

Sealing the Future

Exegesis

Analyzing the impact of Western Influences on Inuit Seal
Hunting and Food Sovereignty

Prang Ittikul

A dissertation submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Gastronomy

Primary Supervisor: Tracy Berno

Secondary Supervisor: Tof Eklund

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
Introduction.....	1
Research question	3
How to read.....	4
Graphic Novel Overview	5
Author’s Positioning	7
Methodology.....	9
Ontology and Epistemology	9
Data collection and presentation.....	10
Analysis Procedures.....	12
Table 1: Mix of reflexive and comics-based thematic analysis	13
Figure 1 Example of using Excel to map and organize the data visually	14
Figure 2 Example of an early art concept sketches.....	15
Ethics	17
Cover.....	18
Dedication.....	19
Prologue	21
Informative Tidbit for Prologue	24
Chapter 1	25
Informative Tidbit for Chapter 1	27
Chapter 2.....	30
Informative Tidbit for Chapter 2.....	33
Chapter 3	38
Informative Tidbit for Chapter 3.....	41
Chapter 4.....	42

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 4.....	48
Chapter 5.....	51
Informative Tidbit for Chapter 5.....	58
Chapter 6.....	61
Informative Tidbit for Chapter 6.....	66
Epilogue.....	68
Informative Tidbit for Epilogue.....	69
Conclusion.....	70
Closing Thoughts.....	73
References.....	74

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Name: Prang Ittikul

Date: 15 August 2024

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The successful completion of this dissertation owes many thanks to numerous individuals.

First and foremost, I extend my deepest gratitude to my parents, Kadekaew and Prakun Ittikul, for their unwavering support, both financially and emotionally, throughout my Master's degree and my entire life. Thank you for listening to my hours-long phone calls about topics that held no interest for you, yet you still tried your hardest to give me ideas and thoughts about them. Your sacrifices, dedication, and steadfast belief in me have been more than any daughter could ask for. Any success I achieve is a testament to the freedom and encouragement you have both given me, not only as your child but as an individual. Thank you for your care, patience, and love, regardless of the paths I have chosen.

I am profoundly grateful to my partner, Sirirat Janthanit, who, despite having a full-time job and her own challenges, brainstormed with me throughout my Master's journey and cheered me up whenever I felt like a failure. Your brightness and warmth made every obstacle seem surmountable, and your reassuring love helped me recover quickly from every setback. Your ability to make me smile, even during the toughest times, and your endless patience with my late-night study sessions have been invaluable. This journey would not have been as meaningful without you by my side.

To my friends around the world, I appreciate every conversation and meal we shared during this time. Your companionship made my life feel normal amid the tight deadlines I was struggling to meet.

To my Giapo team, endless thanks for giving me the time off I needed and for covering all my shifts while I was away. I couldn't have asked for a better team to work with and be a part of.

My heartfelt thanks go to my AUT instructors, Robert Richardson, Christine Hall, and my secondary supervisor, Tof Eklund, for their academic consultations, feedback, and kind words about my work, even when I doubted myself. Your support significantly enhanced the quality of my academic journey.

To my proofreader, Pam Oliver, and my Pinklime Printroom Coordinator hero, Heather Sanson, I apologize for any delays and inconveniences I may have caused. Thank you for your understanding and willingness to continue working with me.

Lastly, I extend a massive thank you to my primary supervisor, Tracy Berno. Without your guidance, I wouldn't have known that this topic was even doable. Your dedication inspires me to strive harder to make you proud. You opened my world to the importance of food sovereignty, and your passion for the subject has ignited a desire in me to contribute more to this vital cause. I deeply appreciate your prompt responses to emails and texts, your unwavering support, and your insightful advice. I can wholeheartedly say that there is no one else I would have wanted as my primary supervisor.

Introduction

Food is political (Kennedy, 2020). From the very act of selecting what we consume or abstain from, we become participants in the complex world of food politics. This notion is encapsulated in a quote often attributed to political scientist Henry Kissinger: “The one who governs the food supply governs the people” (Now This Originals, 2015). Regardless of this quote’s source, it underscores the reality that food, like water, wields substantial influence as a negotiation tool for both individuals and governments, even though the United Nations recognizes water access as a fundamental human right (Dugard et al., 2020; Lima & Costantino, 2021). It reveals that food politics is not solely a global phenomenon, but varies from one country to another, shaped by local factors such as climate, markets, social conditions, and leadership (Paarlberg, 2013; Schanbacher, 2010).

The politics of food raises the issue of how the concept of food sovereignty has evolved, with a strong focus on ensuring that people have the right to access healthy, culturally appropriate and sustainable food, while promoting local and family farmer-driven agriculture (Andree et al., 2014). Food sovereignty advocates for a shift away from the traditional food security approach towards a more comprehensive and rights-based framework, which addresses global food justice and the challenges faced by small-scale farmers and marginalized communities (Canfield, 2022; Ritchie, 2016).

Food security, as defined by the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), involves ensuring all people have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food (Lima & Costantino, 2021). This notion is often framed in terms of the availability, accessibility and utilization of food. However, despite its noble intentions, food security as currently conceptualized often fails to address the underlying issues of inequality and systemic exploitation. The emphasis on economic efficiency

and market-oriented agricultural production can undermine local food systems and cultures (Schanbacher, 2010, p. 13), marginalizing small-scale farmers and prioritizing corporate interests over community needs. This approach frequently results in a dependency on imported foods and external inputs, which can exacerbate food insecurity during global market fluctuations or crises (Schanbacher, 2010). The food sovereignty model supports small-scale, sustainable farming practices that are in harmony with local cultures and ecosystems (Bauder & Mueller, 2023). By focusing on community needs and promoting cooperation over competition, food sovereignty aims to preserve biodiversity and ensure long-term food security through self-sufficiency, environmental stewardship and social justice (Andree et al., 2014; Schanbacher, 2010).

For Indigenous communities, including the Inuit, the concept of food sovereignty transcends the fundamental right to sustenance; it extends to the shaping of their cultural identity, the cultivation of a sense of belonging, and the preservation of their bond with their native lands (Bauder & Mueller, 2023; Payne et al., 2022). Unlike the farming-focused approach to food sovereignty, the Inuit model emphasizes the right to hunt and gather from the land and sea. The Inuit's approach to food sovereignty includes a deep respect for the environment. Sustainable hunting practices ensure that animal populations are not depleted, maintaining ecological balance. This stewardship is crucial in the Arctic, where ecosystems are fragile and heavily impacted by climate change (Forde & Maude 2011). Globally, most seal hunters are of Inuit descent, with seal hunting being deeply ingrained in their culture and economic structure (Borrows & Schwartz, 2020). Seals bear substantial cultural and economic significance (Levy, 2020; Ofor, 2020), with every part of the animal being used for sustenance and traditional purposes, as documented in films such as *Angry Inuk* (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Sakakibara, 2018) and *Canada's Seal Hunt Controversy: The Politics of Food* (Munchies, 2017). Nonetheless, the European Union's

prohibition on commercial seal products has resulted in severe economic repercussions (Krämer, 2012; Sellheim, 2015a), impacting the sociocultural dimensions of Inuit existence (Linzey, 2006). Actions taken by animal rights activists and European Union, driven by moral justifications concerning seal welfare (Sellheim, 2016), have exacerbated the existing tribulations of the Inuit, leading to increased impoverishment and food insecurity, particularly among the younger generation (Kral, 2019; Loughheed, 2010). The European Union ban has been selected as a focal point for the main story line of the graphic novel due to its status as the primary factor influencing Inuit food sovereignty.

