoring that the Inuit perception of security is a holistic one. Here, Simon points out that

> "[w]e [the Inuit] do subscribe to the concept that security should be understood in a broad sense. Just as health is more than the absence of disease, so, too, security is more than the absence of military conflict." (Simon 2011: 891)

Audla, former resident of the ITK, places emphasis on the newly emerging insecurities for Canadian Inuit as caused by climate change. He defines them "unprecedented" and "well outside Inuit cultural memory", thus creating threats to "our very sense of who and what we are as Inuit" (Audla 2013: 8). In their article

"'When We're on the Ice, All We Have is Our Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit': Mobilizing Inuit Knowledge as a Sea Ice Safety Adaptation Strategyin Mittimatalik, Nunavut", the authors demonstrate the real-life consequences climate change has on Inuit livelihood. Especially melting and more unpredictable sea ice conditions have caused "high rates of injury, trauma, and death for Inuit travelling on the sea ice" (Wilson et al. 2021: 525).

Looking at Inuit voices and studies examining indigenous visions of Arctic security, it becomes evident that security from an Inuit point of view cannot be measured by a single component but has to be viewed from a perspective of interconnectedness. The interview-based documentary "Nilliajut: Inuit Voices on Arctic Security" provides a valuable space for different Inuit representatives to talk about their perception of security and sovereignty. One interviewee states: "Security for me is feeling safe on our lands, in our communities and having the ability to freely move around, the ability to practise our own way" (Mauro 2013: 2:55 min). Ejesiak, former Vice-president of ICC Canada, backs this understanding by underlining that

> "We should look at security in the whole Arctic sense, where the Inuit are the rightful owners of the land and the water, and I guess the security part comes in when our governments don't respect our way of life." (Mauro 2013: 3:13 min)

He continues by stressing "I think the greatest threat is having someone speak for us - someone else - where the Inuit are not included at the table" (ibid.: 13:55 min.). The interviews also show that global warming plays into Inuit's perception of security. Peter Irniq, former Nunavut commissioner to the Canadian government explains:

> "My greatest concern is ships coming into our communities form the other side of the world, that makes me feel insecure. It means that the Canadian government will have to have a much bigger military presence in the Arctic now. From that point of view, the Canadian government will have to involve Inuit at the political level in a much bigger way than what they are doing now." (Mauro 2013: 11:05min)

3.4 Inuit Exposure to Climate Change

Research exploring aspects of Inuit's traditional lifestyle in the light of global warming is not entirely new. The first publications on the topic entered the field in the early 2000s, like Fenge (2001), Berkes & Jolly (2002), Ford & Smit (2004) or Wenzel (2009). Ready & Collings divide those works in two dimensions:

1) Studies that "document[t] local perceptions of climate change and recor[d] the strategies Indigenous peoples employ to cope with those changes" (2020: 2)

2) Works that "focu[s] on the consequences of climate change for Indigenous peoples" (Ready/Collings 2020: 2)

Ready & Collings, nonetheless, remind us that Inuit voices themselves are missing in much research on the issue. Moreover, the researchers denounce that a broad range of research on the human dimension of Arctic climate change forgets to see the whole picture of interlinked components, shielding social, political and economic conditions" (ibid.: 1). The need for a more holistic analysis that considers all the components that are essential for Inuit facing climate change, thus, becomes apparent.

Publications on Inuit experience of climate change were preceded by works on Inuit in the time of colonialism, looking at resettlements and Canadian Indian policies (Getty 1983; Reading & Elias 1999), followed by studying Inuit health conditions (Griffiths et al. 1987; Kirmayer et al. 1994) or the Inuit desire for self-determination (Cassidy 1990; Marecic 1999).

However, the ways in which a broad range of that research has come about has changed over the last decades. Looking at, particularly earlier studies, at the crossroad of Inuit livelihood and climate change it becomes apparent that numerous works are dominated by top-down approaches and descriptions that frame Inuit communities as intrinsically vulnerable and in need of help for climate change adaption, turning a blind eye to indigenous coping strategies (Ready & Collings 2020: 2). Additionally, carrying out field work in indigenous communities always entails the risk of framing them as research objects that have aroused the curiosity of outsiders. When conducting research on indigenous livelihoods it is crucial to meet at eye level and make indigenous communities, like Inuit, research *partners* – especially in the context of fieldwork. Working processes should always be transparent and based on voluntary grounds. The researcher should point out how the explored communities will benefit from their participation in the study, as well as how they will be involved in the processing of their data and the final publication of the research.

Based on that, the practice of applying frames from the outside to investigate needs for climate change mitigation actions and intervention has attracted much criticism, as addressing indigenous research partners with false a priori assumptions always carries the risk for reproducing colonial frames (Huntigton et al. 2019: 1217; Ready & Collings 2020: 1). Smith & Parks found themselves in a relatable situation when looking at Inuit experiences of environmental security with a bottom-up approach for which they analysed 22 speeches and a set of local case studies addressing climate change governance by applying pre-defined codes (2010: 5). The authors find that "neither environmental security nor security is prominent" in the material (ibid.: 10) concluding that scholars often aim to provide a room for marginalized voices but then end up unintentionally silencing those as "our theories distort people's realities to meet our own ends" (ibid.: 1). Smith & Parks thus, position themselves in favour of discourses promoting indigenous notions of security (ibid.: 2).

When comparing Inuit and Sámi securitizing moves, Greaves, nevertheless, finds "widespread Inuit use of concepts such as threat and vulnerability" referring to various statements that securitized "environmental hazards to referent objects such as culture, language, livelihoods, and Indigenous rights", whereas he observes that Sámi have not framed Arctic challenges as security matters (2016: 461). Based on that, he upholds the claim that "Inuit have principally operationalized (in)security in terms of the direct and indirect effects of environmental changes" (ibid.: 465). Leaning on Tuhiwai Smith, Greaves underlines that decolonization does not inevitably imply the

> "[T]otal rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring [indigenous] concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from [indigenous] perspectives and for [indigenous] purposes." (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 39 in Greaves 2016: 465)

Indigenous claims are also foregrounded in Young's article on colonial legacies in today's extractive industries in the Arctic by exploring how Inuit make use of the internet to make their voices heard. Young argues that "responsibilizing all of humanity for climate change" the Anthropocene discourse serves as a cover for further "naturalizing this colonialism" (2021: 231).

To address (post-) colonial practices and ensure a respectful interaction with the Inuit communities, an increasing number of research exploring Inuit realities rely on grass-root approaches. Berkes & Jolly, for example, base their work on community observations from Sachs Harbour for developing a framework capable of analysing and evaluating Inuit adaptive strategies.

Healey et al. have chosen a similar approach for studying Inuit health effects in the context of climate change in Nunavut. For doing so, the team used the participatory approach of the photo voice method providing participants with cameras to capture their perspectives on a warming Arctic and thus ensure "a balance between developing valid, generalizable knowledge and benefiting the community that is being research [...]" (2011: 91). Ready & Collings also place emphasis on inductive, openly structured approaches when researching Inuit communities as they are convinced it enables knowledge production that is "more relevant to communities". For their study on Inuit concerns in an era of climate change, the two apply thematic coding to analyse 107 interviews from Kangiqsujuaq regarding for food security (2020: 1). They conclude that climate change was perceived as a pressing issue in food security but only embodies one aspect in a set of interrelated topics, touching on social and economic challenges, including rising living costs and substance abuse (ibid.: 11).

Exploring changing hazard exposure in two Nunavut Communities in 2008, Ford reaches similar insights. He points out that indigenous stress experienced though climate change can hardly be viewed isolated but needs to consider "non-climatic stresses" (2008: 67). Collings et al. provide a more action-driven approach to the same topic, developing a model of Inuit stress management based on 57 interviews conducted in Kangiqsujuaq. The authors start from the finding that community support plays a major role in Inuit coping with health conditions (2023: 2). Here, Wilson et al. (2021) underscore that health impacts of global warming in the Arctic often relate to mental well-being - based on the role that the surrounding land takes on for Inuit.

The study of Collings et al. moves beyond what they consider "observable by outsiders" by rooting their stress management model in an Inuit world view, considering their understanding of personhood and society. By highlighting these

more subtle perceptions, the authors argue that the framework they have created "has the potential to significantly contribute to strength-based approaches to mental health and wellbeing in Indigenous communities across North America" (Collings et al. 2023: 19).

Moving away from the local level of Inuit coping with climate change, Herrmann investigates "tangible climate change commitments" for indigenous Arctic communities within the COP21 negotiations. She concludes that the room provided for a discourse on Arctic societal security does not match the climate commitments of the UN. She denounces that strengthening indigenous communities to address climate change without actually enhancing their security through "financial, legal, or technical commitments" reinforces post-colonial inequality (Herrmann 2017: 65). During the COP21 negotiations, Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau ensures Canada's effort to include indigenous claims into the agreement to be negotiated (Kaljur 2015).

With her research on the societal security discourse during the COP21 negotiations, Herrmann provides a valuable basis for my study. But as she is focusing her research on the COP21 negotiations itself, it remains to be examined what the Canadian state has derived from the PA at the national level. Besides that, much has changed seven years after the agreement. Therefore, it is time to examine the climate action aligned to the PA in a more contemporary framework and to cross-check the vision created in Paris with facts of the present.

4 Theoretical Framework

Viewed in the setting of the Anthropocene, I will draw on the concept of societal security, which emerged from the human security discourse. The Anthropocene adds a powerful reality to my case study Nunavut, that is exposed to extensive human (extractive) activities, altering the eco-system in ways that threaten the very processes and components upon many Inuit depend. The relation of the security approaches, their background, as well as their relevance in the context of my research will be elaborated in the following.

4.1 Introduction to Security

Security studies embody a sub-discipline in IR in the field of Political Science (Hossain et al. 2017: 57). Security is a relative, constructed concept which gains specific meaning within particular contexts, adding various suffix that name the conditions of risk or instability. Examples are *national* security, *global* security, *ecological* security, *environmental* security or *human* security (Greaves 2016a: 37). Security touches upon numerous levels, ranging from "the individual to the global" (Karavias 2021: 433). The securitization discourse, however, is ambiguous. Kaldor underlines that

> "Whenever something took the form of a particular speech act of securitisation, with a securitising actor claiming an existential threat to a valued referrent [sic!] object in order to make the audience tolerate extraordinary measures that otherwise would not have been acceptable, this was a case of securitisation." (2013: 65)

Booth distinguishes between *subjective* and *non-subjective* security with the first one describing "what one feels at the time" and the latter one characterizing "what hindsight and history reveal, or what a hypothetical omniscient being might know at the time". He concludes that one could therefore feel safe without being safe or being free of threats but questioning that this actually is the case (2007: 105). Thus, the concept of security is often contested due to its ambiguity. Greaves, therefore, suggests the application of the term "in/security" as the term seizes "how security scholarship focuses on the existence of threats, rather than their absence" while detecting the conditions which are considered insecure (2016a: 35-36). The use of the in/security terminology, thus, captures "two sides of the same conceptual coin" (ibid.: 36). Additionally, Booth underlines the great power that comes with the word security: While survival means being alive, security is living free from "life-determining insecurity" linked to "life-enhancing possibilities" (Booth 2007: 107-108).

The concept of security has long history. Its traditional understanding is linked to the Westphalian idea of state sovereignty characterized by power relations in the sense of political realism (Hossain 2018: 5). In the 1990s, the concept has undergone changes caused by three main aspects: 1) the Cold war ended and security realities changed – the Arctic did no longer remain an area of a potential superpower clash, 2) the academic and policymaking perception of security has broadened, and lastly, 3) new security issues have emerged that cannot be tackled

appropriately through the application of traditional security frames (Hossain et al. 2017: 59).

As a socially constructed concept developed by researchers of the Copenhagen School, securitization aims to explain the new shifting realities of the post-Cold War era. Its "radically constructivist" securitization approach sets out how security discourses translate political issues into threats to security through the "(re)production of particular phenomena as threatening", elevating it from a social to a higher level (Buzan et al. 1998 cited after Greaves 2016a: 36). The actions vital for the elimination of that threat create the so called "act of securitization" (Hossain/Petrétei 2018: 247). Booth underlines: "It is in the condition of insecurity where the politics of the meaning of security begin. Insecurity involves living in fear, with dangers arising from one or more types of threat" (2007: 101).

