Birgitta Evengård Joan Nymand Larsen Øyvind Paasche *Editors*

The New Arctic



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Birgitta Evengård • Joan Nymand Larsen Øyvind Paasche Editors

The New Arctic



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Foreword

The North matters! The Arctic has changed and with it the rest of the world. In a place where fast and widespread climate change is happening in front of our very eyes, perceiving what we see and acting upon it is a tough task that requires large, international bodies to cooperate on a wide scale. At the moment, change in the Arctic is outpacing our ability to understand it, which in turn undermines informed decision-making. Catching up with the myriad of changes to natural, social and political systems is a joint responsibility, which rests on everybody's shoulders – not only the knowledge providers.

The North is a tremendous resource pool. It is extremely rich in minerals and petroleum, as well as renewable resources such as fish, reindeer and freshwater – a much needed reserve for a world facing a looming population of maybe ten billion people. The North is also among our last large tracts of land not transformed by modern development. If you do not know it, it is a fantastic place to visit and to live in. The Arctic is a homeland that benefits from the skills, knowledge, cultural insight and resilience developed throughout generations by its many indigenous peoples and other northerners.

The people of the North are faced with a land that is thawing and eroding, a place where old ice caps are melting, with rougher seas and increased flooding in rivers, as well as invasive species. They face a type of globalisation that can be brutal. Mindsets based on southern solutions, for other types of societal development, are not naturally optimised for developing future ways of life in northern communities. The North needs the capacity (and mandate) to define its own way forward in order to create and secure the basis for a good and sustainable life. We should bear in mind that the region provides many of the ecosystem services and resources so urgently needed by the rest of the world.

The Arctic is currently a zone of peace and cooperation among some of the world's richer developed states. The Arctic Council gives unique status to the indigenous peoples of the North having established binding agreements for the protection of polar bears (1976), search and rescue (2011) and oil spill prevention (2013), and new policy documents and reports are in the pipeline. Regional organisations and instruments for cooperation further strengthen these instruments. The Nordic

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Council with its instrument for science cooperation is a shining example of how to collaborate through the identification of emerging and critical questions and showing how to address them.

While the Arctic cannot be saved, it can be handled! The Arctic states have both the resources and good instruments for cooperation; in addition the peoples of the North have the will. The global benefits of the wise stewardship of the North will benefit us all. Such stewardship of the Arctic can also be an important inspiration to other parts of the world. This is particularly so now at a time when humankind needs to find a new way forward for future generations and the healthy stewardship of this truly unique planet.

The Arctic knowledge map has still many 'white spots'; we strongly believe that this book represents 'pathways to the new Arctic', and we trust that it will become an essential guide to new insight and wise action, which is precisely what is needed at a time when the basis for living in the North is being severely tested.

University of the Arctic Arendal, Norway ICSU Paris, France Dr. Lars Kullerud

Dr. Peter Liss

Preface

This book is about the Arctic, but what is that apart from a name? We all perceive the Arctic – and for some of us *the new Arctic* – differently based on our own point of departure, be that from an interested general public point of view or from a scientific one. To communicate knowledge of the Arctic, and how it swiftly transforms and interacts with the rest of the globe to a wide audience, is an important part of our objective with this book.

There are plenty of good reasons why we should question the physical and political boundaries that hitherto have defined what the Arctic is and will be. During the course of working with this book, we have found wide support from a broad range of disciplines that together helps support the observed fact that change occurs on all platforms in the new Arctic, in all camps and at all levels, and although the rate of change is faster in some compartments than others, it is, nevertheless, a fact hard to dispute. The deeper we have dug into reflecting on the new Arctic, the more certain we have become that the Arctic needs to be understood from a multitude of angles, with different eyes and viewpoints and with intelligent and complementary scientific insight – and occasionally across multiple timescales.

In this book we have addressed literature, carbon, oceans, governance, history, monitoring, glaciers, legalities, water, expeditions, globalisation, law, health, cooperation, narratives, vegetation, development, tourism, indignity, husbandry, security, food and art. These keywords represent individual pathways to the new Arctic, a place that is and is not, a place that curiously enough is developing in front of our very eyes, but do we understand what we see?

We believe that the contributions that make up this book afford a unique set of keys that can open up doors, known and unknown, that lead to not only new perspectives on the Arctic – the many possibilities and consequences that are arising due to the powers and forces at play – but also to a reaction, perhaps even a coordinated response. By making the critical challenges inherent to the Arctic accessible and intelligible to a wider audience, we dearly hope that responsible action will, in due time, be one outcome.