Research question

Developing the research question based on the theme of the dissertation is crucial, as the question needs to be specific, clear, and act as a guiding principle for the entire study, helping to narrow down the research scope, design, and methodology (Flick, 2018, pp. 22-27). However, it should also be open to refinement as the study progresses and more information is gathered (Flick, 2018, p. 15).

Research Topic: Analyzing the impact of Western influences on Inuit seal hunting and food sovereignty

Research Question: How have Western animal rights campaigns and international bans on seal products influenced the Inuit seal hunt practices and their food sovereignty in Nunavut?

How to read

This dissertation consists of two primary components – a graphic novel and an exegesis. To optimize the reader’s understanding and engagement, the following approach to reading it is recommended.

1. **Begin with the Graphic Novel:** Start by reading the graphic novel, which serves as the practical and creative embodiment of the research. This narrative-driven format is designed to immerse the reader in the subject matter, providing a vivid and accessible portrayal of the themes and issues being explored. The graphic novel employs visual storytelling, together with narrative, to convey complex ideas in an engaging and relatable manner.
2. **Proceed to the Exegesis:** After reading the graphic novel, turn to the exegesis. This component offers a detailed academic analysis and reflection on the work presented in the graphic novel. The exegesis elucidates the theoretical framework, methodological approach and scholarly significance of the research. It provides a deeper understanding of the context, rationale and implications of the creative work, linking it to broader academic discourses and contributions. For a more comprehensive understanding, it is recommended to read the exegesis while revisiting the graphic novel, aligning each chapter with the corresponding section in the exegesis. This simultaneous reading allows for a deeper and more integrated understanding of the research, enhancing the overall experience.

Additionally, each chapter of the graphic novel includes an ‘Informative Tidbit’ at the end of the Exegesis Chapter. These tidbits provide further information and context on various aspects touched upon within the narrative. They are intended to enrich the reader’s knowledge and

highlight notable details that enhance the understanding of the subject matter. For more information on specific topics discussed in these tidbits, please refer to the marked page numbers at the end of the Exegesis chapter. These references are provided to encourage further exploration and underscore the scholarly depth of the dissertation.

By following this sequence, readers will first experience the immediate impact and narrative flow of the graphic novel, and then enhance their comprehension through the analytical depth provided by the exegesis. This integrated approach ensures that the creative and scholarly elements of the dissertation are appreciated in tandem, highlighting their complementary roles in advancing academic research.

Graphic Novel Overview

Prologue: The prologue explores the ethical and emotional dimensions of depicting suffering in visual media and introducing the theme of the graphic novel.

Chapter 1: Chapter 1 introduces the main protagonist in the novel to an initial experience in Iqaluit, highlighting his surprise at the modern lifestyle of the Inuit, which contrasts with his romanticized expectations. It also introduces him to traditional Inuit food, specifically raw seal meat, emphasizing the cultural differences and setting the stage for his deeper understanding and appreciation of Inuit culture.

Chapter 2: Chapter 2 highlights the protagonist's experience with seal hunting methods and underscores the importance of seals as a vital food source and a cornerstone of Inuit spiritual beliefs and customary knowledge about hunting, way of life and the environment.

Chapter 3: In this chapter, the protagonist experiences shock and moral conflict when encountering protests against the seal hunt, marked by graphic images and accusations of cruelty. The narrative examines the clash between the protesters' views and the Inuit perspective, challenging the protagonist's understanding of the issue.

Chapter 4: In Chapter 4, the protagonist discovers the difference between the commercial seal hunt, targeted by protestors, and the Inuit hunt. It reveals how animal rights groups fail to differentiate between the two and often overlook the cultural and economic significance of seal hunting for the Inuit. This chapter also delves into the timeline of the EU (European Union) ban on seal products, highlighting its impact on Inuit communities.

Chapter 5: Chapter 5 introduces the theme of food sovereignty within Inuit culture, emphasizing the importance of traditional foods in their survival, cultural identity, and community harmony. It also explores the struggles faced by the Inuit since colonization, which disrupted their nomadic way of life and asserted Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic, leading to generational trauma and increased suicide rates.

Chapter 6: The final chapter underscores the importance of traditional food and cultural preservation for the Inuit, while also addressing public perceptions of the seal hunt. It reflects on the protagonist's evolving understanding and vision for the potential future of Inuit seal hunting practice.

Epilogue: The Epilogue serves as the conclusion of the graphic novel, where the protagonist reflects on the issue of Inuit seal hunting, drawing upon the insights and experiences accumulated throughout the journey depicted in all preceding chapters.

Author's Positioning

Growing up in Thailand during the 1990s and 2000s, where political instability and a complex interplay between social justice and frequent military coups are common, I have always been aware of issues pertaining to fairness and justice. For me, the concept of justice is not merely an abstract notion; it is deeply personal, shaped by the experiences and observations of my homeland's turbulent political landscape. Upon first encountering the controversy surrounding the seal hunt, I approached it with a naïve and misguided sense of moral superiority. I condemned the practice without a thorough understanding of the cultural, economic and social nuances involved. I spoke out vehemently against the seal hunt, aligning myself with what I believed to be a just cause.

However, my perspective shifted after watching the film *Angry Inuk (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016)*, which illuminated the Inuit way of life, their traditions, and the vital role the seal hunt plays in their communities. This understanding made me realize that my initial stance was not only uninformed but also unjust. I felt a sense of shame for my previous ignorance and the ease with which I had judged such a complex and vital aspect of a community's way of life in such a simplistic manner. In an effort to amend my past mistake, I have since sought ways to contribute to spreading awareness about this issue. Consequently, when the opportunity arose to choose a dissertation topic, I selected this subject to delve deeper into the complexities surrounding the seal hunt and to advocate for a more informed and respectful discourse on the matter.

Jonathan Hart defines cultural appropriation as the act wherein “members of one culture take the cultural practices of another as if their own, or as if the right of possession should not be questioned or contested” (Borrows & McNeil, 2022, p. 57). In the graphic novel, I have made a deliberate and conscientious decision to follow the narrative through the eyes of the protagonist,

who serves as an outsider to the Inuit culture. This narrative choice allows me to explore themes of adaptation, cultural interaction and the impact of Western influences without presuming to speak for the Inuit people or appropriating their lived experiences. It acknowledges the limitations of my own positionality and the ethical considerations inherent in representing cultures other than my own. By situating the narrative from the vantage point of an outsider, this methodological decision is not only a reflection of my respect for the Inuit culture, but also a recognition of the broader academic responsibility to avoid the appropriation of indigenous voices and experiences.

This graphic novel aims to take an ethical approach to adaptation, emphasizing the importance of thoughtful and careful consideration of the source material. This approach includes being aware of the potential impact of the adaptation on the legacy of Inuit history and striving to contribute value to the conversation about it (Nicklas & Lindner, 2012). All characters and events in this publication, other than those clearly in the public domain, are fictitious and any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental.