4.2 The Concept of Human Security

Until today, the state remains a central provider of security. However, state security is not a sufficient condition for human well-being. With the end of the Cold War, the security discourse was transformed with the proceeding of globalization (Scholte 2005: 61). Scholte emphasizes how the experience of (in)security is manifold and rooted in a given social context. He, therefore, concludes "people in the contemporary globalizing world have experienced different vulnerabilities to different extents in different contexts" (ibid.: 281).

Broadening the security framework brought up new questions, like security for whom, and from what? (Cudworth/Hobden 2017: 65). Gregoratti (2018) points out how threats to the individual well-being were moved away from the military sphere towards wider frames that encompass social, environmental or health matters. Human security makes individuals and their communities the main referent object of security and, thus, addresses security matters of individuals and their communities that state centred security approaches are shielding (Martín 2018:19).

Human security infiltrated the academic work in the 1990s with the 1994 UN Human Development Report introducing the framework for the first time, "equat[ing] security with people rather than territories" (UN Human Development Report 1994). The UN identifies seven categories through which human security is

formed: 1) economic security, 2) food security, 3) health security, 4) environmental security, 5) personal security, 6) community security, and 7) political security. The report stresses that human security can only be achieved through "a high degree of security in all these areas" (Martín 2018: 25). Kofi Annan explains:

> "Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential." (UN 2000)

This holistic approach has sparked very different interpretations of human security, debating what poses a security threat to the individual or how it can be measured (Gregoratti 2018). Especially its inclusiveness has been criticized by rationalist theories, challenging the analytical validity of human security. Roland Paris, for example, points to the fact that "human security could be interpreted in a way that virtually encompasses any phenomena that threatens the wellbeing of individuals and their communities". Thus, according to Paris, "if human security means almost anything, then it effectively means nothing" (2001: 93). Hampson questions whether "personal fulfilment [should] be placed alongside freedom as a basic right and public responsibility?" (2013: 282). By making the human individual key to its notion of security, human security assumes that the individual's safety is central to sustaining global security (Hossain et al. 2017: 55).

In recent years, discourses on human security have been increasingly related to threats posed by global warming. Hurricane Katrina, for example, has exposed human vulnerabilities in connection to climate change (Dalby 2013: 121-122). Dalby, therefore, emphasizes the need to think human security in the context of the Anthropocene while highlighting the intensifying links between local and global effects of climate change (ibid.: 122, 126). It needs to be noted that human security is mainly about prevention, about predicting dangers and act before "downward spirals happen" (ibid.: 135).

One important aspect of the human dimension to security is that it perceives indigenous communities as rightsholders. In the context of Nunavut, this notion addresses the fact that Inuit communities are often still referred to as Arctic stakeholders, thus equating them with international actors that pursue commercial interests in the Arctic.

However, solely focusing on the individual in the context of security would be too restrictive for the study of this thesis. It is essential to acknowledge that "individuals are not free standing, but only take their meaning from the societies in which they operate: they are not some kind of bottom line to which all else can or should be reduced or subordinated" (Buzan 2004: 370). Rothschild supports this assumption by stressing that security should not be considered individually but as "a relationship between individuals, their communities, and the state" (Rothschild 1995: 61). Furthermore, it is hardly possible to fully securitise the individual life.

Human security can therefore be best understood as "the security of individuals within communities" (Hossain et al. 2017: 62). Hence, threats to the collective identity become threats to the individual. As it is this bigger picture that is essential for my research, I am using human security as a derivation for my applied theoretical framework of *societal security,* on which I will elaborate in the following section.

4.3 The Concept of Societal Security

The Cambridge Dictionary defines society as:

> "A large group of people who live together in an organised way, making decisions about how to do things and share the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society." (Cambridge Dictionary 2022)

When it comes to societal security, looking at the work of German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies provides a valuable basis in terms of definitions. In his book "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft", first published in 1887, he distinguishes two types of social relationships: community and society. While he describes society [Gesellschaft] as "merely a rational, contractual arrangement among individuals", community [Gemeinschaft] can carry a more "emotional attachment and some sense of organic connectedness" that often provide the individual with a sense of belonging, rooted in a strong social bond and shared values (Tönnies 1887 cited after Buzan et al. 1998:139). So, according to Tönnies, Gemeinschaft translates to community, meaning that societal security can be considered community security at its core.

For Buzan and Waever, "society is about identity, the self-conception of communities and of individuals identifying themselves as members of a community" (ibid.: 119). This very distinction is relevant for my case study of Inuit communities, whose traditional homeland is not restrained by the Canadian state border but expands beyond with Inuit communities also existing in Greenland, the USA or Russia. For this reason, I will keep referring to societal security for the further course of this thesis, even though I am technically investigating a *Gemeinschaft* in the sense of Tönnies.

Hough alludes to societal security, calling it "undoubtedly the most influential idea to emerge from the conceptual widening of Security Studies in the 1990s by the Copenhagen School" (Hough 2004: 106). The concept emphasizes the fact that the referent object being threatened does not inherently have to be the state or the citizens within it, but a particular kind of society, such as religious groups or minorities (ibid.). Hence, if a society's "essential characteristics do not offer the necessary conditions for its continued existence and evolution" its societal identity is at risk (Hossain 2018: 8).

Societal security can be narrowed down to the protection of a "we feeling" (ibid.: 7), making the collective identity of a "distinct group of people" the object to be securitized (Hossain et al. 2017: 62). Buzan et al., therefore, argue that the approach could also be understood as "identity security", highlighting that if a society loses its identity, it will not survive as a society (1998: 120). Even though societal security is profoundly interrelated with the framework of human security, it considers the specific conditions and challenges faced by communities as a whole, such as threats to their livelihoods and threats to cultural identity. It can be defined as "the defence of an identity against a perceived threat, or more precisely, the defence of a community against a perceived threat to its identity" (Wæver 2008: 581). This is especially relevant for the research aim of this work with Taylor et al. emphasizing "constitutional democracies respect a broad range of cultural identities, but they guarantee survival to none" (1994: x).

For addressing my research question, I will refer to Buzan's notion of societal security. He describes it as:

> "The ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. More specifically, it is about the sustainability within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom". (Buzan 1993: 23)

In relation to societal security, the terminology of "survival plus" has become known, shaped by Booth. He emphasizes that societal security is not solely about the "fight for survival" but also about enhancing "conditions for the greater sustenance of a society" (2007: 102). On this matter, Hoogensen Gjørv refers to a society's "positive security". She uses the expression of "security to", highlighting the aspect of enablement rather than coming back to "security from", which reinforces the aspect of threats, commonly used in human security contexts (2012: 836). The relation between the human- and societal security is linked in the premiss that if the overall well-being of the individual human is not achieved, this also translates to the community level or even above (Hossain et al. 2017: 62).

4.4 Societal Security in an Arctic Context

Societal security in an Arctic context is particularly related to aspect of changing environmental conditions. The ability to "preserve its essential characteristics in the face of variable circumstances and despite the potential or actual threat" exposes Arctic citizens to great pressure (Herrmann 2017: 69).

Generally, non-traditional security challenges are likely to be constitutive. A disruption on one matter can therefore cause further insecurities. The melting of the Arctic ice shield, for example, can cause behavioural changes in animal patterns which will eventually lead to changing eco-systems or food insecurities (ibid.: 61).

Due to its holistic perspective on emerging uncertainties in changing environments, societal security embodies the ideal analytical tool for my research. Applying the frame of societal security to Inuit representation in Canada's climate policies will help to investigate how security is perceived by Nunavut's communities and how the Canadian government believes to provide this kind of security.

5 Methodology

For addressing the research question of: *How are societal security matters of Nunavut's Inuit communities addressed in Canada's climate change policies aligned to the Paris Agreement?* a qualitative analysis in an exploratory fashion will be carried out. Qualitative research is particularly useful for exploring phenomena in their natural setting and attempting to understand things "in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin/Lincoln 2005: 3).

5.1 Case Selection

As sketched in section 1.1 this chapter will provide reason for choosing Nunavut as this work's case study. Using the case study of Nunavut to investigate the research problem allows for in-depth understanding of indigenous peoples-government relations in a settler state in which indigenous integration into policy making remains limited (Greaves 2016: 461). Here, three aspects have contributed to choosing Nunavut. Firstly, Nunavut represents Canada's newest territory emanating from decades of indigenous suppression and struggles for self-determination. Secondly, Nunavut is mainly inhabited by Inuit who culturally have a different relationship to nature than many Western societies, which is why global warming has major impacts on their traditional life, as it has been practised over millennia. Thirdly, due to its geographical location, Nunavut is considered a "global climate change hotspot" (ITK 2019: 4). Besides that, the territory has moved to the centre of the Arctic shipping discourse through the Northwest Passage as it is becoming increasingly accessible through melting sea ice (ITK 2017). The case of Inuit communities in Nunavut, thus, allows for exploring complexities that could provide insights for the development of climate policies in other states characterized by settler-colonial structures.

5.2 Data Collection

The analysis of this study will rely on text-based data derived from online research. The primary objective of the data collection was to obtain first-hand information that offers rich data for understanding the complexities of the case study and to get as close as possible to the approach of conducting research *with* Inuit, not about Inuit (ICC 2010: 93). For strengthening the study's argumentation, it was important

to find direct, unfiltered information that express lived Inuit realities as truly as possible. The Canadian government as well as Inuit associations offer a wide range of publications and reports that can be accessed online. For answering the research question, the publications of both sides are of equal importance.

5.3 Material

The publications under analysis are chronologically listed in Table 1, grouping government and Inuit publications. For the analysis' data I have chosen a two-fold time frame, consisting of 1) 2010-2023 for the Inuit publications, with the ICC "Inuit Arctic Policy" defining the starting point, and 2) 2015-2023 for the government documents. I have decided to do so for two reasons. Firstly, the Inuit publications are characterized by a mostly responsive nature to the government ones. Secondly, Inuit claims on environmental protection have already existed prior the Paris Agreement. Extending the timeframe to 2010, thus, enables a broader inclusion of Inuit data that can be related to current climate policies.

The data set encompasses eleven publications of each side, complemented by the Paris Agreement. As some reports are quite extensive, whereby not all chapters are relevant for the study, the "Notes" column specifies which chapters are included or excluded from the analysis. If there is no note in the table, the entire publication was analysed. When it comes to the Inuit publications, the data available from the Nunavut government itself is limited and even after inquiring, no further publications could be aggregated. Besides documents of the Government of Nunavut, I, therefore, also included publications of the Inuit Circumpolar Council and the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, advocating for Inuit interests at a national and international level. All publications used are community based and encompass regional chapters that give first-hand local information, including voices of Nunavut's Inuit communities.

5.3.1 Publications of the Canadian Government

Table 1 Government Publications

	Document	Year of Publishing	Published By	Note
1	Paris Agreement	2015	United Nations	
2	Canada's Intended Nationally Determined Submission to the UNFCCC	2016	Canadian Government	
3	Pan Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change: Canada's Plan to Address Climate Change and Grow the Economy	2016	Canadian Government	**Excluding**: Territorial strategies in Annex II which do not concern Nunavut
4	Canada's Mid-Century Long-Term Low-Greenhouse Gas Development Strategy	2016	Canadian Government	**Analysis:** Foreword, Executive Summary, Conclusion
5	Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework	2019	Canadian Government	**Excluding:** International Chapter; Principles for Arctic and Northern Policy Framework
6	Canada's Oceans Now: Arctic Ecosystems 2019	2019	Canadian Government	
7	Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change: Fourth Annual Synthesis Report on the Status of Implementation	2021	Canadian Government	**Excluding:** Annex
8	Canada's 2021 Nationally Determined Contribution under the Paris Agreement	2021	Canadian Government	**Excluding**: Annex II - except for Nunavut Annex III - except for Inuit
9	2030 Emissions Reduction Plan: Canada's Next Steps for Clean Air and a Strong Economy	2022	Canadian Government	**Analysis:** Chapter 1, 4.2, 4.3, 5, Conclusion; Annex Nunavut, Annex Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

	Document	Year of Publication	Published By	Note
10	Canada's National Adaptation: Strategy Building Resilient Communities and a Strong Economy	2022	Canadian Government	**Excluding:** Annex - except for Annex F
11	Achieving a Sustainable Future: Federal Sustainable Development Strategy 2022 to 2026	2022	Canadian Government	**Analysis**: Message from the Minister, Executive Summary, Chapter 2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15
12	Canadian Net-Zero Emissions Accountability Act	2022	Canadian Government	