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We thank the authors for their contributions, the reviewers for their corrections, NordForsk for the financial support and Springer for publishing the book. We hope you will come to appreciate it as much as we do.

Umeå, Sweden Akureyri, Iceland Bergen, Norway Rovaniemi, Finland Birgitta Evengård Joan Nymand Larsen Øyvind Paasche

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He is also devoted to popularising science and writes frequently for the national and international press.

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Arvid Bring is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for the Study of Earth, Oceans, and Space at the University of New Hampshire, USA. He finished his PhD at the Department of Physical Geography and Quaternary Geology, Stockholm University, in 2013. His main research interest is at the interface between science and policy, with a focus on Arctic issues, the role of scientific information and water and climate change. He recurrently also teaches on managing transboundary river basins, both at Stockholm University and at the UNESCO-IHE Institute for Water Education in Delft, the Netherlands.

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Birgitta Evengard Is a professor of infectious diseases at Umeå University with more than 30 years of experience of clinical and academic work in the field. She moved from a professorship at Karolinska Institutet to the North in 2007 to further develop an increasing interest in the effects of climate change on the infectious disease panorama and health. She has since been co-chair of the Arctic Human Health Expert Group in the Arctic Council and is chair of the newly established board of the Arctic Research Centre at Umeå University, ARCUM. She has more than 120 articles in peer-reviewed journals and has written or been the main editor of ten books and 20 book chapters with themes on infectious diseases.

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Dr. Gail Fondahl is a professor of geography at the University of Northern British Columbia, Canada's northernmost research university. She holds a PhD from the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Fondahl served as the president of the International Arctic Social Sciences Association from 2011 to 2014 and remains on the governing council of that organisation. She is Canada's representative to, and vice-chair of, the International Arctic Science Committee's Social and Human Sciences Working Group (2011–2015) and co-chair of the Social, Economic and Cultural Expert Group of the Arctic Council's Sustainable Development Working Group (2013–2015). Dr. Fondahl's research has focused the legal geographies of indigenous rights to land in the Russian North, the historical geography of reindeer husbandry in the Russian North and co-management of resources and of research in northern British Columbia. She is currently involved in research on Arctic sustainability, with a focus on cultural and legal dimensions of sustainability. She is coleading the production of the second *Arctic Human Development Report* (AHDR-II), to be published in late 2014.

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Heidi Hansson is a professor of English literature at Umeå University, Sweden. In the last few years, her research has concerned the representation of the North in travel writing and fiction from the late eighteenth century onwards. She was the leader of the interdisciplinary research programme *Foreign North: Outside Perspectives on the Nordic North* where her own work concerned gendered visions and accounts of the North. She is currently completing the study *Northern Genders: Gender, Travel Writing and the Nordic North, 1790–1914*, together with Anka Ryall of the University of Tromsø. Another project deals with the intersection of the Arctic and modernity in literary fiction. She is a member of the board of ARCUM, the Arctic Research Centre at Umeå University.

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Dr. Joan Nymand Larsen is a senior scientist and research director at the Stefansson Arctic Institute, Akureyri, Iceland, and she is also with the Faculty of Social Sciences, and the Polar Law Programme, at the University of Akureyri, teaching economics and Arctic studies. She received her PhD in Economics from the University of Manitoba, Canada, with specialisation in economic development and natural resource-based economies of the North. Her background includes many years of researching and publishing on the Arctic economy, human development and quality of life in the North. Her current research focuses on the study and assessment of living conditions and quality of life across the circumpolar region; the construction, measurement and testing of Arctic-specific social indicators and human-based monitoring systems; and the socioeconomic impacts of climate change in the Arctic. She has been leading and coordinating the work on the first and second volumes of the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) and Arctic Social Indicators (ASI) reports. In recent years her work has increasingly been focused on the socioeconomic impacts of climate change and options for adaptation and sustainable futures in local communities in the Arctic. She is coordinating lead author for the polar regions' contribution to the 5th Assessment Report (2014), WG-II, of the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability.

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Polar Region – Norden beyond Borders, ed. S. Sörlin (London: Ashgate, 2013); The Future of Nature: Documents of Global Change, coed. with Libby Robin and Paul Warde (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); and Northscapes: History, Technology, and the Making of Northern Environments, coed. with Dolly Jörgensen (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).

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Chapter 1 Paths to the New Arctic

Birgitta Evengård, Øyvind Paasche, and Joan Nymand Larsen

Abstract In the late eighteenth century explorers and scientists started venturing into the Arctic beyond areas that were already populated by Indigenous peoples and a smaller number of new settlers, and ultimately towards the North Pole. It was about as far as anyone could get from civilization at the time, and in many respects it remains this way to this day.