Methodology

Ontology and Epistemology

The ontology component of a research framework involves an in-depth examination of the nature of being and reality, achieved through the analysis of the concept of existence (Jacquette, 2002). Applying critical ontology and epistemology within an interpretive framework allows qualitative research to reveal dominant narratives, ideologies, and power structures in food politics (Scotland, 2012; Westphal, 2020). By adopting a critical ontological perspective, this research critically examined the construction of knowledge and identities, challenging the traditional Western rationalist and instrumentalist paradigms that often dominate educational discourse (Smith, 2012). This approach advocates for a more insightful understanding of the sociocultural and political influences on knowledge construction and pedagogical practices (Henderson, 2018). The selection of critical epistemology for the present study was particularly fitting as it focuses on knowledge that is subjective, shaped by personal experiences and the societal context. This knowledge is not neutral or universally true, prompting people to continually question their beliefs, values, and where they stand in relation to others.

Data collection and presentation

This research uses a creative research method through the creation of a graphic novel. In 2015, Nick Sousanis produced the first-ever graphic dissertation, as a PhD thesis (Sousanis, 2015). The objective behind his use of a graphic novel was to give equal importance to both words and visuals when conveying ideas and insights, thereby enhancing reader comprehension (Leavy, 2015). This method aligns with a qualitative research framework, recognizing that individuals often perceive and recollect their experiences in a visual manner, underscoring the significance of visual representations in deriving meaning from their interactions with the world (Banks, 2018).

In addition to analyzing articles and books related to the topic, the data analysis focused on examining numerous testimonies from Inuit individuals, as found in documentaries and books. This approach ensures that the narrative is predominantly conveyed from the perspective of the Inuit, honouring their voices and experiences. To be consistent with this theme, this research also incorporated decolonizing methodologies that prioritize the perspectives, experiences, and needs of colonized or Indigenous peoples. Its goal was to challenge and dismantle the enduring legacies of colonialism within the research process, promoting self-determination, social justice, and cultural revitalization for indigenous communities (Smith, 2012). This approach aligns with Svend Brinkmann's philosophical perspectives in qualitative research, which question traditional notions of humanity and what constitutes knowledge. It highlights the importance of considering diverse philosophical perspectives in qualitative research to adopt more inclusive and integrative approaches (Brinkmann, 2017).

Utilizing qualitative content analysis involves a comprehensive examination of both the surface-level implications and the underlying themes and concepts embedded within the sources. Unlike

quantitative approaches reliant on numerical data, this method is centered on grasping the content's essence. Consequently, this research does not seek to develop new theories, but rather to provide descriptive and summarized accounts of the source material, all while acknowledging the potential influence of the researcher's perspective (Drisko & Maschi, 2015).

The graphic novel serves as a visual medium to explore implications and underlying themes, allowing the research to convey the essence of the subject material in a more accessible and engaging manner. Visual art is a rich source of information about various aspects of social life, including culture, identity, politics, as well as economics. It plays a crucial role in representing and reshaping group identities and challenging stereotypical thinking. Visual art can function as a tool for recognition of the familiar and defamiliarization, prompting people to see things from new perspectives, which is essential for social change. It can transcend racist and sexist ideologies, offering a powerful platform for social and political resistance. Researchers have developed various methodologies to incorporate visual art into their studies, and it has become increasingly important in a visually saturated society.

Visual art serves as a medium for documenting and analyzing diverse facets of social life, making it an indispensable tool for those working from feminist, postcolonial and other critical perspectives. These visual research practices can unveil subjugated perspectives and intervene in historically oppressive processes of representation. Visual culture is a contested space where ideas of normalcy and otherness are constructed, and methods like 'visual cultural archaeology' can help uncover the socially constructed narratives that underlie these images, shedding light on the interlocking nature of many social identities and relations of dominance and oppression. As people live in a visual culture, understanding and harnessing the power of visual art is crucial for fostering social progress and challenging prevailing norms and values (Leavy, 2015).

Utilizing art-based research methods holds significant merit, particularly in the context of marginalized communities, such as older adults and individuals with disabilities. This approach offers several advantages. First and foremost, art-based research provides an invaluable platform for marginalized groups to express their thoughts and emotions in a manner that may be more accessible and resonant than conventional verbal communication. It not only facilitates the articulation of their experiences but also empowers them by enhancing self-expression and self-esteem. Furthermore, by challenging stereotypes and stigma and fostering critical reflection, this method has the potential to effectuate social change and promote a more inclusive and empathetic society (Huss & Bos, 2022).

Analysis Procedures

Braun and Clarke's reflexive thematic analysis (TA) provides a structured yet flexible method for identifying themes or patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2021). This approach encompasses six main phases. Given that this dissertation also employed a visual art approach, additional processes had to be taken into consideration. By integrating the six phases of reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021, pp. 35-36) with the principles of comics-based thematic analysis (Wolgemuth et al., 2024), the combined methodology can be outlined as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Mix of reflexive and comics-based thematic analysis

Procedure Step	Process
1. Gather and become familiar with the data	Collect qualitative data on Inuit seal hunting, including oral histories from Inuit communities, interviews with hunters, and relevant transcripts of discussions on the cultural, environmental and economic aspects of seal hunting.
2. Code the data systematically and select key moments	Go through the data and assign codes to identified key themes. Review the data to identify significant moments that encapsulate themes relevant to the dissertation. Ensure that your codes capture both the explicit content and the underlying meanings.
3. Craft a script and generate potential themes	Write a script describing the images and words for each panel, similar to a film screenplay. This script distills the data into manageable segments while preserving the essence of the selected moments. Use Excel to map out all the data to help visualize and organize the groupings.
4. Choose images and frames	Make creative decisions on visual representations for each moment. Select images that convey essential information about the people, locations, actions, and sensory experiences involved. Decide on framing, angles, and perspectives that highlight the emotional and cultural depth of these moments.
5. Integrate Words and Images	Combine text and visuals to create a cohesive narrative. Use direct quotes from interviews and descriptive narration to enhance storytelling. Select visual cues like sound effects and motion lines that complement the textual elements, ensuring a balanced presentation.
6. Develop flow and review themes	Design the flow of the graphic novel to guide readers' eyes naturally across panels and pages. Use elements such as line thickness, width, framing and balloon placements to draw attention to critical details. Throughout the creation process, continuously revisit the data to ensure that the themes accurately reflect the information.
7. Define themes	Allow the early sketching and scripting process to define what each theme encompasses. Choose drawings that encapsulate the essence of each theme.
8. Draw and write	Draw the final illustration and write the exegesis simultaneously, ensuring accuracy, clarity, and alignment with the themes. This step enhances the trustworthiness and validity of the analysis.

Figure 1 Example of using Excel to map and organize the data visually

Note. Figure 1 illustrates the process of organizing themes using Excel, with color-coding and charting to enhance visualization and facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the data's thematic distribution.