5.3.2   Inuit Publications

Table 2 Inuit Publications

	Document	Year of Publishing	Published By	Note
1	Inuit Arctic Policy	2010	Inuit Circumpolar Council	**Excluding:** Annex
2	UPAGIAQTAVUT: Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation in Nunavut	2010	Government of Nunavut	**Excluding:** Acknowledgements Appendix A
3	"1.5 Degrees is More Than Enough": Arctic and Island States Call on Leaders to Agree to Deep Cuts to Greenhouse Gas Emissions	2015	Inuit Circumpolar Council	
4	Progress Made in Paris: ICC Urges Action Now	2015	Inuit Circumpolar Council	
5	Inuit Priorities for Canada's Climate Strategy: A Canadian Inuit Vision for Our Common Future in Our Homelands	2016	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami	**Analysis:** Chapter 2, 5, 7, 9.1.2, 12

	Document	Year of Publication	Published By	Note
6	Nilliajut 2: Inuit Perspectives on the Northwest Passage. Shipping and Marine Issues	2017	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami	**Analysis:** - Foreword - Introduction - Connecting Inuit across the Davis Strait - More than the Climate is Changing – We too Have Changed - From Isolated to Globally Connected Communities: Inuit Voices are Critical to Defining the Future of the Northwest Passage - An Inlander's View of the Northwest Passage - Why Clyde River Represents all of the Northwest Passage - The Eco-System, Regional - Workshop Report Nunavut
7	Get the World's Dirtiest Shipping Fuel Out of The Arctic	2017	Nunatsiaq News	
8	ITK Strategy and Action Plan 2020.2023	2020	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami	
9	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated: 2021-2022 Annual Report	2022	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated	**Analysis:** - Department of Lands and Resources - Department of Social and Cultural Development - Department of Wildlife and Environment - Department of Research, Monitoring and Evaluation
10	Climate Change: An Inuit Reality is Now a Global Reality - UNFCCC COP 27 Position Paper	2022	Inuit Circumpolar Council	
11	The Oceans That We Share: Inuit Nunangat Marine Policy Priorities and Recommendations	2023	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami	**Analysis:** Chapter 2, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.6, 6.2, 6.3, 6.6, 7

5.4 Hybrid Thematic Analysis

For analysing the data collected, I will conduct a hybrid thematic analysis (HTA). The hybrid thematic analysis is closely linked to thematic analysis (TA) as introduced by Braun & Clarke (2006) but combines elements of inductive and deductive reasoning, which is why it offers flexibility for answering the research question (Seidman 2006: 2).

TA moves beyond purely quantitative text analysis of counting words or phrases but offers interpretation and deep analysis of implications and meaning identified in the data. Based on implicit and explicit notions within the data, codes and themes are generated that address the research problem. TA can be characterized as a systematic analysis and encompasses, both, word search and data reduction tools. Therefore, it is useful for working with larger data sets. It can be applied from various epistemological angles, with the theoretical perspective of departure determining what assumptions of the world are made when approaching the research (Braun/Clarke 2006: 81). For this thesis, the concept of societal security will be the guiding concept of the coding process. Collings et al. draw attention to the fact that text-based analysis is barely used in researching Inuit communities, while outlining its potential of moving beyond "answering a priori research questions". Text-based analysis enables the exploration of code contexts and facilitates grasping community needs as well as developing new questions (2023: 18).

In the earlier stages of analysis, the codes primarily address broader patterns. Throughout the coding process, the codes are continuously redefined by merging or splitting codes (Braun/Clarke 2006: 88-91; Seidman 2006: 6). The codes will finally be aggregated in a code book for giving definitions (Guest et al. 2014: 19). The analysis process can accommodate, for example, the comparison of code frequencies, the identification of code co-occurrence or a graphic display of code relationships (Neuendorf 2019: 212).

Hybrid thematic analysis, as applied in my analysis, is very much related to Braun & Clarke but combines a priori codes, derived from theoretical framework and research question, and posteriori codes, that emerge while reading through the material and could not be anticipated (Seidmann 2006; Swain 2018). Depending on

the research aim, the coding process can take on a broader stance, focusing on "the individual units of meaning as a whole" or be more fine-tuned, if specific words or phrases are of relevance for answering the research question (Swain 2018: 4). For this work I will follow the broader coding as I am interested in a more general, contextual sense of meaning that can be sentences or bigger pieces of text. While coding, it is also possible to apply more than one code to a word or sentence for being able to identify overlaps or contexts in which particular codes emerge (ibid.: 6). Swain defines codes in the light of HTA as

> "[S]omething that seems of interest to the researcher, which they think might help them answer their question or problem. Within a text-based document this might be a word, phrase, sentence, or even a paragraph that relates to a phenomenon, and thus becomes an analytic unit of meaning that the researcher denotes (or records) with a word or simple term." (2018: 6)

Unlike Braun & Clarke, Swain does not distinguish between codes and themes, and I have not done that either. For the purpose of my research, I felt that exclusively working with codes creates a coding process that is richer in detail.

The analysis process in HTA is traditionally constituted of three phases. Phase I represents the preparation of a so called "spreadsheet" which usually comes in the shape of a table, building the base for the codebook. This step is followed by the development of a priori codes derived from research aim and theoretical perspective (Swain 2018: 8). Additionally, phase I provides room for getting familiar with the collected data. The coding process in HTA is enhanced by continuous iteration that allows the researcher to deepen the understanding of the data as the analysis progresses. In phase II, the codes emerging posteriori are added to the spreadsheet and are best marked as such. I decided to work with two spreadsheets – one for the a priori codes and one for posteriori codes.

Phase II initiates the actual coding process in which information from the data is added to the spreadsheet according to the defined codes which can be adapted throughout the process (ibid. 7). Moreover, phase II is vital for searching for "meanings and patterns" in the data. (ibid.: 10). In phase III the work's argument is strengthened. Excerpts and quotes that contain particularly striking or illustrative content can be copied to a separate document for being incorporated in the concluding report (ibid.: 15). The final step contains the merge of a priori and posteriori codes or the creation broader umbrella codes, as by now it is likely to

have a rather unmanageable number of codes in the spreadsheet. Combining and summarizing codes will facilitate the process of creating the codebook, writing up the analysis findings and structure the discussion (Swain 2018: 16).

5.5 The Coding Process in Nvivo

For my coding process I used the Nvivo software. It enables to organise, analyse, and interpret complex data sets in a structured way, which makes it particularly efficient for coding larger data sets. Nvivo offers a wide range of analysis methods, facilitating the discovery of patterns and themes in the data. For my analysis I made use of word frequency queries, coding queries, matrix coding queriers, crosstab queries and word trees.

A word frequency query searches for a specific term across all coded documents while a coding query investigates the appearance of a specific code within the coded data and also provides the corresponding references. All queries allow for setting specific filters. For a coding query it is, for example, possible to just search within Inuit data or only include texts that were published before/after a certain year. A matrix query is particular useful for identifying patterns and co-occurrences in the data, as it creates tables that show intersections between the chosen data. Crosstab coding queries create tables too, but other than the matrix query this tool explores intersections between codes and attributes. Creating a word tree visualizes relations and structures of the data, for example context and hierarchies of codes.

Before I started coding, I made every document a *case* in Nvivo with the *case classifications* of "Government" and "Inuit". Each case classification got assigned three *attributes*: 1) Year of Publication, 2) Institution and 3) Publication Type. The *values* of 1) are all years from 2010 to 2023, the values of 2) are ICC, ITK, NTK, Canadian Government, Government of Nunavut, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, UN or not applicable. The values of 3) are Report, Strategy, Policy or Position Paper. Here, *Report* represents a scientific summary of events or findings, a *Strategy* lays out targets and action plans developed for a certain purpose, the *Policy* concerns publications with binding instructions for climate action, while a *Position Paper* articulates opinions.

Within the analysis, the case classifications and attributes will build the ground for comparing the government's climate action with the needs and challenges expressed in Inuit publications. Making the publication year an attribute enables the identification of developments or trends over time. The ascription of the publishing institution will help to identify whether different claims are expressed among different organizations. This will mainly be of relevance for exploring Inuit publications. Making the publication type an additional attribute will classify the background of the information provided.

For identifying overlaps and code contexts within the documents, I made use of double (or triple) coding, applying more than one code to a sentence if viable. I started the coding process with a set of 23 a priori codes which I developed based on my research aim. During coding, numerous posteriori codes emerged which are addressing specific topics and concerns mentioned in the explored data sets.

Table 3 A Priori Codes

1	Arctic	9	Government	17	Resilience		
2	Challenge	10	Health	18	Rights		
3	Climate Change	11	Homeland	19	Safety		
4	Community	12	Identity	20	Security		
5	Colonialism	13	Indigenous Peoples	21	Threat		
6	Culture	14	Inuit	22	Tradition		
7	Development	15	Nature	23	Vulnerability		
8	Future	16	Nunavut				

After finishing the coding, I had developed 187 codes in my spreadsheet. To compromise this unmanageable number, I decided to kill some of my darlings, by looking at their overall frequency. While coding, especially in the early phase, it can be difficult to assess whether a code will gain importance in the course of the work or whether it will not be of significance at the end. After further merging and grouping the codes, my final codebook encompasses 82 codes building the base for my analysis (Annex I).

The frequent use of a broad range of codes from my spreadsheet testified their soundness in relation to material and with the analysis progressing, the development of new codes became increasingly rare. After Coding eleven publications of each case classification, I reached the point of saturation as the themes and issues kept repeating. I stopped the coding process as no new information emerged and I felt that I had gained a good understanding of both, Inuit, and government perspectives.

5.6 Methodological Challenges

Even though HTA comes with numerous advantages, it is important to be aware of its limitations too. Swain points to the fact that within HTA, the researcher takes on the role of a mediator "influencing data/findings, by constantly making choices and selections on how and what to code, and how and why data/findings are presented and re-presented". Hence, it is important to be stringent during the process of coding and provide transparency about how the analysis was carried out (Swain 2018: 5). To address the risk of potential oversimplification by trying to condense a large data set into a finite code collection, I decided to work with a larger set of codes which allows for a more nuanced understanding of the data. To be clear about the code's meaning, the codebook entails definitions of all codes.

6   Analysis

The analysis centres around identifying Inuit insecurities and challenges as voiced in the coded documents and to check them against Canada's climate policies which are aligned to the Paris Agreement. The analysis is embedded in the concept of societal security, whereby I will stick to the definition of Buzan. To give a little recall, he defines it as "the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats" (Buzan 1993: 23). I am aware that the concept of societal security originates from an academic discourse and is, thus, unlikely to be tractable in its original shape within the coded data. However, this will not be pivotal for the success of the analysis, as I am primarily interested in the emergence of Inuit matters and perceptions within the data that fit into the framework of societal security.

The analysis is initiated by a portray of how the PA builds the frame for developing climate action on the national level. This is followed by an outline of how Canada is approaching its NDCs, before I will elaborate on my findings derived from Nvivo. The analysis is structured in the following ten sections which are based on patterns that emerged from the coding process:

1) Data Characteristics

2) Climate Change & Economy

3) Climate Change & The Perception of Threats

4) Climate Change & Challenges

5) Climate Change & Global Arctic Interests

6) Climate Change, Holism & Sea Ice

7) Climate Change & Arctic Shipping

8) Climate Change & Arctic Sovereignty

9) The Process of Canadian Climate Action & Inuit Inclusion

10) Climate Change & Cooperation with Inuit

Within the analysis, codes and cases are formatted in italics.

6.1 The Paris Agreement – Laying the Foundation

The PA aims for economic and social transformation and is based on a five-year cycle in which the signatory states are supposed to submit their nationally determined contributions (NDCs). The first NDCs were required to be submitted to the UNFCCC by 2020, followed by 2025 whereby each framework shall be more ambitious than the previous one (UN 2021). Here, Article 4 (11) and 6 (1) encourage higher ambitions on a voluntary basis while promoting state cooperation among the signatory parties (UN 2015: 5, 7). Nonetheless, it must be noted that the PA lacks sanctioning mechanisms if parties fail to live up to their commitments. For the first time, a multilateral climate agreement breaks up the division between industrialized and developing countries, emphasizing the common but differentiated responsibilities as "the climate time-bomb is ticking" (BMWK 2018; UN 2023).

Placing the PA within the problem examined in the scope of this study, the coding process revealed that indigenous communities are only addressed twice within the agreement with Arctic issues being completely absent. Security is only mentioned

once, stating that "safeguarding food security and ending hunger [..]" must be a priority (UN 2015: 1).