What the first explorers saw had not yet been seen and recorded by Western civilization. They were the first to tell the stories and document the state of the Arctic – its physical landscape and Indigenous cultures. The prosaic descriptions are many and colourful, moving and poetic, and they also soon began to provide detailed accounts of the state of Indigenous living conditions. A shared feature in these first accounts, in prints and in paintings, is the descriptions of a harsh and barren landscape frozen in time; static and unchangeable, except for the swift sways in weather. Fanciful images of indigenous communities in isolated settlements, without any contact with "western civilization" came to shape the following generations perception of the Arctic.

While the Arctic gradually became a place where new maps and lines drawn became a reality to outsiders, it was also, and had been for thousands of years, the homeland for many and diverse groups of indigenous peoples, surviving in at times unforgiving conditions while developing vibrant cultures, including strong traditions for adapting to changing conditions. The storytelling is today highly valued by itself and for its importance as a complement to science. And northern art has become more vibrant than ever as shown in some chapters here integrating the changes occurring on so many grounds.

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It is time for new images of the region to be established. With this book we wish these new images and the new knowledge constantly being produced to reach a broad audience as the interested general public as well as policy-makers and scientific colleagues.

Keywords New images • Indigenous peoples • Sustainability • Climate change • Global impacts

1.1 Introduction

Permanence is but a word of degrees, (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Circles 1841)

The pristine quality of the icy, and very sparsely inhabited Arctic was unmatched outside of the region (apart from the South Pole), and was therefore also largely perceived as unchangeable by the early explorers. Fritjof Nansen (1861–1930) described it as the "eternal death-stillness of the ice", a place where man met and tested himself (and his limitations) against precisely the unchangeable nature.

Outside of the region, the image of a static Arctic nature prevailed for a long time. In fact, during the 1960s and 1970s the discussions about a new Ice Age were higher on the political and scientific agendas than discussions of an ice-free Arctic. They were not focused so much on the physical changes but at least as far as the Arctic states were concerned, more on achieving a cost-effective development in local Arctic communities.

Little attention was devoted to the environmental and human impacts of change, and the whole concept of an Arctic without sea ice and glaciers would have been considered obscure, if mentioned or discussed at all. The idea of an Arctic capable of rapid non-linear response to changing environmental and climatic forcing mechanisms such as for instance carbon dioxide, and methane, was unheard of even in the scientific community.

Today the picture of the Arctic is very different. Few other places on Earth are experiencing the magnitude and rate of natural change seen in the Arctic, and with such profound implications for biophysical and human systems – increasingly pressing against the region's ecological boundaries. This change is intimately linked to the *zero degree isotherm*, which determines whether snow melts or not. Appreciating the difference between an ice and snow covered surface and a bare surface, be that ocean or ground, is tangible and easy to grasp. Recognizing that this difference is bound to have implications for animals, people, Arctic flora and for the local climate does not require a scientific investigation or yet another expedition—it's there in the open, starring back at us; a rapidly changing Arctic on pathways to the new Arctic.

For anyone visiting or making their way through the Arctic today, it is clear that it has become a region that is culturally, politically, demographically and economically diverse. Today settlements are ranging from small, predominantly indigenous communities, to large industrial cities. At the same time, the Arctic and its people

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are facing drastic change. Given the close dependence on natural resources, the aggregated impacts of globalization and climate change is already being felt and are, by most scientific standards, expected to have immediate and significant consequences for Arctic populations and local communities, but also well into the distant future.

The situation and landscape today is far removed from that encountered by early explorers such as Knud Rasmussen (1879–1933) and Vilhjálmur Stefansson (1879–1962); it is one of Arctic societies and cultures faced with many stressors and complex challenges with the combined effects of environmental processes, cultural developments, and economic and political changes. From a distant past of isolation, the Arctic today has been transformed into a global player with its once distant and economically unviable resources of the far north being linked to global markets more closely and intricately than ever before, and thus playing an increasingly important role in the world economy. They constitute a new and widening frontier of investment and industrialization firmly placed in a global context.

Today, environmental conditions such as snow cover, sea ice, and river runoff or wave erosion affect nearly all aspects of life from housing, infrastructure, to hunting and fishing. Global change impacts are experienced on community infrastructure, food and water-security, human health, culture and tradition, market and non-market economic activity. These impacts have far reaching consequences for many of the Arctic region's narrowly resource-based local and regional economies, impacting on employment opportunities, distribution of income and wealth, and the allocation of resources. The image of an isolated and economically disconnected society is no longer valid.