Year	Type	Title	Reference Type	Chapter	Status
2020	Colonization	Beyond Neglect: Building Colonial Rule in the Kitikmeot, 1916	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2008	Animal Rights Protest	Bloody slaughter on the ice	Electronic Article	3	Concluded
1995	Colonization	Broken Promises: The High Arctic Relocation	Film or Broadcast	5	Film
2017	Inuit Seal Hunt	Canada's Dark Secret Featured Documentaries	Social Media	5	Youtube
2018	Commercial Seal Hunt	Challenging Anti-Sealing Campaigns in the Arctic	Journal Article	Intro	Ethic
2020	Colonization	Colonialism and Animality : Anti-Colonial Perspectives in Criti	Book	5	Concluded
2010	Pathway 3	Comics, Manga, and Graphic Novels : A History of Graphic Narr	Book	Prologue	Concluded
2023	Food Sovereignty	Coming full circle: a critical review of the historical changes in	Book	5	Concluded
2021	Colonization	Community-led food resilience:A decolonizing autographic lea	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2015	Method	Content Analysis	Book	Method	Ethic
2022	Pathway 3	Cultural Appropriation in Fashion and Entertainment	Book	1	Concluded
2012	Colonization	Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peopl	Book	Method	Concluded
2013	Traditional Diet	Eating habits of a population undergoing a rapid dietary transi	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2020	Traditional Diet	Eligible food and non-food items: What Nutrition North Canad	Journal Article	6	Concluded
2024	Colonization	Embodiment of discrimination: a cross-sectional study of thre	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2018	Method	Enactive Processes, Critical Ontology, and the Digitization of E	Journal Article	Method	Ethic
2017	Colonization	Entangled sovereignties: The Osage Nation's interconnections	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2024	Colonization	Ethnic discrimination and mental health in the Sámi populatio	Journal Article	5	Concluded
2020	Commercial Seal Hunt	Inuit Seal Hunting in Canada : Emerging Narratives in an Old Co	Journal Article	4	Concluded
2018	EU Ban	An 'Angry Inuk' defends the seal hunt, again	Electronic Article	4	Concluded
2011	Inuit Seal Hunt	Feeding the family during times of stress: experience and dete	Journal Article	Intro	Concluded
2023	EU Ban	Animal protection as animal welfare and anti-cruelty: a genea	Journal Article	4	Concluded
2020	EU Ban	Inuit exemption to European Union's seal product ban is ineff	Electronic Article	4	Concluded
2016	Traditional Diet	Fighting for food in Canada's North	Journal Article	6	Concluded
2017	EU Ban	Seismic testing for oil harmful to marine life	Journal Article	4	Concluded
2013	EU Ban	The EU ban on the import of seal products and the WTO regula	Journal Article	4	Concluded
2014	EU Ban	THE EU'S SEAL PRODUCTS BAN TESTS THE WTO'S PUBLIC MORAL	Journal Article	4	Concluded
2010	Animal Rights Protest	Fisheries minister gets pie in face	Electronic Article	3	Concluded
2021	Food Politic	Animals in International Law	Book	4	Concluded
2019	Food Sovereignty	Food As a Human Right : Combatting Global Hunger and Forgin	Book	5	Concluded
2020	Food Sovereignty	Food Insecurity : A Matter of Justice, Sovereignty, and Survival	Book	5	Concluded

Figure 2 Example of an early art concept sketches

Note. Figure 2 shows illustrations of early sketches and character designs to explore the appropriate mood and tone for the chosen graphic novel art style, fitting the theme of the dissertation.



The analysis revealed key themes, beginning with an exploration of the Inuit seal hunt that challenges outdated stereotypes by emphasizing the contemporary reliance of the Inuit on seals for sustenance and economic stability. This theme highlights the significant role of traditional seal hunting practices in the Inuit way of life and identity.

Additionally, the dissertation examines the impact of animal rights groups and the EU ban on seal products, demonstrating how the conflation of different types of hunts has led to harmful consequences for the Inuit, including economic instability and threats to their food sovereignty. It also addresses the historical context of colonization and its lasting impacts on the Inuit.

Furthermore, the importance of a traditional diet and food sovereignty is discussed, showcasing the Inuit's advocacy for their rights through initiatives that promote food sovereignty and cultural preservation.

After thoroughly developing the key themes, the process moved to the final drawing phase of the graphic novel. This phase involved transitioning from the initial character design and art style exploration sketches to creating the complete visual illustrations. The narrative began to take shape visually, bringing the story to life with detailed artwork. This visual development occurred simultaneously with the writing of the exegesis, ensuring a cohesive integration of visual and textual elements throughout the project.

In this dissertation, it is crucial to recognize that the graphic novel included is not just an additional element but is, in fact, a central medium for presenting the research findings. The graphic novel serves as the 'results' section of this research, effectively communicating the outcomes and analyses through its illustrations and narrative. By utilizing a graphic novel, the research findings are conveyed in a more accessible and engaging manner, allowing for a broader audience to connect with the material. The combination of visual storytelling and narrative techniques provides a unique approach to presenting complex information, making it easier for readers to grasp the key insights and conclusions of the study. The aim was to not only present the results but to do so in a way that resonates with readers, fostering a deeper connection and understanding of the subject matter.

Ethics

This study exclusively utilized secondary data collection, eliminating the need for ethical approval since it did not involve the collection of primary data. However, in its research pursuits, it strictly abided to Auckland University of Technology's Research Code of Conduct, approaching all activities with diligence and care (AUT, 2019). While the study did not conduct its own surveys or interviews, it relied on information derived from secondary sources, particularly interviews with numerous individuals featured in a documentary film. Reporting other people's views had to be undertaken with utmost respect. Ensuring that the analyses remain free from any cultural appropriation undertones was paramount.

Given that this research adopted an outsider's perspective, employing the etic approach rather than the emic one, its primary objective was to honour and support the sustainability of indigenous cultures. This acknowledgment explicitly recognized the pivotal role and inherent responsibilities of authors advocating from a position of privilege, crucial for maintaining ethical standards and integrity in scholarly work that intersects with complex social dynamics and power imbalances (Borrows & McNeil, 2022).

Kovach underscores the importance of integrating Indigenous knowledge into academia despite the associated challenges and risks, emphasizing its far-reaching implications for Indigenous communities and society as a whole (Kovach, 2021). In such instances, the research was committed to preserving the integrity and equitable representation of individuals in its analysis.

Cover

The cover illustration for the graphic novel presents a striking split view, depicting an Inuit hunter observing a seal's breath hole. The central visual motif is the seal's breath hole, evoking the iconic imagery found in the movie posters for *Jaws* (Spielberg, 1975) and *Big Miracle* (Kwapis, 2012). Unlike those references, this illustration emphasizes the potent visual of a seal's exhalation beneath the frozen surface. The design strategically aligns with the dissertation's title, 'Sealing the Future', symbolizing the Inuit way of life and survival. The closed seal's breathing hole metaphorically represents the existential threat posed by the European Union's ban on seal products, which functions as a figurative 'seal' on their future. The minimalist aesthetic of the design is carefully crafted to balance elements, engaging the viewer's interest without overwhelming them with excessive detail, thereby inviting deeper contemplation of the dissertation's primary focus (Bermejo-Berros et al., 2022).

Cover early sketch



Dedication

‘To all those who have suffered and borne the burden of survival’.

The dedication sets the scene for the graphic novel by illustrating the ‘inuksuk’, traditional stone structures historically used by the Inuit for navigation and hunting. Just as the inuksuk has historically guided and supported the Inuit people, it is my hope that this work will contribute to the understanding and sharing of Inuit truths and stories, while also applauding their strength, courage and endurance. The inuksuk, which became prominent with the creation of Nunavut in 1999 and is featured on the territorial flag of Nunavut, represents Inuit pride and identity (Graburn, 2004). Therefore, illustrating it in the dedication symbolizes the guiding spirit and cultural resilience I aimed to capture throughout the narrative.