6.2 The National Determined Contributions of Canada

Canada signed the PA in April 2016 and ratified it in October 2016 after a vote in parliament. Canada is the second largest country in the world in size and accounted for 1.47% of the global emissions in 2021 (Statista 2022). In July 2021, the country submitted its most recent NDCs, stating that

> "Canada's actions to address climate change at home and abroad are guided by the Paris Agreement goal of holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels, and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C." (GOV Canada 2021: 1)

As presented in its NDCs, Canada aims to reach net-zero GHG emissions by 2050 (GOV 2019: 10). Contrary to the 2021 Glasgow Climate Pact, Canada has failed to deliver an updated version of its NDCs in 2022 (Climate Action Tracker 2022). However, according to its own statement, the Canadian government "is answering this call by enhancing its NDC in line with Canada's highest possible ambition and climate science" (GOV 2021: 1). After the conclusion of the PA, Inuit representatives at COP21 seem optimistic while warning that the reality check of the agreed measures is still pending, with the inclusion of indigenous rights being particularly central in Canada's climate action (ICC 2015: 1). The further course of the analysis will, thus, examine the extent to which Canada addresses the needs and insecurities of indigenous communities in its national climate policy.

6.3 Data Characteristics

To conduct a sound analysis with Nvivo and making use of its query functions, it is important to be familiar with the coded data. After completing the coding process, I checked whether any features stood out immediately. I also took a closer look at the distribution of the individual codes by comparing their occurrence in government and Inuit publications. I started off with running a word frequency query for all cases classified as *Government* and did the same for all *Inuit* cases. The top three words used in government documents are *Canada*, *climate*, and *emissions*, followed by *change*, *energy,* and *development*. Looking at the Inuit

documents, the most used words are *Inuit, Arctic*, and *climate*, followed by *Canada, Nunavut*, and *change*. It becomes evident that both parties mention themselves very frequently in relation to climate change, but this does not yet allow any significant conclusions to be drawn.

In a second step, I explored the most frequent codes in absolute numbers within all government cases and did the same for the Inuit. I explored their distribution across the material of each case classification to see if trends in government and Inuit priorities can be identified. The codes applied most to state documents are *indigenous peoples, government*, *cooperation*, *economy* and *greenhouse gases*. The five most frequent codes applied to Inuit material are *Inuit*, *culture*, *inclusion*, *cooperation*, and *government*.

Table 4 Most Frequent Codes

Codes: GOV	References	Appearance in Documents	Codes: Inuit	References	Appearance in Documents
Indigenous Peoples	346	10/11	Inuit	299	10/11
Government	313	11/11	Culture	155	9/11
Cooperation	308	11/11	Inclusion	103	9/11
Economy	209	10/11	Cooperation	94	10/11
Greenhouse Gases	188	10/11	Government	94	10/11

As this thesis aims to uncover incongruities between Inuit concerns in the context of climate change and the government actions for addressing those, I ran a crosstab query to see where the biggest gaps in code frequencies are located, comparing government and Inuit cases.
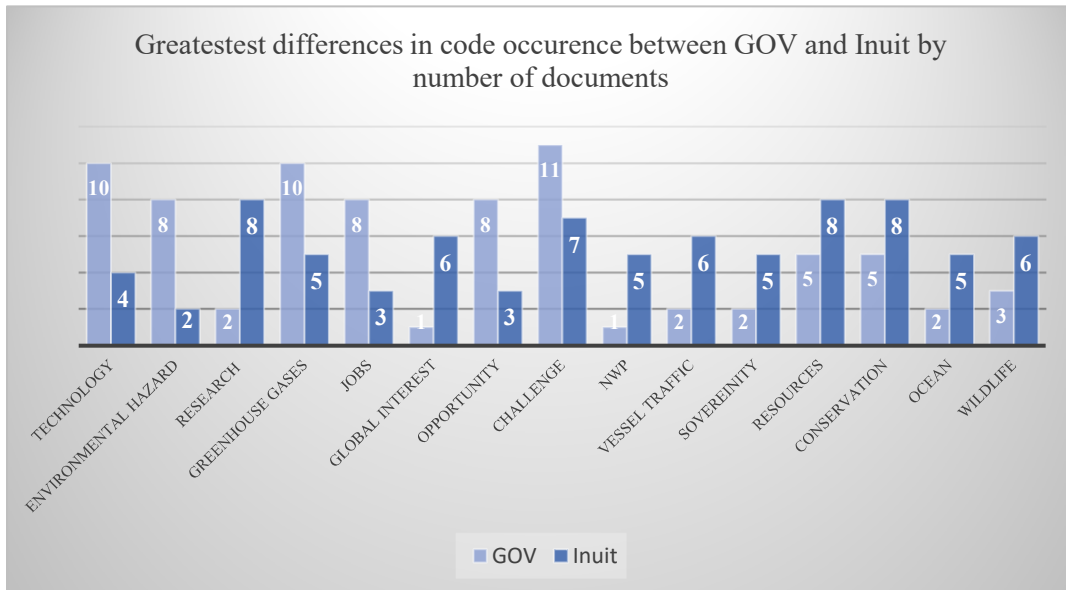
Figure 2 Differences in Code Occurrence

Besides the fact that the codes *advocacy* and *global security* only appeared in Inuit publications and *energy security* only occurred in government material, the greatest disparities between the case classifications can be identified in economic matters, like the creation of jobs, innovation and opportunities for growth and international leadership. The following section therefore explores socio-economic matters in the context of climate change as expressed by the Canadian government and the Nunavut communities.

6.4 Climate Change & Economy

When solely looking at the distribution of *economy* as a code, the difference between government data and Inuit publications does not seem significant. While the state addresses economy and industry in ten out of eleven publications, Inuit do so in eight. However, looking at the frequency of the code, it appears 209 times within government documents but only 49 times in Inuit texts. What stands out is that the highest appearance of *economy* can be detected in the country's "Arctic and Northern Policy Framework" even though it does not seem to be a priority to the local communities.

While the government states that "a strong economy contributes to the resilience of Arctic and northern communities and sustainable growth that benefits all Canadians" (GOV 2019: 45), Inuit representatives state:

> "Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples never make decisions without considering the impact on our children's children. This way of thinking has been lost in many parts of the world dominated by an economic system that provides for immediate consumption and personal fulfilment at an unsustainable cost." (ICC 2022: 4)

Besides that, *technology* plays a major role in the government's strategy to reach its target of net-zero emissions by 2050 (GOV 2021: 10). While ten out of eleven coded government documents emphasize the need for innovation in the context of global warming, Inuit barely address matters of technology. Looking at the absolute numbers, the code appears 167 times in government publications but only 19 times within Inuit data. Touching upon climate-friendly technologies, Canada demonstrates an ambition to take on a leading role in their development generating jobs and prosperity: "New economic opportunities are emerging for Canadian clean technology and participation in the global market for low-carbon goods and services" (GOV 2021a: 1).

Additionally, the government keeps highlighting the opportunities that climate change offers for the country's future with the code *opportunity* appearing in eight of eleven publications with a total of 42 times. Looking at the Inuit expressions, it occurs seven times. Also, the contexts in which *opportunity* occurs differ. While in government data *opportunity* co-occurs with *economy, development, infrastructure, technology* and *jobs,* it significantly crosses *economy, education,* and *cooperation* in the Inuit material. Besides that, *opportunity* occurs with *community* and with *government* within the Inuit cases*,* underlining that the government is in charge to create opportunities for Inuit inclusion in new local projects (ICC 2010: 33). Especially newly developed research project on Arctic climate change, like the Cambridge Bay Research Centre, raise Inuit hopes for educational opportunities and for being able "to make informed decisions about changes that touch us in our daily lives" (ITK 2017: 30).

It becomes apparent, that the Inuit generally position themselves in favour of economic development, but their motivations differ from the government's strategy. The state seems to be doing everything it can to ensure that the achievement of its NDCs to the PA does not come at the expense of Canada's economic strength. This is particularly evident in the frequency of the codes *opportunity*, *development*, and *thriving*. In addition, *government*, *greenhouse gases* and *investment* are among the most frequently used codes in government documents. The government presents

itself confident that "the National Adaptation Strategy can help people in Canada thrive in the face of climate change" (GOV 2022d: 36). This is opposed by a socio-economic gap between the Canadian South and Nunavut (ITK 2017: 28). The coding of the Inuit data revealed that poverty, higher risks for diseases, inadequate access to internet and education, infrastructure in need of improvement and high living costs characterize the daily lives of many Inuit families, thus marginalizing them not only geographically but also socially. Due to Nunavut's remoteness, the inhabitants are, moreover, strongly dependent on "carbon-intense activities" (ITK 2016: 4). Electricity is largely generated by diesel and everyday supplies reach the communities by air transportation or ship. A rapid transformation to net-zero as planned by the government is therefore an additional burden for the local economy. The ICC urges that the living costs of Arctic communities must be considered in any adaption strategy (2010: 25).

The frequencies and contexts in which economy-related codes appear across the coded data indicates that Canada's focus on reducing the GHG emissions of the national economy and achieving a more sustainable industry does not consider Inuit needs to a great extent.

6.5 Climate Change & The Perception of Threats

When assessing the coded Inuit data, concerns about emerging threats created by changing environmental conditions in Nunavut stand out, which is why this section will explore them further. Within the coding process, I define a threat as an imminent danger that has the potential of causing disruption or loss.

Looking at the codes applied to Inuit publications, *threat* appears in nine of eleven documents with a total show of 59. With 62 shows, *threat* is very present in the government publications too, appearing in nine of eleven documents. To see whether differences between government and Inuit framings of *threat* can be detected, I created a word tree for each case classification (Annex II).

Within the Inuit word tree, the rights side of the tree is of particular interest, as it specifies the threat. It indicates that "threats are emerging that could seriously undermine the quality of Arctic Life" (ICC 2010: 38), complemented by a statement underlining that "threats include acid rain and snow, mercury pollution, pesticides,

polychlorinated biphenyls […] and other toxic and persistent substances" (ICC 2010: 38), not to forget "mounting and diverse threats to Arctic ecological processes, biological diversity, and the future of Inuit harvesting" (ICC 2010: 34). Additionally, the tree points to Inuit perception of threats regarding the integrity of their homeland, providing them with "physical, spiritual, and emotional nourishment from harvesting, sharing, and eating traditional food", as well as "the gift of freedom to travel […]" (ITK 2020: 11).

The word tree demonstrates the insecurities Inuit have regarding the natural conservation of their land, which is closely linked to Inuit's well-being. A destruction of Nunavut's environment by climate change and pollution would have severe consequences for the survival of their communities by causing damage to Inuit culture. This brings us back to Booth's definition of societal security, who stresses that "survival is being alive; security is living" (2007: 107).

For examining whether the government is providing the security claimed by the Inuit or whether priorities diverge, I also created a word tree of all government cases with the root term *threats*. It becomes apparent that the state addresses military threats and threats to national security which did not occur in Inuit perceptions. However, a large set of references address environmental issues, demonstrating the government's awareness and need for action. In its "2030 Emissions Reduction Plan", the government emphasizes

> "Climate change is now a leading threat to biodiversity; conversely, destruction of ecosystems undermines nature's ability to provide a critical contribution to climate change mitigation and adaptation." (GOV 2022b: 68)

Moreover, the state underscores "protecting Canada's marine ecosystems from the threats of pollution, climate change and overfishing is critical to their long-term health" (GOV 2022c: 165). Also, threats of sea-level rise, environmental hazards threats to health and community well-being are addressed (see Annex II).

The comparison of both case classifications indicates overlaps between the threats expressed by the Nunavut communities and the government's awareness of threats caused by climate change. To identify the government's actions that correspond to the mentioned threats, I ran a coding query on all government cases looking for the co-occurrence of *action*. The code *action* represents activities that are carried out to

tackle or prevent threats and challenges, either community-driven or undertaken by the state.

