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Arctic communities have been increasingly impacted by climate change. Melting ice, thawing permafrost, strong storms and other harsh weather events are affecting indigenous communities of the Arctic. The movement of more people to the Arctic region, related with new economic opportunities in the region, will undoubtedly impact the world of indigenous people, their livelihoods and cultures. This paper tries to figure out potential impact of climate change on the mobility of indigenous people in Arctic. Will indigenous people be forced to migrate somewhere due to climate change effects? Will governments decide to relocate indigenous communities of the Arctic?

Arctic communities have been increasingly impacted by climate change. Melting ice, thawing permafrost, strong storms and other harsh weather events are affecting indigenous communities of the Arctic. On the other hand, climate change, namely warming, is also opening new opportunities such as commercial and transport initiatives, new sea routes, new mining and drilling plans, tourism development in the region. The movement of more people to the Arctic region will undoubtedly impact the world of indigenous people, their livelihoods and cultures. This paper tries to figure out potential impact of climate change on the mobility of indigenous people in Arctic. Will Arctic peoples be forced to migrate somewhere due to climate change impacts? Will governments decide to relocate indigenous communities of the Arctic because of environmental changes?

According to Nuttall (2009), «change is a fact of life for Arctic peoples generally, and they have a rich history of culturally adaptive responses to deal with it.» Migration has been used by Arctic peoples as an adaptive response for a long time. Arctic climate is changing rapidly. To what extent this fact will push Arctic people to migrate? Will they migrate voluntarily or will be displaced or relocated by governments?

Terminology

Arctic states include eight countries: Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the United States.

The United Nations (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, «Who are indigenous peoples?») has developed a modern understanding of the term «indigenous» based on the following:

- self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member;
- historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies;
- strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- distinct social, economic or political systems;
- distinct language, culture and beliefs;
- form non-dominant groups of society;
- resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities

(https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf)

According to the UN, there are approximately 370 million indigenous peoples occupying 20 per cent of the earth's territory. Indigenous communities represent as many as 5,000 different indigenous cultures. Therefore, indigenous peoples account for most of the world's

cultural diversity, although they constitute a numerical minority (United Nations, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, «Environment»).

Mobility means the movement of people (voluntary or forced, temporary or permanent, international or internal). In international law, displacement implies coercion while migration is mostly voluntary. The UN Commission on Human Rights (1998) defines internally displaced persons (IDPs) as:

...persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.

Climate change and mobility

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 1990) reported that climate change might impact significantly human migration. According to this report, about 150 million people can be displaced by climate related events (floods and storms, droughts, wildfires, desertification, melting ice, sea level rise). Currently, it is generally recognized and accepted that climate change can impact people's lives in the way that can result in large-scale migration. How large this scale will be will depend on the harshness of climate change and frequency of extreme weather events which in turn will depend on the successes or failures of climate mitigation measures (measures adopted to reduce greenhouse gases emission).

In December 2010, the UN Framework for Climate Change Cooperation (UNFCCC) for the first time indicated mobility as an adaptive strategy. The outcome document of the meeting in Copenhagen (COP-16), the Conference Parties (UN, 2010), states the following on the migration, displacement and relocation of people as a result of climate impacts:

14. Invites all Parties to enhance action on adaptation under the Cancun Adaptation Framework, taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, and specific national and regional development priorities, objectives and circumstances, by undertaking, inter alia, the following:

(...)

(f) Measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation with regard to climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate, at national, regional and international levels.

Thus, the UNFCCC for the first time recognized movement of people as potential adaptation measures to climate change.

Since the ancient time, people migrated to other places in response to different events, i.e. migration was used as an adaptive strategy. When people face dangerous situations, which even threaten their lives, they move to other places. Often they move from rural areas to urban settings within their national boundaries. However, sometimes people chose to move to other countries. In other cases, people are forced to move

because their homes are destroyed, conflicts has become so dangerous that threaten people's lives, land has become uninhabitable. As it was noted above, migration is mostly voluntary, while displacement implies coercion. However, distinction between migration and displacements is not so clear. For example, people decide to migrate because of severe impacts of climate change. On the first glance, it is a voluntary decision, but on the other hand, people would not migrate if climate were favourable. Thus, it looks not so much «voluntary».

It widely recognized that poor countries will disproportionately negatively affected by climate change. Moreover, poor and marginalized communities in poor countries will suffer the most. The Center for International Human Rights Policy has noted, «populations whose rights are poorly protected are likely to be less well-equipped to understand or prepare for climate change effects; less able to lobby effectively for government or international action; and more likely to lack the resources needed to adapt to expected alterations of their environmental and economic situation» (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2008). Furthermore, as studies of environmental change suggests, particularly indigenous people as well as children, women, disabled are likely to be disproportionately affected by climate change.