This study holds significant value to me because it underscores the necessity of promoting awareness regarding the potential unintended repercussions that can affect vulnerable communities. Renowned photographer W. Eugene Smith, who documented the tragedy of Minamata disease, famously stated in his book, “To cause awareness is our only strength” (Smith, 1975, p. 8). His work captured the devastating effects of mercury poisoning caused by the Chisso Corporation’s deliberate and unlawful release of toxic methylmercury into Minamata Bay, Japan (Paul, 2021). Smith’s powerful and empathetic images, including the iconic photograph ‘Tomoko and mother in the bath’, brought global attention to the crisis and humanized the suffering of the victims (Horisaki-Christens, 2022). Smith’s work played a crucial role in raising awareness about the environmental and health consequences of corporate negligence, ultimately contributing to the ongoing fight for accountability and change. Just as Smith sought to foster awareness through his photography, the present research endeavours to advocate for a more holistic understanding of how policies established by specific groups can

impact indigenous livelihoods. It is my hope that this research can make a modest contribution to the broader effort of raising awareness for Inuit food sovereignty.

Inukshuk early sketch



Prologue

Being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience. Susan Sontag (Sontag, 2004, p. 13)

The prologue begins with a blank white page, which gradually transitions to a trail of blood. This blood is depicted as originating from an Inuit hunter dragging seals. Throughout the graphic novel, the use of vivid color is deliberately restrained, with its only prominent application being to represent suffering. Beginning with a viscerally graphic image serves not merely as a dramatic entrance but as foundational context. This approach underscores the intense emotional resonance that the topic of anti-sealing holds within public consciousness, which will be further elaborated in Chapters 3 and 4.

Susan Sontag's exploration of the representation of suffering in visual media highlights the complex interplay between the depiction of real-life calamities and the emotional and ethical responses these depictions evoke. The portrayal of suffering in contemporary cinema has sparked significant debate, exemplified by recent films such as *Oppenheimer* (Nolan, 2023), which faced criticism for its lack of emphasis on the bomb's effects, *Killers of the Flower Moon* (Scorsese, 2023), addressing the suffering of Native Americans, and *The Zone of Interest* (Glazer, 2023), focusing on Jewish suffering. Conversely, *Schindler's List* (Spielberg, 1993) has been critiqued for an overtly dramatized portrayal of suffering, raising questions about the balance between honouring victims and exploiting their suffering for entertainment purposes. This ongoing discourse revolves around the ethical implications of depicting suffering – whether such depictions serve to honour victims, or if they risk commodifying their pain. The context, intention and reception of these representations are crucial factors in this debate.

The use of violence, similar to its portrayal in cinema, has been a prominent theme in graphic novels (Round et al., 2022, p. 59) Whether direct or symbolic, it has been a significant tool for artists to challenge and confront societal and political issues in their graphic narratives (Bart & Stephen, 2019, p. 246). Artists like Ad Reinhardt and Saul Steinberg used their work to critique political ideologies and regimes, employing satire and parody to resist fascism and societal norms (Petersen, 2010). Sontag (2004) argues against the creation and consumption of depictions of real suffering solely for entertainment. She posits that while fictional horror films are designed for excitement and entertainment, replicating the suffering of real people for similar purposes is ethically problematic. This distinction emphasizes the need for a respectful and purposeful approach to portraying real suffering, avoiding its use merely as a spectacle (Sontag, 2004).

The strategic employment of graphic imagery has been a cornerstone in the arsenal of animal rights organizations for several decades, meticulously crafted to create a potent anti-sealing sentiment (Kelly, 2010). The seal hunt has been condemned as a prime example of cruelty and inhumanity (PETA, 2008c). This portrayal is vividly illustrated through harrowing images of seals subjected to barbaric clubbing and the subsequent desecration of their bodies for the production of luxury goods, frequently misrepresented as involving the animals being skinned alive (PETA, 2008b, 2017). The anti-sealing war has spanned the globe, from Berlin to San Francisco, executing a multifaceted campaign of public relations and political stratagem (Munchies, 2017). This campaign has consistently employed images of dead seals on blood-stained ice to evoke strong emotional responses from the public (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Backlund, 2016). The movement to protect seals has transcended mere activism to become a war for the hearts and minds of animal rights groups living in southern regions of the world (Wenzel, 1991). Hence, the selection of a gore-laden image as the prelude to this graphic novel is not a mere

appeal to sensationalism, but a meticulously considered strategy to encapsulate the deep emotional and ethical tumult that the anti-sealing debate engenders. It sets the stage for a nuanced exploration of the intricate dynamics at play, inviting a deeper contemplation of the ethical, environmental and socio-political ramifications associated with the seal hunt.

Such images cannot be more than an invitation to pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine the rationalizations for mass suffering offered by established powers. Who caused what the picture shows? Who is responsible? Is it excusable? Was it inevitable? Is there some state of affairs which we have accepted up to now that ought to be challenged? All this, with the understanding that moral indignation, like compassion, cannot dictate a course of action.
Susan Sontag (Sontag, 2004, p. 117)

Despite the ethical complexities, Sontag acknowledges the value in depicting suffering. Beyond honouring victims, such depictions serve to perpetuate memory and raise awareness. As she articulates, “Photographs of the suffering and martyrdom of a people are more than reminders of death, of failure, of victimization. They invoke the miracle of survival” (Sontag, 2004, p. 87).

Violence in graphic novels holds a significant place in contemporary culture, aiding young readers in managing their emotions and gaining a deeper understanding of society. Children possess the ability to differentiate between fantasy and reality, utilizing these narratives to cope with personal anxieties, gain a sense of empowerment, and learn to navigate conflicts constructively. As societal perspectives on violence have evolved, graphic novels have experienced a resurgence in popularity by incorporating more mature themes, thereby attracting a diverse audience of readers across age groups (Bart & Stephen, 2019).

This perspective underscores the importance of remembering and learning from past suffering to avoid future atrocities and foster a more empathetic society. Encountering depictions of suffering confronts us with uncomfortable realities, prompting reflections on the causes and

responsibilities behind these events. This reflective process, although it cannot dictate specific actions, serves as a vital step towards greater awareness and moral responsibility in the face of human suffering.

Informative Tidbit for Prologue

Page 13 - 15: Introducing the theme

In order to set the stage for the exploration of a pressing research question – ‘How have Western animal rights campaigns and international bans on seal products influenced Inuit seal hunt practices and food sovereignty in Nunavut?’ – the narrative introduces the aeroplane as a potent symbol of external interference. This motif is not chosen at random, but is imbued with deep metaphorical value, representing the encroachment of Western technology and thought. It stands as a stark emblem of modernity that contrasts with, and challenges, the traditional ways of the Inuit people. This thematic exploration aims to dissect the complexities and ramifications of such external influences on indigenous practices, particularly in the context of global environmental politics and cultural survival. Through this scholarly inquiry, the dissertation seeks to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the intersection between indigenous rights and international environmental policies (McLean, 2020).