The query shows a total of twelve co-occurrence references within the government data that lay out measures for addressing the articulated threats. The colour gradient of the table indicates the

		A : Action
1 : Conservation		3
2 : Marine Life		3
3 : Pollution		4
4 : Coast		0
5 : Environmental Hazards		1
6 : Loss		0
7 : Wildlife		1

Table 5 Matrix Query GOV: Action

strength of the frequency, with green being high to red indicating no matches. Among the matches to *action* are the government's commitment to "deliver enhances conservation action" (GOV 2022c 182) and the promise to

> "[t]ake urgent and significant action to reduce the degradation of natural habitats, halt the loss of biodiversity and, by 2020, protect and prevent the extinction of threatened species." (GOV 2022c: 174)

Besides that, the 2019 "Canada's Ocean Now" Report accentuates the government's will to strengthen the protection of "fish and marine mammal stocks", complemented by the "restoration of vulnerable marine ecosystems" (GOV 2022c: 169). This is supposed to happen in a manner of co-management with Inuit communities (GOV 2019a: 29). The ITK report of 2023, nonetheless, still calls for urgent, effective government action to prevent the loss of the Artic eco-system (ITK 2023b). For addressing pollution issues and achieve a low-carbon economy, the government introduced a "carbon pollution pricing system", including charges on fossil fuels and a methane regulation for the industry (GOV 2021a: 2). To mitigate ocean littering, it is cooperating with other nations for developing "new legally binding and effective global agreement on plastics [...]" (GOV 2022c: 167).

Based on the commitments expressed by the government, it seems to be aware of the environmental pollution and what is a stake for the Inuit of Nunavut. The state shows ambition to work on appropriate solutions that can provide the Inuit with security of living instead of being alive. According to the coding, great room for action improvements can, however, be identified.

6.6 Climate Change & Challenges

When assessing the overall code frequencies, *challenge* is one of the codes that regularly occurs in Inuit and government material (47 and 55 times). Interesting here is that it appears 30 times in Canada's Arctic Policy Framework, indicating that the code is more relevant to the Northern territories than to the rest of the country. For the analysis of this thesis, I define *challenges* as a situation that requires problem-solving abilities and adaption.

To see whether differences between government and Inuit framings of challenges can be detected, I created a word tree for each case classification (Annex II). The Inuit word tree displays *challenge* with numerous prefixes. Mentioned are *climate, economic, infrastructure-* or *capacity* challenges. The right side of the tree displays prepositions giving further details about the root term. Inuit point to "challenges faced by the housing system in Nunavut" (NTI 2022: 41), "challenges to construction, operation and maintenance of buildings" due to frozen soil (Government of Nunavut 2010: 16), and the fact that "sea ice changes present challenges to traditional snowmobile or dog team transportation" (ibid.: 17). Those are supplemented by perceptions of "challenges for Inuit food systems" (ITK 2023b: 9) and "special needs and challenges of the Arctic with respect to geographic isolation, language and culture" (ICC 2010: 71).

Additionally, Inuit representatives underscore the need for the government to address the "serious challenges of mental wellness, education, Indigenous language, and skill development" (ITK 2016: 10). Another concern, which goes together with melting sea ice, is the rising global interests in Arctic resources creating "great challenges for all of us" (ITK 2017: 26). Thereby, Inuit urge that

> "Inuit visions for our homelands are top-of mind when considering the opportunities and challenges posed by newly accessible resources or shipping corridors in the Arctic." (ITK 2016: 50)

The word tree illustrates the variety of challenges Inuit face in the context of global warming and the resulting insecurities. Especially limitations in transportation and challenges to the Inuit food system pose insecurities to the practise of the traditional Inuit life. Travelling on sea ice is essential for connecting Nunavut's remote communities with food sharing and hunting being cultural key components.

Comparing the threats articulated by Inuit to the ones outlined in the government word tree reveals a shift in priorities. The prefixes specify *innovation* challenges, *security* challenges, *economic* challenges, and *climate change* challenges. The tree's right-side highlights "challenges for the decarbonisation of Canadian industrial sectors" (Gov 2016a: 46) and "societal challenges in achieving a net zero GHG world" (GOV 2016: 16). Furthermore, the government emphasizes "[d]ecarbonisation pathways also present challenges which require effective and flexible policies that encourage innovation" (ibid.)

Indigenous communities occur twice within the government's expressions, pointing to challenges of "systemic barriers created by the legacy of colonization […] and health stressors facing Indigenous Peoples in Canada" (2022c: 150). Departing from this, the state clarifies its aim to

> "engage Indigenous Peoples to find solutions that address their unique circumstances, including high costs of living and of energy, challenges with food security, and emerging economies." (GOV 2016: 8)

In the fiscal year of 2019-2020, the government answered the Inuits call to strengthen food security by investing $62.6 million over five years. This is supported by $10.4 million for the Nutrition North program (GOV 2019: 5). In Canada's "2030 Emissions Reduction Plan", the government also underlines its funding of $1.3 billion since 2020 to assist Indigenous communities in the development of clean energy capacities combined with $29.6 million for supporting Indigenous climate leadership (GOV 2022b: 93).

What sounds promising must to be viewed in relation to other climate investments. Since the PA, the government has invested more than $100 billion for greening the economy (GOV 2022b: 6) with an additional budget of $9.1 billion for "economy-wide measures" (ibid.: 7). Although the government's climate policies do not exclude Inuit challenges, the coding references signify that the state prioritizes financial support for the challenges faced by the national economy above those experienced by Inuit.

6.7 Climate Change & Global Arctic Interests

As expressed among the Inuit challenges, increased international activity in their homeland rooted in economic and strategic ambitions (ITK 2020: 1), embodies an increasing concern. Within the coded Inuit documents, the codes *global interests, resources* and *Northwest Passage* evolved posteriori from it.

Overall, the code *global interests* appeared 23 times across six Inuit documents and 19 times within government papers, but exclusively in Canada's Arctic Policy Framework. To get a better understanding of the patterns in which each group addresses *global interests,* I investigated the most frequent co-occurrences for each

		A : Global Interests
1 : Arctic		4
2 : Northwest Passage		0
3 : Resources		5
4 : Climate Change		3
5 : Inuit		0

Table 6 Matrix Query GOV: Global Interests

		A : Global Interests
1 : Arctic		5
2 : Northwest Passage		2
3 : Resources		6
4 : Climate Change		5
5 : Inuit		6

Table 7 Matrix Query Inuit: Global Interests

case classification using a matrix query, displayed in Table 6 and 7. While there is no significant gap between the co-occurrences of *global interests*, *Arctic* and *resources* in government and Inuit data, the government does not relate the growth of global interests to the *Northwest Passage* or local *Inuit* communities. Assessing the corresponding references of the codes reveals what lies behind the co-occurrences. In the context of the global interest boom Inuit stress:

> "For thousands of years, Inuit have lived on the land, water, and ice that make up Inuit Nunangat. As the climate changes and the ice melts, more and more people begin to take an interest in our homeland, and the waters that connect it from east to west – known by Southerners as the Northwest Passage". (ITK 2017: Foreword)

Inuit, therefore, advocate "[as] the world looks northward for opportunities such as through shipping and fisheries, Inuit must be heard" (ITK 2017: 55). On the one hand, the Arctic's opening could strengthen Nunavut's economy, for example through the growth in Arctic tourism, on the other hand, these developments bring about additional insecurities for the conservation of the cultural identity of Nunavut's Inuit– as will be further elaborated.

The most recent ITK Report warns, the possibility of Arctic shipping all year round and new extractive developments "would change our homeland forever" (ITK

2023b: 7). Local communities remind that "Canada's status as an Arctic nation is strengthened immeasurably by Inuit use and occupancy of arctic lands and waters for thousands of years" (ITK 2017: 27). The future of Inuit communities in Nunangat thus correlates with Canada's Arctic future (ITK 2023b: 11).

Whether the government takes the Inuit concerns about the ongoing alteration of their territory seriously should be questioned in light of the fact that the government recently invested $750 million "which will help onshore and offshore oil and gas companies" to invest in emission reduction and "retain jobs in the sector" (GOV 2021a: 24). The independent Climate Action Tracker criticizes "Canada seems incapable of kicking its oil and gas addiction", allowing a new "gas megaproject" in April 2022 (Climate Action Tracker 2022).

Nunavut communities, however, do not remain dormant with the Clyde River community reaching the Canadian Supreme Court in a litigation with the Norwegian Petroleum Geo-Services (Tasker 2017). The Inuit aim for a stop of exploratory activities while criticizing the lack of consultation and decision-making based on "insufficient knowledge regarding the impacts of marine related activity in Arctic waters" with the risk of increasing food insecurity. For having their land rights secured, Inuit seek the creation of larger marine conservation areas in Nunangat (ITK 2017: 45-46).

The relevance of inclusion and acknowledgement of Inuit knowledge for the Nunavut communities is also mirrored in the coding, with *inclusion* being the third most frequent code for Inuit publications, occurring 103 times across nine documents. Close behind are *cooperation* and *government* with 94 shows in ten different documents each. The government acts on this by committing to co-management agreements with the Inuit and the territorial governments for a higher degree of inclusion in resource affairs (GOV 2019: 7).

6.8 Climate Change, Holism & Sea Ice

With the Arctic nature being the centre of indigenous livelihood, Inuit describe themselves as marine people who rely on marine life for their livelihood, health and "cultural renewal" (ITK 2023b: 9). In its position paper "Inuit Priorities for

Canada's Climate Strategy", the ITK outlines eleven factors of Inuit health, among which are culture, safety and security, food security and education (ITK 2016: 28)

When it comes to Inuit livelihood, holism embodies a central role with the corresponding code appearing 27 times in Inuit publications. The assumption that flora and fauna are intrinsically connected determines Inuit actions to the Arctic environment. Community members warn of cumulative impacts: the "[e]xtinction of a single species could have dramatic impacts on a whole ecosystem". Especially in regard to resource extraction, a holistic assessment of ecological consequences is necessary (ICC 2010: 34; 42).

Essential here is the role of the sea ice, as revealed in the coding process. Six Inuit documents elaborate on the cultural and spiritual meaning of *sea ice* with the code appearing 36 times. Inuit make it clear; sea ice regulates global temperatures and builds the habitat for an extensive range of marine life. It determines the stock of fish and Arctic wildlife, as well as "timing and intensity of the spring bloom" with plants representing the foundation of the food chain that nourishes Arctic wildlife (ICC 2010: 42). With the sea ice shrinking, polar bears in Hudson Bay are observed to be in poorer condition as hunting seal gets more difficult (GOV 2019a: 9).

Sea ice must be considered a part of Inuit Nunangat, depicting an extension of the land that provides travel routes, harvesting areas and the basis for subsistence (ITK 2017: 60). The cultural and societal security which sea ice provides to the Inuit of Nunavut is, however, increasingly undermined. This results in an increasing number of community members dying while being out on thinning sea ice as new challenges and uncertainties in navigation emerge (ITK 2023b: 11).

Inuit are thus advocating for stronger protection of the sea ice and the political recognition of its importance in decision-making (ICC 2010:42), emphasizing that "[h]olistic oceans management has never been more important" (ITK 2023b: 11). Assessing the coded government publications though the lens of sea ice insecurities, not much sustainable action can be discovered, even though the state seems conscious about the issue. It states that "[w]hen sea ice changes, ecosystems will change too" (GOV 2019a: 9), highlighting existing environmental injustices with indigenous peoples carrying a disproportional burden while experiencing "catastrophic disruption" (GOV 2022c: 110). The code *sea ice* occurs 33 times

across five government documents but Nvivo queries checking the co-occurrence of *sea ice* and *action*, *government,* or *preparedness* for investigating the governments outline of concrete counter measures did not bring major results. It, however, presents "new conservation efforts" (GOV 2019a: 9).

Moreover, the government raises concerns about "an increase in search and rescue requirements within the North" due to the sea ice melt (GOV 2019: 73). Thirteen years after the ICC called for enhanced sea ice protection, the newest ITK report still criticizes lacking state support for its conservation, pointing to shortcomings in operational and educational structures (ITK 2023b: 21). Analysing the subject of sea ice in times of global warming demonstrated its cultural significance for the Inuit identity. The Government of Nunavut underlines that climate change cannot be tackled in isolation – social and environmental systems need to be included (Government of Nunavut 2010: 14). The Canadian government presents itself well informed about sea ice changes and related disruptions, however, it seems helpless. Even though it describes the need for strengthened ambitions, shortcomings in concrete action plans can be pinpointed.

As the risk of accidents on the ice rises, Inuit communities themselves have become active and combined best practises of traditional knowledge with modern technology. The result is SmartICE, a community-driven project, monitoring the sea ice conditions across Nunangat for safer travelling. Today it also receives government funding (SmartICE 2021: 1). In addressing a major threat to Inuit's societal security, SmartICE creates the *enablement* positive security is pursuing, hence, moving away from aspects of security *to* that center around proximate threats (Hoogensen Gjørv 2012: 836). Even though the project is now receiving state funding, it cannot be considered a success of Canada's NDCs under the PA.