In this book we attempt to move the Arctic discourse on global change impacts forward by bringing together a variety of Arctic scholars, each with their own scientific background, approach, and understanding of the Arctic, and with their views on what drives change, why, and how, in an effort to create a composite picture where insights from different disciplines can be intertwined and woven together. Looking at just one explanatory variable, when one is seeking to adequately explain observed change, tends to imply that one treats change in a vacuum. In seeking answers to questions of Arctic change, today's scientific community understands the importance of working together across disciplines and with communities and local inhabitants to further enhance our understanding of the complexity of change.

In the Arctic, given the complex interactions of multiple-stressors, a strategy of studying change in a vacuum quickly becomes susceptible to erroneous conclusions. The rate of change in environmental and socio-economic systems is outpacing our current knowledge and understanding of these systems, and therefore an interdisciplinary and integrated approach must be a prerequisite if a more complete picture of Arctic change is to be constructed. It is this gap in knowledge, and the desire for integrated approach as the basic framework for understanding the new Arctic that has become a central piece of inspiration for this book. Transforming this new knowledge into a toolbox that can be put to good use is a different, though necessary, step forward.

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It is our impression that the scientific community today recognizes the importance of complex interrelationships among major drivers of change, but still find it hard to practically move forward, especially in truly cross-disciplinary ways.

Often immediate challenges stem from many physical, biological or social agents. Each process or phenomenon should therefore be viewed from as many competing and complementary perspectives as possible. The scientific community and others today view the integration of knowledge across scientific fields and boundaries as critical, although for different reasons.

The holistic perspectives of Indigenous cultures suggest that efforts to understand, manage, and respond to change in Arctic systems stand to benefit from the integration and complementarily of a variety of approaches, including scientific and traditional. In fact, recognizing the value of traditional ecological knowledge may contribute to enhanced resilience and adaptive capacity in local communities as demonstrated by a growing body of scientific literature. Also the Arctic today cannot be fully understood without placing it in a global context, and the level of global connectivity is changing rapidly, as for example evidenced by increased shipping or downstream geopolitical consequences of prospecting for onshore and offshore minerals.

How we handle scientific information about a natural system that is undergoing profound and far-reaching changes, and subsequently address the question of Arctic change, has become a key political question to which no single nation or region alone currently holds an adequate answer. The reasons why are manifold, but one important aspect specifically relates to the uncertainty that follows *en suit* any prediction about present as well as future changes in the Arctic.

This 'encompassing uncertainty' is often referred to in relation to so-called 'tipping points': the identification of critical thresholds when the climate system, or components within it, becomes irreversible. The complexity of tipping-points, how to, if at all, identify precursors remains an open, partly unresolved question within climate science. It is interesting to note that what is commonly referred to as 'irreversible change' is made irreversible precisely because of anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gasses, whereas the defined change in the natural systems itself is in fact similar to how systems have changed in the past.

A huge push forward in our understanding of change in the Arctic region happened during the large-scale scientific effort of the International Polar Year (IPY) 2007–2008 when resources were pooled together by numerous countries in order to define and address questions across a wide variety of scientific disciplines. Coordinated, international projects brought scientists from different countries together and through this encouraging effort important observations were made and insight into fundamental processes gained. A new generation of polar researchers was trained and educated through challenging field operations, expeditions, and community studies. This raised a new awareness among polar researchers that biophysical and societal change is taking place faster than ever before and at rates beyond what anyone expected, with the sum of these changes altering fundamentally the way we perceive and think about the Arctic.

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The climate system has no preference for whatever state it is in. Whether sea ice extent is ten or two million square meters makes no difference. It is what it is. It is always in motion. And regardless of what we do with respect to mitigation of greenhouse gases, the Arctic will continue to change because the carbon cycle will ensure that the anthropogenic contribution will have an impact in all foreseeable future. What's more, it is predicted that the largest change is yet to come – climate surprises stored and stocked in the polar pipelines. While current and projected climate change cast dark clouds over Arctic futures, there are, however, also opportunities associated with the climate trends projected for the next 50–100 years which can help local communities in prospering.

It is our willingness or rather capacity to adapt, which in the long run will decide whether the consequences of on-going and anticipated climate change will be largely positive or negative. And here the aspect of time must be considered. Activities with expected short-term beneficial impacts might have long-term negative consequences, such as resource development activities that may generate short-term economic benefits, but at long-term costs to the environment and local communities.

The impacts of climate change on all aspects of our lives add an additional challenge in decision-making. Climate change will have bearing on water-security, food-security, and also indirectly on infectious disease patterns, poverty, governance, and gender, and not just sea ice and phytoplankton production.