Indigenous communities and climate

The first UN body involved with matters concerning human rights of indigenous peoples was The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations. In 2000, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was established to consider a wide range of issues affecting indigenous peoples. In 2001, a special procedure was established in the form of a UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples. In 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration recognizes the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, the right to maintain their cultural traditions, the right to not be relocated without their participation, the right to participate in decisions which affect them as well as the right to own, use, develop and control lands they have historically occupied, and other rights (Ferris, 2013).

These significant achievements on the international level were the results of advocacy work for many years. Climate change problems have been issues about which indigenous people have been concerned for some reasons:

- indigenous people have close cultural and spiritual relationships with their natural environment;
- indigenous people depend on the environment for livelihood and survival;
- indigenous people have long experience of adapting to climate change.

Climate change and people's movement in the Arctic take place within broader context of indigenous rights. Arctic indigenous peoples have often spoke up about

their issues and been supported by international indigenous communities. The global movement for indigenous peoples rights has supported many small groups struggling for their rights and traditions.

Arctic peoples and climate

The population of the Arctic region is about 4 million, of whom 400000 are indigenous people. Indigenous people living in circumpolar areas are characterized by small, separated communities. Arctic countries give different definitions of «indigenusness» and differently categorize indigenous groups. For example, in Russia, legislature defines indigenous peoples based on the population size: indigenous status can be awarded if the population size of the ethnic group does not exceed 50000.

Arctic communities have traditionally used mobility in response to seasonal changes and to support livelihoods (fishing, hunting, etc.). Like other nomadic peoples, Arctic peoples have experienced increasing pressures to settle down in villages instead of moving constantly. The sedentarization measure was implemented by governments to provide public services to their citizens. It is much easier to provide services such as education, health care when people are settled down (and not moving continuously). Establishment of schools, health care services, stores can increase sedentarization (Sejersen, 2009).

From the mid 1980s, Arctic peoples began to report about climate change and its effects on their livelihoods (Baird, 2008). Arctic communities have faced different challenges which have impacted their culture, livelihoods and survival. For example, the patterns of repeated thawing and freezing form a layer of ice under snow which makes it difficult for reindeer to forage. For many indigenous groups of the Arctic, reindeer-herding is more than a livelihood, it is related with many aspects of their culture. If climate change impacts reindeer-herding, there will be changes in culture of Arctic peoples (Baird, 2008). Climate change also impacts fishing, hunting activities in the Arctic. As well, infrastructure (for example, foundation of buildings, roads) is also affected by melting permafrost.

Indigenous peoples have intimate relationships with the environment, furthermore, their worldview is based on these relationships. But when these human-environment relationships change because of climate impacts, the core of the indigenous identity is affected (Ferris, 2013).

There is no doubt that climate change causes disadvantages to indigenous peoples in terms of their traditional way of life. «[O]n the other hand, an Arctic region that is more accessible to lucrative activities such as the exploitation of hydrocarbons, fish and minerals will necessarily attract increased governmental attention, and this could benefit the citizens of the region.» (Ebinger and Zambetakis, 2009).

Indigenous peoples have different views on the new opportunities. For example, some Inuit groups in Greenland see some opportunities for independence. The warming gives opportunities to develop traditional economic activities and stimulate economic growth as

well as decrease dependence from Danish subsidies (Nuttall, 2009). Increased access to the Arctic region makes it possible to develop there tourism and trade. But economic development cannot compensate for the negative effects of climate change on health and well-being of Arctic indigenous peoples (Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 2009, p. 23).

In some Arctic places, for example, in Alaska, indigenous communities are looking for new places to relocate since they cannot survive in their current settlements. According to Bronen (2013), some communities have tried to move their infrastructure to higher grounds, while other communities have no options but to relocate their whole communities.

It should be noted that the relationship between climate change and migration is not so much straightforward that «warming means people will have to move because their livelihoods are destroyed» (Ferris, 2013). In many cases, climate change is one of the factors contributing to the decision to migrate. But still there are questions about how policies are adopted concerning the conditions in which indigenous peoples live.