Chapter 1

Certainly, a lot of people have watched old NFB (National Film Board of Canada) documentaries and have a very romanticized view of Inuit life but we live in homes that are heated like everybody else. It's just the food that we eat on a day-to-day basis is still very different from southern Canada. Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (Munchies, 2017)

Chapter 1 of the graphic novel aims to shed light on the contemporary Inuit way of life, dispelling outdated stereotypes and emphasizing the rich, dynamic culture that continues to thrive amid modernization. The Inuit community received limited recognition and acknowledgment from the broader global population (Payne et al., 2022). Many outside observers were unaware that, much like populations around the world, the Inuit reside in heated homes and utilize automobiles (Munchies, 2017). Furthermore, the nomenclature used to refer to this group has been subject to misunderstanding (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016). Commonly, the term Eskimos linked historically to the image of igloo dwellings has been more prevalent than the proper designation Inuit (Payne et al., 2022, p. 56). This term originates from the Inuktitut language, translating to 'the people', with the singular 'Inuk' meaning 'a person'. Historically, in English and French discourse, the terms 'Eskimo' and 'Esquimau' were utilized to refer to this Indigenous group in Canada (Patrick, 2003, p. 2). The origin of the word 'Eskimo' is debated; it may derive from an Algonkian word meaning 'he eats it raw' (Creery, 1994; Patrick, 2003). By the 1970s, amidst rising concerns over the external and possibly derogatory implications of the term 'Eskimo', the Inuit in Canada began advocating for 'Inuit' as the official term for their community. This movement was part of a broader effort to reclaim indigenous identity and autonomy over self-designation (Patrick, 2003, p. 2).

Many people may believe that the Inuit primarily hunt fish as their main source of food.

However, it is less commonly known that they consume an animal-rich diet, composed of marine

and terrestrial mammals, of which the most common is seals. They also utilize the fat from Arctic mammals, converting it into nutrient-rich oil to preserve meat for several months (Fr Laugrand, 2014; Pelly, 2001). However, in contemporary settings, such as the Inuit community residing in Arviat along the Hudson Bay coast, traditional practices have shifted significantly due to modern amenities (Wenzel, 1991, p. 164). Today, homes in Arviat are equipped with timber frames, electricity, deep freezers, and specialized cold rooms, allowing for the mechanical freezing of hunted caribou. Therefore, the assertion no longer holds true that learning traditional preservation techniques remains a vital aspect of youth education in these communities. That view perpetuates a static, romanticized view of Arctic life that does not accurately reflect current realities (Piercey, 2007).

The prevalent misperception and idealization of Inuit sustenance as predominantly fish-centric rather than emphasizing seals can be contextualized through the lens of cultural appropriation, notably within the domain of gastronomy and culinary practices. The culinary heritage of the Inuit, akin to that of numerous indigenous communities, has frequently encountered oversimplification or distortion within mainstream cultural narratives. In the book *Cultural Appropriation in Fashion and Entertainment*, Lisa Heldke's (2001) notion of 'cultural food colonialism' offers valuable insights into this phenomenon (Kawamura & Jong, 2022, p. 35). Heldke elucidates her personal journey as someone who sought out exotic culinary fare from diverse cultural backgrounds to enrich her gastronomic experiences. This inclination to explore and appropriate the culinary customs of 'othered' cultures echoes the tenets of Western colonial ideologies, wherein the unfamiliar and remote are ascribed heightened value. Within this framework, the protagonist's fixation on fish in the portrayal of Inuit cuisine could be construed as a reductionist simplification motivated by a fascination for the exotic (Kawamura & Jong,

2022). Overall, the misapprehension and idealization of the Inuit way of life, extending to their dietary practices, can be construed as a manifestation of cultural appropriation and culinary colonialism, whereby indigenous culinary traditions are commodified and streamlined for mainstream consumption, often to the detriment of accuracy and cultural integrity.

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 1

Page 22: Coffee is liquid gold

On the first panel of page 22, the protagonist, speaking to himself, remarks on the presence of coffee, noting it as an unexpected element in the Arctic. It is revealed that coffee is, in fact, quite popular within the Inuit community. During the latter half of the 19th century, the Inuit populace residing along the northwest coast of Greenland experienced a notable surge in their consumption of coffee, reflective of the burgeoning influence of Western culture in their lives (Sider, 2014). This heightened affinity for the coffee precipitated a discernible dependence, endangering their traditional way of life. Evidenced by the exchange of vital resources such as sealskins, essential for attire and maritime pursuits, for access to coffee, this historical phenomenon underscores the impact of cultural interchange. It also underscores the unforeseen consequences of embracing Western indulgences within the unique environmental and societal dynamics of the Arctic region (Sider, 2014, p. 21).

Page 17, 24: Ulu

The illustration on the cover page of this chapter features an ‘ulu’ knife, which also appears on page 24, where it is used to cut meat for the protagonist. The Ulu knife is a significant tool within Inuit and Iñupiat cultures (Munchies, 2021; Powell, 2019). The Ulu knife, characterized by its crescent-shaped design, has traditionally been associated with women within these cultural contexts. Functionally, the Ulu serves as a versatile implement employed by Inuit women for various tasks, including the skinning and cleaning of animals, food preparation, and hair cutting. Particularly notable is its prevalent use in activities such as flensing and butchering seals (Kambic, 2015; Munchies, 2017). The precision and efficacy of the Ulu render it indispensable for expeditiously processing animal hides and extracting meat, thus contributing significantly to the sustenance of Inuit households. Moreover, the utility of the Ulu extends beyond culinary purposes, to include slicing and preparing a diverse array of materials, as the Ulu is also useful for tasks such as chopping moss, reeds and tobacco (Burelle, 2020).

In addition, the cultural significance of the Ulu transcends its utilitarian functions, serving as a symbol deeply interwoven with the identities and societal roles of Inuit and Iñupiat women (Kambic, 2015).

Traditionally, the bestowal of an Ulu upon each girl marks a significant milestone in her developmental journey, symbolizing her transition into adulthood and the assumption of domestic responsibilities.

Originally conceived as utilitarian implements integrated into transcontinental trading networks, the Ulu later assumed emblematic status as a symbol of gendered labour within United States contexts, diverging from their customary roles (Burelle, 2020; Kambic, 2015; Powell, 2019).

Page 24 - 26: He eats it raw

To be offered seal is a great honour in Iqaluit. Adam Gollner (Munchies, 2017)

From pages 24 to 26 in the graphic novel, the illustrations show the protagonist being offered raw seal meat. These depictions are meant to show that, in the dietary practices of Inuit hunters, there is a prevalent inclination towards the consumption of raw seal meat. Notably, these hunters frequently participate in consuming the brain and select internal organs of the seal immediately following the act of killing, as vividly depicted in the introductory scenes of the film *Angry Inuk* by Mikidjuk (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016) and exemplified by the documented experiences of Natsiq and Joshua Kango in the documentary 'Reaching Remote INUIT Tribes in the Arctic Documentary' (Life That Matters, 2020). This establishes the significance of seal meat, setting the foundation for the following chapters in the novel.