There are many different people living in the Arctic, and about one-tenth belongs to an Indigenous group. Indigenous peoples tend to live closer to and depend more on nature than other Arctic residents, and therefore may be more exposed to the consequences of climate change than others. This fact has implications for various rights and developments in political and economic autonomy in connection with the use and ownership of land and resources. This also raises the importance of outcomes in the changing balance of powers among different groups and stakeholders in the Arctic. The human rights side of the change occurring in the Arctic are of uttermost importance as many argue that the peoples of the Arctic have the right to live the lives they are accustomed to, and which many chose, and this without having to pay for the consequences of the lifestyles people live in countries in other parts of the world – such as consequences that are increasingly visible in the Arctic with the growing amounts of CO_2 in the soils, the seas and the air.

To most observers it seems self-evident that the expansion and conduct of new and existing industries in the Arctic must be adapted to the pristine and fragile environment that is already there, but what does sustainability mean in a natural system that is rapidly changing? Can it even be parameterized in a meaningful ways?

The increased acidification of the Arctic waters following from unabated CO_2 emissions will reset the premises for how these waters should be managed not least because more acid waters will impact the very foundations for life, primary production, fish stocks and so forth. Similarly, an enhanced hydrological cycle will impact the temporal and spatial distribution of snow and rain, which is of imperative importance to everything from reindeer herding to tourism to hydropower. Another aspect, which poses an equally serious threat to careful and sustainable management, is the

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spectre of nonlinearity, which in due course might allow for tipping points to be reached. How do we add the peculiarity called tipping points into a well-organised and carefully thought out management plan?

Although there is no easy answer to this and other questions raised here, it is becoming increasingly clear – and can be read both along and between the lines in many of the texts in this book – that sustainability needs to be considered carefully and re-approached with the insight afforded by scientific disciplines that may not always mix perfectly. A dynamic and adaptable approach will be pivotal for a sustainability scheme that will strive for success in the time to come. Another and often overlooked aspect, is that the Arctic due to its sheer size and at times inaccessibility, is best served by transnational programs that allows for data gathering, surveys and monitoring to take place across national boundaries. Following up on the IPY momentum created between 2007 and 2008, such as the Nordforsk program on Arctic change, will be critical if the science community at large can tie down uncertainties and increase the robustness of new knowledge.

As this book will show, climate change has – in combination with an unprecedented industrial push – become a remarkable scientific catalyst for new ideas, research projects and collaborative efforts that have transcended disciplinary boundaries.

In the wake of this new and stimulating wave of scientific interests a new generation of young researchers are stepping onto the stage, and many of whom perhaps have or will develop a broader and more holistic take on the Arctic. This is promising.

We welcome this renewed interest in the Arctic, and we feel confident that this book with all its rich and profound intellectual insights will ignite new thoughts and novel perspectives on change in the Arctic. Admittedly so we even hope the scientific snapshots that make up this book can lead to ways forward, and solutions that can help secure a sustainable future for the new Arctic. As we seek to demonstrate with this volume, the Arctic is not a piece of a large and composite puzzle, but rather it is an integrated part of an ever more connected World. Having moved far since the initial footsteps of the early explorers in the Arctic, today we must acknowledge that Arctic change matters to all of us – in the Arctic and far beyond.

Chapter 2 Indigenous Peoples in the New Arctic

Gail Fondahl, Viktoriya Filippova, and Liza Mack

Abstract This chapter provides a brief introduction to the Indigenous peoples of the Arctic by focusing on three issues of crucial importance to these peoples: self-governance, rights to land and resources, and traditional knowledge. We first note the diversity of Indigenous groups populating the Arctic, and discuss 'who is Indigenous', in terms of recognition/definition employed by the various Arctic states. We then consider recent developments in each of the three areas of focus, illustrating our broad-spectrum characterizations with concrete examples drawn mainly from North America and the Russian North. We underscore advancements in Indigenous self-governance, land and resource rights and the recognition of traditional knowledge in the Arctic but also acknowledge the uneven landscape of how these are realized across the Circumpolar North. The chapter is co-authored by three scholars, two of whom are Indigenous Northerners.

Keywords Indigenous • Self-governance • Land rights • Traditional knowledge

As other chapters in this book recount, the Arctic is undergoing substantial and accelerating change. When we hear the terms 'Arctic' and 'change', our thoughts often turn quickly to climate change, which has become the principal narrative regarding the Arctic. Yet cultural, social, political, and economic changes are also greatly affecting the lives of the Arctic's residents and especially its Indigenous peoples. Indeed many Indigenous northerners will note that their ancestors have for millennia adapted to what has always been a dynamic environment, and that it is other external drivers of change, such as resource development and

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