Policy

In the Arctic countries (as well as in other countries), indigenous peoples have pressed their governments to recognize their rights and support their climate adaptation efforts. In the Arctic discussions, climate debates are often connected with such issues as indigenous rights, decentralization, participation and self-determination (Sejersen, 2009). Questions regarding land, land ownership and mineral resources rights have often been quite difficult. Furthermore, in light of new economic possibilities, related with resource extraction in the Arctic, discussions on land claims take on particular importance for indigenous populations.

It is known in history how some governments have often ignored indigenous interests, pursued assimilation programs and pushed displacement of indigenous communities. These situations have led to the need of advocacy on the part of indigenous peoples. As an example of such advocacy, one can mention the negotiation of the Reindeer Management Act of 1976 in Norway which was aimed at protection of reindeer pasture areas from encroachment from other industries and provision of welfare and income for Saami reindeer herders. The new Reindeer Act of 1978 implemented co-management between the Saami and government. The Saami in Norway are provided by subsidies to support their traditional livelihoods. The Reindeer Management Act of 2007 broadened the focus on co-management.

In Finland, under the law (unlike in Sweden and Norway), governmental authorities «are obliged to negotiate with the Saami Parliament on all important decisions that either directly or indirectly affect the Saami's status as an indigenous people (Josefsen, 2010).

In the Scandinavian Arctic, Saami Parliaments sit in each of the Scandinavian countries. All of them try to give Saami people a more prominent voice in Saami

issues. At the regional level, representatives of the three parliaments, together with an observer from the Russian Saami, constitute a Saami Parliamentary Council which promotes Saami rights and interests, seeks to increase Saami identity as well as attain recognition for the Saami as a nation (Ferris, 2013).

In Greenland, situation is different. In 2008, Greenland had voted for increased self-government. In 2009, it obtained self-government agreement and was recognized as a separate entity from Denmark. Greenland is dependent from financial support of Danish government. Greenland has vast mineral deposits, mining of which was unsuccessful because of cold climate. With warming, mining is becoming possible, which means that Greenlandic government will get new sources of revenue. Therefore, Greenland and its indigenous people are getting new opportunities for economic development (Nuttall, 2009).

On international level, there are several bodies which provide forums for discussions about Arctic affairs, including issues concerning indigenous people and climate change. The Arctic Council is an international forum intended to foster cooperation on different issues. The Arctic Council has eight member states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and US). It also includes the category of Permanent Participant which was created to provide active participation of indigenous representatives as well as consultation with them within the Arctic Council (Ferris, 2013).

In 2009, the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change was held in Anchorage, Alaska. Over 400 indigenous people from 80 countries have participated in the Summit (Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, 2009). The Anchorage declaration has emphasized that indigenous peoples have made the minimal contribution to climate change and already practice low carbon lifestyles but at the same time indigenous communities are the most affected and most vulnerable. (The Anchorage Declaration, 24 April 2009, p. 12).

The issue of the participation of indigenous peoples in national and international bodies which are dealing with climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies is very important. Recommendations of indigenous groups should be communicated in a format that impact decisions-making.

Conclusion

Climate change is likely to impact Arctic peoples in many ways. They may relocate voluntarily or involuntarily because their habitats became non-habitable. In some cases, it will become difficult to keep their traditional livelihoods. In other cases, patterns of fishing and hunting may change. As well, traditional transportation can undergo changes because of changes in the ice.

Arctic peoples are likely be affected by new realities of economic development. With «longer ice-free periods now available to explore for hydrocarbons, a new scramble for oil and gas could occur» especially if oil and gas prices increase and new technologies

develop (Ebinger and Zambetakis, 2009). In this relation, Arctic indigenous communities should engage in all discussions. Article 26 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples enshrines the right of indigenous people to own, develop, use, and control the territories they have traditionally occupied.

To make participation of indigenous groups in political discussions more meaningful, support must be provided to build their capacity, enable them to meet with each other and formulate common position. Policy-makers should be open to understanding indigenous peoples' worldview, their values and culture. ■

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Изменение климата и народы Арктики

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Арктические сообщества все больше страдают от изменения климата. Таяние льда, таяние вечной мерзлоты, сильные штормы и другие суровые погодные явления оказывают серьезное влияние на социальную и экономическую жизнь коренных народов Арктики. Перемещение большого числа людей в арктический регион, связанное с новыми экономическими возможностями в данном регионе, несомненно, повлияет на мир коренных народов, их средства к существованию и культуру. В данной статье делается попытка выяснить возможное влияние изменения климата на мобильность коренных народов в Арктике. Будут ли коренные жители вынуждены куда-то мигрировать из-за последствий изменения климата? Решат ли правительства переселить коренные народы Арктики в другие места?