6.9 Climate Change & Arctic Shipping
The coded Inuit data highlights local concerns on vessel traffic, occurring 43 times across six publications. For the government cases, it appears in two texts, with a total of 18 references. Hence, deviations in the scope of the code's application become visible. This section will therefore analyse the differences in the

corresponding references between the two case classifications and security concerns related to it.

New Arctic shipping routes offer shortcuts to contemporary ones and could facilitate around 90% of trade depending on shipping (ITK 2023b: 18). Even though the growth could support Inuit economies (ibid.: 10), the 2023 ITK report on Canada's Oceans criticizes the world's blindness to the importance of sea ice to Inuit livelihood (ibid.: 24). In fact, vessels break the sea ice so that Inuit commuting on sea ice cannot rely on its thickness any longer (ITK 2017: 62). Moreover, high vessel traffic contributes to marine pollution, increased seismic activities, environmental degradation and species moving (ITK 2023b: 10; ITK 2017: 44). This results in disturbance of wildlife migration routes and affects harvest success, as Inuit cannot rely on their traditional knowledge anymore. The consequences are changing food webs and heightened food insecurities for the local Inuit. Recalling the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Article 6 specifies compensation mechanisms for Inuit harvest disruptions though environmental degradation (NTI 2018: 58-59). However, this must be categorized as a damage limitation instrument rather than a guarantee of Inuit's societal security. The concerns are reinforced by the increased risk of shipping accidents and oil spills damaging the vulnerable marine eco-system. Nunavut residents stress that

> "[t]he marine environment is central to our identity [...]. The Northwest Passage is a part of Inuit Nunangat, and future activity has implications for our communities and way of life." (ITK 2017: 5)

Inuit, thus, plead for stronger accountability of the corporations responsible for destruction (ITK 2017: 5). The government responds by stating that "marine shipping in Canada has never been safer" with more than 50 initiatives working under the "Ocean Protection Plan" launched in 2016. Indeed, the government invested $1.5 billion in marine projects, promising "to protect our coasts and waterways today and for future generations, while growing the economy" (Transport Canada 2023). For mitigating oil spills and marine pollution, it has enhanced Canada's Coast Guard's command. Within the project, Nunavut has received state funding, to "improve sealift areas in 9 [out of 25] communities", "replace pipelines to increase safety and efficiency of petroleum product transfer" and improve safe cargo storage (Transport Canada 2023).

Besides commercial shipping, an increasing number of cruise ships make their way through the Arctic (ITK 2017: 26). Locals thus articulate a jeopardized feeling of security in their local communities.

> "[O]ur sense of security and sense of control is eroding because not only are we facing increased Canadian traffic, but also foreign traffic coming through. We can no longer have confidence that we know who is traveling in our waters and lands or why." (ibid.: 30)

Transparency on ship traffic in the NWP is missing (ibid.: 62). For addressing the matter, Nunavut's Inuit position themselves in favour of a local management of the region's vessel traffic, suggesting the creation of a "board of inspectors" that enforces regulations on safety and diseases (ibid.: 41).

Inuit make it clear; "we need to be proactive and ensure that Inuit are best prepared for, and more engaged in, discussions about potential impacts" (ibid.: 30). Along these lines, Inuit report gaps in education and training for emergency response (ITK 2023b: 26). This indicates a government failure in dealing with the claim that has already been expressed in the "Inuit Arctic Policy" of 2010. A lack of knowledge on how to respond to events of costal erosion, oil spills or search and rescue emergencies creates feelings of unpreparedness, thus leading to new insecurities regarding Nunavut's environmental conservation.

In 2020, the government, nonetheless, laid the foundation for addressing these uncertainties by opening an Indigenous operated search and rescue station in Rankin Inlet (Transport Canada 2023). Also, with the "Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act" from 1970 and the "Arctic Shipping Pollution Prevention Regulations" legislation on shipping can be pinpointed. Inuit representatives, however, stress that it is only valid for "the Northern Canada Vessel Traffic Services Zone" which does not cover all parts of Inuit Nunangat (ITK 2023b:18).

When it comes to Arctic shipping through the waters of Nunavut it can be said that the Canadian government is slowly getting on the right track of increased protection, but the existing projects do not yet meet the security needs expressed by the Inuit communities.

6.10 Climate Change & Arctic Sovereignty

For exploring further patterns that intersect with Inuit references on NWP shipping, I made use of a matrix query on all Inuit cases. Table 9 displays the ten most frequent co-occurrences of *Northwest Passage* with other codes, demonstrating that it mostly occurs with reference to *Inuit* communities, perceptions of *threat* and issues of *sovereignty*. Further important aspects are impacts on the homeland, sea ice and marine life as set out in section 6.8. Running the same query on all government cases, the results are modest.

	A : Northwest Passage
1 : Culture	2
2 : Disruption	3
3 : Future	1
4 : Homeland	3
5 : Inuit	9
6 : Marine Life	2
7 : Nunavut	3
8 : Sea Ice	3
9 : Sovereignty	4
10 : Threat	7

Table 9 Matrix Query Inuit: NWP

	A : Northwest Passage
1 : Culture	0
2 : Disruption	0
3 : Future	0
4 : Homeland	0
5 : Inuit	0
6 : Marine Life	0
7 : Nunavut	0
8 : Sea Ice	0
9 : Sovereignty	2
10 : Threat	0

Table 8 Matrix Query GOV: NWP

The NWP is mentioned seven times and occurs exclusively in Canada's Arctic Framework. The query results in Table 8 demonstrate how the government neglects this source of insecurity for the Nunavut Inuit. As the commonality of Inuit and government lies in the issue of *sovereignty* in relation to the *NWP*, I am going to elaborate on the topic in more detail.

Running a general coding query on a specific code's frequency reveals the appearance of *sovereignty* 62 times across government data, with 60 references exclusively within the state's Artic Policy Framework. For the Inuit reporting, the query shows 30 references across five texts. For sensing the patterns in which government and Inuit address *sovereignty,* I conducted another matrix query for both case classifications.

Table 10 and 11 illustrate the most common co-occurrences of *sovereignty* within all government and Inuit cases. It shows that while *safety* and *security* are of great importance to the state they are not for Inuit – at least not in this context. The query also revealed that the state did not address the Inuit homeland itself but indigenous peoples in general, which is why code nr.10 differs between the two tables. Both sides expand on *sovereignty* in regard to *community*, *cooperation, threat,* and the *NWP*, even though gaps in the code's frequencies are observable.

	A : Sovereignty
1 : Community	6
2 : Cooperation	9
3 : Global Interests	4
4 : Government	5
5 : Investment	3
6 : Northwest Passage	2
7 : Safety	11
8 : Security	19
9 : Threat	2
10 : Indigenous Peoples	2

Table 10 Matrix Query GOV: Sovereignty

	A : Sovereignty
1 : Community	2
2 : Cooperation	1
3 : Global Interests	1
4 : Government	6
5 : Investment	1
6 : Northwest Passage	4
7 : Safety	0
8 : Security	2
9 : Threat	1
10 : Homeland	1

Table 11 Matrix Query Inuit: Sovereignty

The term sovereignty can be quite ambiguous. While from a state perspective it is characterized by leadership and defence through military means, Inuit mostly use it when referring to indigenous self-determination – and this is where their sovereignty concerns stem from. The Nunavut's Inuit seem puzzled by the fact that the question of Arctic ownership is currently being discussed passionately at a state level because for them it is clear - if anyone has a claim to the Arctic, it is the Inuit. Within the discourse, Inuit underline they are no pawns (ITK 2017: 14) but must be equally involved in issues of national and Arctic security (ICC 2010:16). Moreover, Inuit perceive sovereignty as a matter of nation-building "defined by the way we come together as a nation to address the ecological, economic, cultural, and social security of Inuit" (ITK 2023b: 22).

While the government emphasizes that "safety, security and defence are essential prerequisites for healthy communities, strong economies, and a sustainable environment" (GOV 2019: 72), Inuit articulate feelings of insecurity as the government, in their perception, does not fulfil its duties of demonstrating sovereignty by declaring the NWP internal waters. Increasing international traffic across traditional Inuit waters reinforce these concerns (ITK 2017: 41). To receive

the societal security of being able to safely navigate Inuit waters, indigenous representatives call for strengthened coastal infrastructure (ibid.; ITK 2023b: 15).

The government stresses that "Canada's Arctic sovereignty is longstanding and well established" (GOV 2019: 60). It, however, sees a heightened risks of crime and smuggling in the region though increased Arctic activities (ibid.: 84), and thus supports military presence for border security purposes (ibid.: 20). Even though strengthened Arctic security supports Inuit safety in Nunavut, Inuit view military activities, especially in peace times, as "unacceptable" insecurity, pointing to risks for environment and community (ICC 2010: 18; 44). The Canadian government's ambition to strengthen international partnerships for the protection of the region could be a compromise for ensuring the thriving of Nunavut's communities, even though Ottawa does not want to abandon military means of defence and deterrence as of now (GOV 2019: 75).

6.11   The Process of Canadian Climate Action & Inuit Inclusion

The analysis so far has shown that Inuit face many challenges and new insecurities in the context of climate change. For being able to better interpret the previous findings, this chapter aims to take a look at the bigger picture by examining the development of Canada's climate action over time while considering Inuit inclusion within. To get a summary of Canada's climate action from 2015-2023, and to see how Inuit publications relate to it, I created a table for all coded cases sorted by the attribute values of "Year of Publication" and "Publication Type". As there were no publications from 2011-2014, these columns were excluded.

	2010	2015	2016	2017	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Policy	1	1			1		1	1 1	
Position Paper		2	1	2					1
Strategy	1		3			1		3	
Report					1		1	1	

Table 12 GOV and Inuit Publications Over Time Sorted by Year of Publication

Within Table 12, the white cells represent the Inuit publication, the grey shaded cells are the government documents. With the government releasing three climate strategies each, the years 2016 and 2022 stand out. The period of six years in between points to Canada's commitment to the PA over time. Looking at the publication types, the government did not publish any position papers at all. However, more than half of the government's published documents are concrete strategies that set out action plans for reaching the country's set emissions targets under the Paris Agreement.

Looking at the Inuit publications, the frequency of their activities over time stands out with two documents published around the time of the PA's signing at the end of 2015. Besides that, the years of 2022 and 2023 are characterized by update reports and the reinforcement of Inuit claims, for example through a position paper on COP27 or the ITK's 2023 report on Canada's oceans. Considering the broader picture, position papers embody the majority of the Inuit data analysed. It can thus be assumed that they depict a key tool for indigenous claim making. To clarify overlaps and reactions within the government-Inuit nexus, the red frames highlight the years in which both sides have published data.

Taking a closer look at the identified overlaps and the issues addressed within the related documents, connections between state action and Inuit publications can be pinpointed. In 2015, the government signs the Paris Agreement with Inuit representatives publishing a position paper on it shortly after. In 2016, the government presents its first three climate strategies aligned to the PA. The Inuit respond to it by publishing their priorities for Canada's climate strategy the same year. In 2022, the Canadian government publishes three more national climate strategies with the NTI releasing its annual report. Here, it can be assumed that this does not pose an intentional reaction to the new government measures. The ICC position paper on Sharm El-Sheikh's COP27, however, seeks to clarify the Inuit position at the international level and once again calls for a stronger climate commitment from the Canadian government and the international community. The exertion of the Inuit's pressure implies that the current climate action is not perceived as being sufficient for meeting Inuit needs of societal security. Looking at Inuit advocacy in Canada's climate action, Nunavut's communities do not get tired of emphasizing that:

"Inuit must have an elevated role as partners with government in implementing Canada's international commitments on climate as well as to address community-level challenges." (ITK 2016: 16)

This claim is mirrored in the fact that the code *inclusion* is the third most common one across all Inuit publications with 103 references across nine documents. Within state documents, it occurs 51 times throughout eight papers. While Table 13 indicates that Inuit *inclusion* within government documents does not have a high priority in relation to *conservation* efforts, *research* or

		A : Inclusion
1 : Adaption		1
2 : Conservation		0
3 : Decision-Making		5
4 : Development		2
5 : Research		0
6 : Science		3

Table 13 Matrix Query GOV: Inclusion

		A : Inclusion
1 : Adaption		1
2 : Conservation		2
3 : Decision-Making		19
4 : Development		6
5 : Research		10
6 : Science		4

Table 14 Matrix Query Inuit: Inclusion

adaption strategies, some co-occurrences with matters of *decision-making* can be identified. To gaps between the patterns in which the state addresses *inclusion* and the ones in which Inuit do so are telling. It becomes evident that for Inuit *inclusion* is especially relevant in the context of decision-making and their participation in *research* (Table 14).