Chapter 2

But the importance of the seal to Inuit extends far beyond its economic value. The seal lies at the foundation of traditional Inuit society, the complex of material, social, spiritual, and cultural values that define for many Inuit who they are. (Pelly, 2001, p. 114)

To fully comprehend the Inuit way of life, it is essential to first grasp the profound relationship between the Inuit and seals. This relationship underscores the extensive knowledge the Inuit possess and its relevance in contemporary debates about wildlife management and cultural practices. In Inuit culture, there exists a deep interconnectedness between humans and animals. Inuit people regard animals not merely as creatures but as partners who provide vital resources such as food, clothing, and other essentials. For the Inuit, animals are important to their survival and identity. Though hunting animals, the Inuit maintain a deep respect for them, viewing them as an essential part of their cultural and personal identity. Moreover, the practice of separating different types of meat, such as terrestrial and marine game, is essential to their spiritual beliefs. For instance, caribou and seal meats must be kept distinct, necessitating a change of clothing when transitioning from handling one type to another. Additionally, eating rituals are observed, which include specific cleanliness practices and garment changes prior to consuming different kinds of meat. These practices not only demonstrate a sophisticated approach to food safety but also highlight the complexity and depth of their food culture (Fr Laugrand, 2014).

Beyond the fundamental concept of survival, the Inuit people hold a significant belief in the soul or spirit of both animals and humans. In their cosmology, both humans and animals possess a soul, known as ‘tarniq’ (pronounced tar-nik), which underpins their customs and rules regarding the treatment of animals and their spirits (Sellheim, 2018, p. 56; Sinclair, 2019, p. 27). It is believed that if an animal is killed and treated with respect, its spirit will be welcomed back and

will allow itself to be killed again in a future life. Conversely, if animals are not respected, their souls are thought to transform into vengeful spirits. A crucial rule within this belief system is to avoid causing unnecessary suffering to animals. For instance, hunters are expected to kill a wounded animal swiftly to minimize its suffering (Fr Laugrand, 2014). Furthermore, it is strictly prohibited to mock or mistreat animals in any manner. The Inuit's hunting practices are deeply rooted in a profound respect for seals, which are viewed as equals within the ecosystem (Pelly, 2001, p. 28). This respect is embodied in rituals such as offering the first catch to the spirits and giving the hunted seal a drink of water as an expression of gratitude and reverence (Pelly, 2001, pp. 55-56). The spiritual connection between the Inuit and seals is further emphasized through legends and myths, such as that of Nuliajuk, underscoring the seal's paramount significance in Inuit life (Olsthoorn, 2017; Qitsualik-Tinsley & Qitsualik-Tinsley, 2015).

Seal hunting is fraught with challenges and uncertainties, primarily due to the ever-changing Arctic environment (Earth Stories, 2023). Subtle variations, such as a shadow passing over an ice hole, can significantly influence hunting success. Seasonal changes further complicate hunting conditions, necessitating the same skills of patience, endurance and extensive knowledge across different times of the year. In the context of winter, the Inuit employ a traditional method known as 'aglu' hunting (Fr Laugrand, 2014). This practice involves patiently waiting at the seal's breathing holes in the ice (Pelly, 2001, pp. 53-54). This method, predominantly utilized from November to February, combines time-honoured techniques with modern equipment such as snowmobiles. Preparation for winter hunting involves meticulous weather checks and ensuring the readiness of their gear. Seal hunting during winter is not merely a means of sustenance but also a pivotal activity for cultural preservation and community bonding.

Spring seal hunting involves adjusting techniques in response to changing weather patterns and seal behaviors (Wenzel, 1991). Hunters seek out seal pups on the ice and modify their strategies as the ice begins to melt. This practice underscores the hunters' connection with nature and their cultural heritage, reflecting a deep-seated respect and understanding of their environment.

During summer and autumn, the Inuit transition to open-water seal hunting as the ice recedes (Wenzel, 1991, pp. 89-94). This period necessitates the use of boats and emphasizes the importance of silence and patience for successful hunting. Despite the inherent challenges and occasional lack of success, open-water hunting remains vital for both sustenance and cultural continuity (Focus Asia, 2016; Wenzel, 1991).

The dietary preferences and hunting practices of the Inuit population have historically prioritized the ringed seal over the harp seal. Ethnographic evidence from the mid-19th century, such as accounts from the region of Kitsissuarsuit, illustrates this preference clearly. According to oral histories, during the 1840s, Inuit hunters predominantly targeted ringed seals, which were abundant to the extent that they could visually dominate the seascape. Harp seals, in contrast, were captured less frequently. Traditional hunting methods, including the use of harpoons from kayaks, further highlight the adaptability and skills developed specifically for ringed seal hunting (Pelly, 2001, p. 98).

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 2

Page 32, 37 - 38: Passing down knowledge

This chapter demonstrates that the seal hunt was an extended process, characterized by numerous stops before the hunters reached the hunting grounds. Each pause for caloric intake provided an opportunity for experienced senior hunters to transmit knowledge and engage in storytelling with the younger generation. These narratives often included folklore akin to bedtime stories (Life That Matters, 2020). Oral history plays a pivotal role in transmitting knowledge, traditions and narratives within Inuit communities. Through the spoken word, elders impart vital information about hunting techniques, environmental stewardship and social customs to younger generations, ensuring that these essential skills and values endure. The act of hunting together, in particular, epitomizes this intergenerational transfer of knowledge, fostering a deep sense of connection and continuity within the community (Pelly, 2001; SLICE, 2022). In the practice of seal hunting, customary knowledge plays a crucial role. One key method involves recognizing and exposing seal breathing holes, particularly in areas with significant snowdrift accumulation. Hunters target these breathing holes, as the presence of a large snow buildup, especially on the lee side of pressure ridges, often indicates the potential presence of a seal pup in a den. Walking towards the sun facilitates the identification of these dens, as the sunken snow surface, marked by a slight depression and traces of frost, differentiates itself from the surrounding snow. Upon locating such a depression, hunters typically rush to the spot and jump to break through the den, thereby accessing the seal pup (Pelly, 2001, p. 86). Therefore, passing down knowledge during seal hunting is essential, as it ensures the preservation of critical hunting techniques and ecological knowledge, thereby facilitating successful hunts and food security. It also fortifies the cultural identity of the community by maintaining traditional practices and beliefs. Furthermore, it fosters intergenerational bonds, as the younger generation learns to respect and value the wisdom of their elders.

Page 35 - 38: Symbolism of the Aglu

The illustration on pages 35 to 38 depicts the protagonist's thoughts on locating and waiting by the seal's breathing hole to catch a seal. This portrayal reflects my initial perceptions of the ordeal, which evolved significantly as the research process progressed. Initially, I regarded the process as somewhat monotonous and merely a practice in endurance. The aglu, or seal breathing hole, central to the 'mauliqpuq' (breathing hole) hunting method, transcends its practical role in Inuit subsistence, to embody spiritual and cultural significance. This seal breathing hole symbolizes the interconnection between the earthly and spiritual realms, serving as a medium through which the Inuit engage with metaphysical elements of their environment (Fr Laugrand, 2014; Pelly, 2001). Such practices highlight the integration of ecological wisdom with spiritual beliefs, underscoring the resilience of Inuit cultural identity in the face of environmental and social changes. From an academic perspective, the mauliqpuq exemplifies how indigenous knowledge systems contribute to a broader understanding of sustainable human-environment interactions, framed within spiritual and cultural dimensions (Fr Laugrand, 2014).