To spot the publications that address inclusion the most across all cases, I created a Nvivo search showing the number of references per document. It shows that with 40 references, the "Inuit Arctic Policy" addresses the issue the most, followed by "Inuit Perspectives on the Northwest Passage". These findings are in line with the Inuit claims outlined in the previous parts of analysis, when calls for stronger partnerships and acknowledgement of Inuit culture and traditional knowledge were expressed. For the government's data, "Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework" has the most references of *inclusion*. However, 16 appearances are still comparatively low. When assessing Inuit inclusion into Canadian climate politics, the issue of nation-building arises with Inuit emphasizing the need of incorporating their homeland more firmly into Canada (ITK 2020: 1). Especially in times of climate change, the holistic approach of Inuit knowledge must play a leading role in adaption and mitigation, the representatives urge (ICC 2022: 4). Based on the

articulated desire for a stronger inclusion of Inuit into Canadian politics, the following section will further explore Inuit-state cooperation.

6.12   Climate Change & Cooperation with Inuit

The cultural importance of Inuit subsistence is also expressed in the coded material with *subsistence* occurring 25 times. Inuit stress that "subsistence means much more than mere survival or a minimum living standard. It is a way of life that requires special skills, knowledge, and resourcefulness" (ICC 2010: 29). As Inuit see their cultural security at risk as long as they are bypassed in the political process, they are placing great importance to their inclusion in the government's decision-making on climate action.

> "Not only are we experiencing the frontline impacts of climate change, but we are also highly vulnerable to decisions that do not take into account the unique ways in which Inuit are affected by climate change." (ITK 2016: 4)

On this matter, the government seems to be slowly becoming aware of the need for enhanced indigenous cooperation. With its release of "Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework" in 2019, it initiated a turning point in Arctic politics, seeking to meet the Inuit communities at eye level and create a shared vision of Canada's Arctic. Here, it states the following:

> "While almost all past governments have put forward northern strategies, none closed these gaps for the people of the North, or created a lasting legacy of sustainable economic development." (GOV 2019: 2)

For changing that, the government is establishing strategies of co-management and initiated different round tables to receive community-based input. What stands out within large parts of the new Arctic framework is the existing lack of data on the Arctic Inuit homeland with Inuit criticizing the insufficient funding for research and monitoring. Besides that, local communities condemn that research outcomes are barely shared with their peoples (ITK 2023b: 11).

However, having detailed knowledge on the area is key to detect changes in the Arctic eco-system, meet the development needs of Nunavut and be able to respond accordingly for reaching a status of positive security for the local communities (ibid.:22). As Inuit elders hold valuable knowledge on the Arctic, Inuit empowerment is crucial for achieving sound monitoring of ice, permafrost, water

and wildlife across Nunavut and the circumpolar North (ibid.: 26). While in 2016, the government acknowledged Inuit's "climate leadership long before the Paris Agreement and for being active drivers of positive change" (GOV 2016: Foreword) without proactively reaching out to them, it now presents itself more committed and cooperative. In its "2030 Emissions Reduction Plan", the government highlights:

> "Inclusion of, and active support for, Indigenous Knowledge systems in Canada's climate plans helps ensure that federal climate action leads to the mitigation of climate impacts while advancing reconciliation and amplifying Indigenous climate leadership." (GOV 2022b: 93)

7 Conclusion

In this section, I will give a summary of the analysis, to then answer the research question and place the key patterns of the analysis into the context of societal security. The guiding question of this work was: *How are societal security matters of Nunavut's Inuit communities addressed in Canada's climate change policies aligned to the Paris Agreement?*

The analysis has demonstrated that a lot is at stake for Nunavut's Inuit with climate change progressing. As their people have lived in the Nunavut region for millennia, Inuit livelihood and health are rooted in the Arctic eco-system with their homeland providing them with resources for subsistence, spirituality, and cultural identity – overall, a sense of belonging. With the Arctic warming up to three times faster than the rest of the planet, substantial environmental changes are already observable today. The cultural identity of the Inuit is thus getting undermined with new threats to their societal security evolving from environmental degradation. Going back to Buzan et al., "if a society loses its identity, it will not survive as a society (1998: 120).

The only way to safeguard Inuit's societal security against the threat of climate change and maintain their cultural well-being is by protecting the land they depend on through means of effective climate action. For doing so, the international community must unite forces in significant global emissions reductions, as what happens in the Arctic will have global consequences. The Paris Agreement laid the foundation for doing so, but the signatory states' NDCs will decide whether limiting global warming to 1.5°C will succeed.

The research problem of this work evolved from the persisting unequal power-relations between the government and the Inuit which are rooted in Canada's colonial legacy. Until today, the Inuit of Nunavut experience socio-economic and geographical marginalization which is why the analysis of this thesis sought to shed a light on the representation of their societal needs within the current Canadian climate strategy, as aligned to the PA.

To answer my research question, I have coded eleven state publications, complemented by eleven Inuit papers and the Paris Agreement using Nvivo. As the concept of societal security can be classified a non-traditional approach, the well-being of Nunavut's Inuit is constituted of many different aspects of indigenous Arctic livelihood. Thus, holism became an essential lens when investigating the Canadian climate policies.

To do justice to this, I structured the analysis in ten interconnected chapters which explored different factors of Inuit's societal security in connection to Canada's climate strategies. In general, it can be said that the state's climate protection policies, with exception of its Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, are shaped by an economic background. Questions of economic growth, jobs, investment, and leadership prevailed. Especially the ambitions to swiftly move away from fossil fuels by introducing carbon pricing and supporting green innovation has adverse effects for Nunavut's remote communities, who heavily rely on them. Thus, Inuit needs are not being considered in this regard.

Based on the coding process of this study, it can be said that most insecurities expressed by Inuit concern environmental degradation and pollution of their homeland, which, to a great extent, overlapped with the government's presentation of climatic threats within this work. The same can, however, not be said for the perception of challenges. Even though the corresponding code is one of the most frequent ones within the coded material, based on the corresponding code contexts priorities in this work differed. While the government underlines challenges which the Canadian industry experiences while transitioning to net-zero, Nunavut residents face challenges of eroding infrastructure due to thawing permafrost, challenges in their food supply, and newly emerging challenges through growing

global interests in their homeland's resources. The government, however, does not thoroughly address the priorities in the publications analysed within this thesis.

The analysis of section 6.8 identified sea ice as one major insecurity in relation to Inuit societal security, as it embodies the center of cultural subsistence. While the government outlines the important role of the Arctic sea ice for the local eco-system, it does not commit to any concrete actions for conservation.

Instead, section 6.9 highlighted the issues reinforcement by an Arctic shipping boom, as the loss of the ice opens up new vessel routes though the Northwest Passage – another new insecurity for the Nunavut Inuits. Moreover, within the analysis of 6.10 concerns about who is entering their traditional waters could be pinpointed. Even though the government developed its Ocean Protection Plan on the matter, analysis section 6.9 is able to point out that the plan is perceived as insufficient by the Inuit.

When relating the Inuit publications with the government strategies, a structure of action and response can be discovered in the years after the Paris Agreement, which highlights the Inuit advocacy towards government actions, mostly through organizations like the ITK or the ICC. The long history of their people in the Arctic makes a leadership role essential for the Inuit, especially in times of climate change.

> "Inuit have the right to participate directly in all stages of regional, national, and international development plans and actions that may impact upon them and the circumpolar Arctic." (ICC 2010: 37)

Inclusion and government cooperation, however, are slowly getting enhanced, especially through the new Arctic Policy Framework, which was developed on community input. Given the lack of scientific information on the Arctic's marine environment, the Canadian government relies on Inuit cooperation.

Through applying the lens of societal security to the Inuit's lived reality of climate change in Nunavut, I was able to uncover newly emerging insecurities. It showed that threats created through human made alterations of the Arctic eco-system undermine Inuit livelihood in manifold ways, which is why they currently find themselves trapped in a web of threats consisting of environmental changes and pollution, coupled with new global actors who are encroaching on Nunavut in greed for new resources and shorter trade routes. This has caused insecurities in relation

to the environment with pollution affecting the stocks of marine mammals, species moving, and the wildlife being in an overall poorer condition. The decrease in sea ice poses an additional threat to the lives of Inuit who use it for travel and hunting. This cumulates in disruptions on food security, making the local communities increasingly dependent on expensive imports.

Furthermore, the outdoors of Nunavut embodies a key element for the spiritual well-being and the mental health to local Inuit. But climate change is also bringing new infrastructural uncertainties to Nunavut. The melting permafrost is likely to cause instability of roads and buildings. At the same time insecurities concerning coastal protection and marine conservation are becoming increasingly important.

Looking at the diversity of challenges, it is important to note that every disruption, every loss, every change to the land will come with far reaching consequences for the entire eco-system and the communities. Likewise, no factor can be addressed in isolation which is why mitigation and adaption strategies cannot succeed without community inclusion. The research question of "*How are societal security matters of Nunavut's Inuit communities addressed in Canada's climate change policies aligned to the Paris Agreement?*" can thus be answered as follows:

The extensive strategies that the Canadian government has developed based on its national determined contributions to the Paris Climate Agreement point to the government's awareness and willingness for paving the way to effective climate action that also meets the needs and rights of Nunavut's Inuit. Nevertheless, the analysis has uncovered that unequal power-relations pervade Canada's climate actions with the Inuit identity seemingly embodying a gate keeper in claim making. Even though the government presents itself conscious of the indigenous challenges occurring in a warming homeland, within the analysed documents definite commitments are missing.

The analysis of this study's material was able to outline a variety of Inuit criticisms towards the Canadian government, such as the insufficient protection of the Arctic environment and its marine life, a lack of financial support for adaption measures and education, as well as shortcomings in the comprehensive implementation of indigenous rights, for examples through enhanced inclusion in decisions that concern their traditional homeland. Based on the analysis this thesis, therefore,

argues that Canada has failed to live up to its responsibility of guaranteeing the well-being and cultural security of Nunavut's Inuit in times of climate change. Speaking in the words of Ken Booth, Nunavut's Inuit still find themselves in a fight for survival while their societal security continues to melt.

7.1 Reflection

The aim of this thesis was to bridge the gap between Inuit community needs and climate policies by conducting a text-based hybrid thematic analysis for investigating how the Canadian government addresses Inuit within its NDCs. For getting as close to the local experience as possible, I initially aimed for conducting interviews with Inuit representatives of Nunavut, which, unfortunately, proved to be more difficult than expected. After weeks of snowballing, I decided to, instead, stick to a text-based analysis of local Inuit publications on the issue of climate change in Nunavut. Again, reaching out to the government of Nunavut and the Nunavut Climate Change Centre did not bring about the additional material I hoped for. I, therefore, conducted the analysis based on material that is publicly accessible on the webpages of ICC, ITK, NTI and the government of Nunavut.

Since the analysis was purely text-based, it is important to note that I am aware that even if the government's publications can create promising visions for the future of Inuit, text-based hybrid thematic analysis cannot provide information about the factual reality of Inuit empowerment.

7.2 Ethical Considerations

Academic interest in the Arctic is steadily growing, with numerous publications that address the situation of indigenous communities in times of climate change already being out there. So, I asked myself, "what could my work contribute to the discourse?" Looking into existing research, the majority of publications on the matter, however, focus on the development of adaption strategies or framings of Inuit vulnerability to global warming. The fact that Inuit feel a special connectedness to their homeland, which is closely linked to their traditional subsistence lifestyle, I considered nothing new. Here, a broad data base can already be identified. However, as climate change progresses, the international community

does not get tired of emphasizing the need for cooperation and inclusion, as this was the only way of limiting global warming to 1.5°C. I therefore asked myself how Inuit, who feel the consequences of climate change particularly strong, are involved in this process. Indeed, it turned out that the data basis on this is very fragile.

There is no need to point out that I am an outsider to the Inuit community. So, as a white German girl, I need to be critical on my role as a researcher in this process and concerns of unintentionally homogenizing Inuit as a group crossed my mind several times. I am aware, that I do not hold the knowledge that Inuit in Nunavut do, but by conducting this research I never intended to speak for Nunavut's Inuit or develop a top-down adaption strategy. Rather, this thesis sought to facilitate bridging the gap between local Inuit voices and Canadian politics for creating a basis that helps to develop more informed Arctic climate policies in the future.

7.3 Outlook

More than seven years after signing the PA, Canada still seems committed to reach its targets. The UNFCCC's global stocktake which is taking place this year, will for the first time evaluate the global progress made since COP21.While the United Arab Emirates, hosting this year's COP28, present themselves optimistic by stating that "COP28 UAE is a prime opportunity to rethink, reboot, and refocus the climate agenda" (COP28 UAE 2023), the organization Climate Action Tracker rates the Canadian climate action in 2023 "highly insufficient" (Climate Action Tracker 2023). In regard to Inuit inclusion within it, slow progress can be observed, for example though the development of an Arctic specific policy framework. Nonetheless, everything that Inuit do not have in times in which global warming is progressing even faster than previously assumed, is time.

My study has focused on Inuit representation within Canada's climate policies by using a text-based data set of climate strategies. Thereby, the analysed publications have outlined governmental ambitions to ensure wider inclusion of indigenous communities into future climate actions. However, definite designs for doing so are not elaborated. Additional research on the topic could, therefore, explore concrete Inuit inclusion in Canada's climate policy decision-making in more depth.

Moreover, based on this study's finding of fragmentary climate protection in the Arctic as of now, ethical questions on the protection of Inuit livelihood arise. Continued research could therefore investigate issues of climate damage responsibility and Inuit compensation for ecological losses in their homeland. The insights gained from these works could create a valuable basis for developing further approaches that help to strengthen Inuit societal security in times of climate change.

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Annex I - Codebook

Code	Description
(In)Equality	Unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, or power
Accessibility	Access goods, services, or locations
Action	Activities that are carried out to tackle or prevent threats and challenges
Adaption	"Any action that combats the negative impacts of climate change or takes advantage of potential new opportunities." (Government of Nunavut 2010: 19)
Advocacy	Speaking out on a certain issue
Ambition	Desire to accomplish something
Arctic	Addresses the Arctic as well as the North
Awareness	Being conscious of something
Benefits	Advantage or gain
Challenge	Situation that requires problem-solving abilities and adaption
Changing Conditions	Change of circumstances in an environmental or social context
Climate Change	Long-term temperature shift in the earth's climate patterns
Coast	The land meets the see, in this study mostly addressing Nunavut's Arctic coast
Colonialism	Can refer to colonial legacy but also to suppressive actions of the present
Community	Group of individuals that share a sense of belonging. In this work mostly used in an Inuit context
Conservation	Protection of environmental, cultural, or economic conditions
Cooperation	Working together to achieve a common goal
Costs	Expenses
Culture	Shared beliefs, values and traditions that characterize a particular group

Decision-Making	Determining the course for action. In this work mostly used for political aspects of climate action
Development	Process of progress
Disruption	Severe change or challenge
Economy	Structures of production and services within a country. Here: Canada
Education	Receiving knowledge, skills, or training
Empowerment	Strengthening confidence and capabilities of individuals or groups
Environmental Hazards	Harmful (weather) event that harms the environment
Future	Time that is to come, the tomorrow
Global Interests	Foreign geopolitical and economic interests in the Arctic
Government	Federal Canadian Government
Greenhouse Gases	Gases (like CO2) able to trap heat and accelerate the greenhouse effect of the earth's climate
Health	State of physical, mental, and social well-being, which can concern the individual or the community
Holism	Approach that stresses interconnectedness
Homeland	Inuit Nunagat
Identity	Provides individuals with a sense of belonging. It can encompass aspects of gender, culture, values or beliefs
Inclusion	Providing the opportunity for participation
Indigenous Peoples	Original inhabitants of a region. In the Canadian context often used to refer to Inuit, Métis or First Nations
Infrastructure	Facilities that structure that contribute to the functioning of a society. Here, mostly buildings, roads and digitalization
Inuit	Specific indigenous group that has inhabited the Arctic for millennia
Inuit Knowledge Systems	The traditional knowledge held by Inuit
Investment	Financial Support
Jobs	Employment

Leadership	State of guiding and influencing
Livelihood	Resources and practices to meet the basic need of living
Loss	Absence of something that used to be possessed
Marine Life	Organisms in the marine eco-system, like fish or mammals
Mitigation	"Finding and implementing methods to reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (Government of Nunavut 2010: 7)
Monitoring	Observation and evaluation for keeping track of changes
Nature	Environmental aspects concerning ecosystem and biodiversity
Need	State of requiring something
Northwest Passage	Water way that connects the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean while passing the Canadian Arctic
Vessel Traffic	Shipping
Nunavut	Canadian territory
Ocean	The waters of Nunavut's Arctic coast
Opportunity	Advantageous circumstance that could provide a positive outcome
Paris Agreement	COP21 climate agreement of the UNFCCC
Pollution	Presence of harmful substances within the environment
Preparedness	Being equipped to respond to unforeseen events
Priority	Importance assigned to a specific matter
Research	The study of specific (Arctic) issues and events
Resilience	Ability to adapt and recover
Resources	Can concern renewable or non-renewable resources
Responsibility	Being accountable for actions and duties
Rights	Legal entitlements, within this work mostly concerning indigenous rights
Safety	State of protection from harm and risk
Science	Western Science/ Non-Traditional Knowledge

Sea Ice	Frozen seawater that forms in the Arctic region
Security	Protection from harm or threats
Shortcoming	Not living up to the set targets, failure to meet needs
Society	Within this thesis, it concerns the Canadian population
Sovereignty	Independent authority
Subsistence	Traditional way of life that requires special skills, knowledge, and resourcefulness
Support	Assistance and encouragement
Sustainability	Meeting the needs of the present while considering the future
Technology	Tools that enhance human capabilities
Threat	Source of potential harm, danger, or negative consequences
Thriving	State of prospering
Tradition	Within this work, it refers to Inuit practices that have been practiced over generations
Transparency	State of being open and accountable
Transportation	Movement of people or goods
Vulnerability	"The degree to which a natural or anthropogenic (human-made) system is susceptible to, or unable to deal with, the impacts of change." (Government of Nunavut 2010: 19)
Well-being	State of physical, mental, and emotional health, it can concern the individual or a community
Wildlife	Animals and plants within the (Arctic) eco-system

Annex II – Word Trees
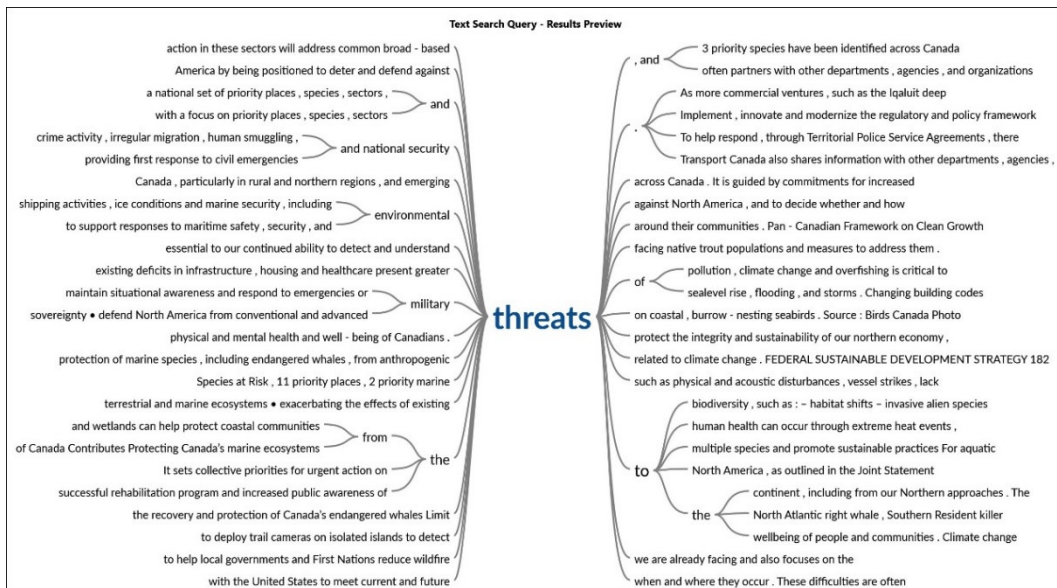
Word Tree GOV: Threats [cropped]
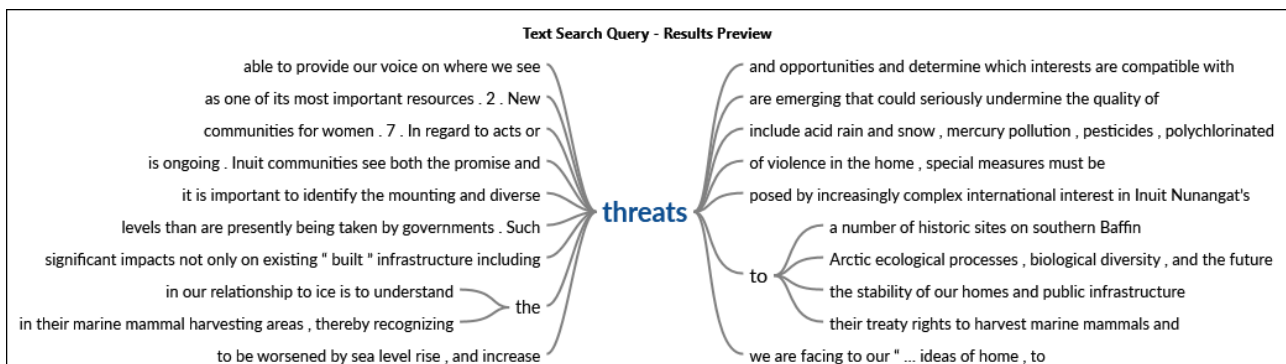
Word Tree Inuit: Threats [cropped]

challenges

Word Tree GOV: Challenges [cropped]

Word Tree Inuit: Challenges [cropped]

Left branches (leading to "challenges"):

in services and infrastructure underlying the unacceptable
Historically , Nunavummiut have traditionally overcome many difficult
with many technical , engineering , social and cultural
change presents one of the more significant
small and widely - dispersed population present major
consensus when faced with profound and pressing
access . While beneficial , increased marine tourism brings
identified . For example , sea ice changes present
In modern times , Inuit are facing — **new**
number of Inuit women are seeking
and ice contained in the soil , — **presents**
opportunities for some ; however , it also
the frontlines of unique and growing — **climate**
improvements in Inuit lives and address
to many of the social and — **economic**
percent of one adult's income . 64

d Climate Change . . . . 10 — **3 . 3 . Infrastructure**
higher than the Canadian
and other pollution incidents . Other transportation — **- related**
lens for decision - making , the inter
as Inuit Research Advisors . Despite severe — **capacity**
we have experienced marked — **funding and**
continue to face operational

throughout Nunavut21 . 17 . In response to
articulate these needs and to meet
and the environment in general . — **Addressing**
information , is a prerequisite for
increasingly mobile and dangerous . 83 — **these**
to adapting to climate change — **Despite**
multi - faceted and innovative approach — **.**
and gatherings on wildlife issues

climate change . In addition to risks
attainable . While there may be discomforts
in person and discuss shared priorities
circumpolar regions recognize the special needs
of our oceans presents both — **and**
SakKijânginnatuk Nunalik : Understanding

Right branches (from "challenges"):

with —
forward - thinking , coordinated , wholeof - society policy
HR . 64 21 - 22 Annual Report
facing —
Nunavummiut . Elders , scientists and many others
too many Inuit . — The following Strategy / Jessica Deeks Inuit
faced by —
too many of our people ,
Inuit . We have done so
the housing system in Nunavut
to —
construction , operation and maintenance of buildings ,
traditional snowmobile or dog team transportation
adapting to climate change . Despite these
for —
Inuit food systems , increased - 9 - www .
all of us , but I am
Sustainable Communities in Nunatsiavut — (Learning from / ; Learning from
and —
discuss the Kivalliq Hydro - Fibre Link .
we will continue to do so .
opportunities —
that climate change may present .
on both domestic and international
for a Northern Corridor , " The

. —
Historically , Nunavummiut have traditionally overcome many difficult
We have outlined some of these solutions
6 Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Inuit Priorities for
Inuit are engaged in a remarkable range
However , the clear path to securing Canada's
They leveraged over 10 , 000 followers on
This is where the people of Clyde
ICC should work to promote safety of
terms of careers and personal development .

the —
form of impacts on communities ,
Arctic , inform Canada's climate strategy
recent years —
, Inuit are driving a
we have continued to
in —
Inuit Nunangat —
" People like to go
Our work to identify ,
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