Page 31 - 32: Ski-Doo

Pages 31 and 32 of this chapter in the novel revisit the topic of dog sledding, which was initially introduced in Chapter 1, page 15. The widespread availability of snowmobiles after 1970 significantly transformed hunting practices among the Innu (Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010). Many residents invested in snowmobiles to reach hunting territories located approximately 150 kilometers or more inland. By 1971, the number of dogs available for work and breeding in the area had dwindled to just 185 (Wenzel, 1991, p. 115). Despite their utility, these early snowmobiles were notoriously prone to mechanical failures (Corporation, 2005). Such breakdowns could result in the loss of an entire hunting season, exacerbating the challenges faced by the Innu community (Fr Laugrand, 2014; Sider, 2014). The underlying significance of the shift from sled dogs to snowmobiles is explained in full detail in Chapter 5.

Page 37: Tariuq, the Sea

The illustration of Nuliajuk on page 37 is directly inspired by the book ‘Stories of Survival and Revenge: From Inuit Folklore’ (Qitsualik-Tinsley & Qitsualik-Tinsley, 2015, p. 19). Although the story is briefly covered in the graphic novel, the complete version is provided here for comprehensive information. The mythology surrounding the creation of seals holds significance in Inuit culture. One of the most revered stories is that of Nuliajuk (Qitsualik-Tinsley & Qitsualik-Tinsley, 2015; Ramussen, 2020). According to this legend, in the distant past, a young and beautiful woman resided in the Arctic. Despite numerous suitors, she remained single until a handsome stranger convinced her to marry him. However, upon arriving at his land across the sea, she discovered she had been deceived; her husband was actually a sea bird, and his dwelling was a mere hovel. In response to her plight, her father came to rescue her, and they attempted to escape across the sea. Enraged, the sea bird husband summoned a violent storm. Fearing for his life, the father threw his daughter overboard. As she clung to the side of the boat, he cut off her fingers to release her grip. The severed fingers transformed into various marine creatures – ringed seals from the first knuckles, bearded seals from the second joints, and other digits became walruses and whales. Thus, the seals were created, and the young woman became Nuliajuk, also known by many other names. She is venerated as the Mother of the Sea, residing at the ocean’s depths and governing all marine animals (Fr Laugrand, 2014; Pelly, 2001). This narrative underscores how seals have always played a crucial role in the life of the Inuit people. Seals are deeply respected, forming the foundation of the Inuit’s relationship with their environment and highlighting their broader cultural and spiritual ethos.

Page 34 - 35: Seal Utilization

There was nothing wasted. If it was a male adult bearded seal, it was used as a kayak skin, or it was marinated [to eat, as a delicacy], or they would scrape the fur off to make boot soles or ropes. It was very useful. We used the muscles of the bearded seal's flipper bones for sinew. Ringed seal skin was scraped in the summer to make clothing, and things like mitts, inner boots. It has many uses too. Annie Eetook (Pelly, 2001, p. 88)

The illustration of the seal's dressing on page 34 is directly inspired by the book 'Nirjutit Imaani: Cooking with Fish and Seal' (Nunavut Arctic College, 2021, pp. 58-61). The Inuit demonstrate an exceptional skill in utilizing the entirety of the seal, ensuring that no part of the animal is wasted. Upon capturing a seal, Inuit hunters employ precise and traditional techniques to efficiently butcher the animal (Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2016b). The meat is meticulously divided, with each portion intended either for immediate consumption or preservation through methods such as drying or fermenting, thus ensuring food security during periods of scarcity (Nunavut Arctic College, 2021; Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2016a). Proper skinning of the seal is crucial, as it reduces the amount of work required during the preparation stage and increases the value of the pelt. The Inuit engaged in the trade of seal skins, which were crucial for clothing and the construction of kayaks, a vital tool for hunting both food and fur. Historical records indicate that this trade was so significant that the Inuit would exchange these essential skins for coffee, underscoring the importance of seals in their economic and daily lives. The Inuit were not solely hunters but also traders of seal oil, along with other northern products. This highlights the multifaceted utilization of seals, extending beyond meat and skin to include oil, which was likely used for heating and lighting in the Arctic environment (Sider, 2014).

Page 25: Hunters, Predators and Prey: Inuit Perceptions of Animals

The illustration on page 25 depicts the Inuit classification of animals which inspired the book 'Hunters, Predators and Prey: Inuit Perceptions of Animals' (Fr Laugrand, 2014). While the story is outlined in the graphic novel, a fuller version is provided here for a more comprehensive understanding. The Inuit classify animals into five primary categories based on ecological characteristics and their relationship to humans, particularly concerning hunting and consumption. The first category, nirijutit (mammals), translates as 'those who serve as food'. Within this category, mammals are further divided into two subcategories – pisuktiit (those who walk) or nunamiutait (those of the land), referring to terrestrial mammals such as caribou and polar bears, and imarmiutait (those of the water) or pujut (those who emerge to breathe), which includes marine mammals like seals and whales that surface for air. The second category, tingmiat (birds), encompasses various bird species hunted for their meat and other resources, such as feathers. The third category, iqaluit (fish), includes all types of fish, which are a crucial component of the Inuit diet and are caught from local water bodies. The fourth category, qupirruit (insects and other small life forms), covers insects and potentially other small creatures that, while not primary food sources, play a role in the ecosystem. The fifth category, uviluit (mollusks), includes sea creatures such as clams and mussels, which are gathered for food.

Inuit culture exhibits a well-documented symbolism and perception of animals, reflecting practical, spiritual and symbolic dimensions. For instance, the raven is a significant figure, embodying both creation and trickery, while the polar bear is revered as a powerful fellow hunter. Consequently, there are specific rules and rituals associated with the hunting of each animal species. Some Inuit believe that animals offer themselves to hunters willingly, while others think that animals possess their own owners or spirits.

Animals are not merely a source of sustenance; they are intricately woven into the spiritual and social fabric of Inuit life. Through a combination of hunting skills, ritual practices, and mythological understanding, the Inuit have maintained a harmonious and respectful relationship with animals, ensuring people's survival in the harsh Arctic environment (Fr Laugrand, 2014).

Chapter 3

I believe the seal hunt is a moral atrocity committed by insensitive crassly commercial people. Jack Lord (Backlund, 2016)

Chapter 3 aims to elucidate the anti-sealing protests, presenting a stark contrast to the previous two chapters, which depicted the seal hunt from the Inuit perspective. These earlier chapters emphasized the respect and connection the Inuit people have with seals. However, this practice is often perceived differently by animal rights groups. It is important to clarify that the subsequent explanation pertains to the spring hunt, rather than the Inuit seal hunt. The distinction between the Inuit seal hunt and the seal hunt protested by activists is explained in detail in Chapter 4, while Chapter 3 focuses on the journey and the underlying reasons for the emotional investment of anti-sealing protesters in their campaign.

The annual commercial seal hunt in Canada, occurring as harp and hooded seals migrate in late fall from the eastern Arctic to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, has been heavily scrutinized and widely condemned. Critics, such as PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), emphasize the inhumane aspects of the hunt, particularly noting that the majority of seals killed are less than three months old (PETA, 2008d). During the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games, PETA used the phrase ‘the annual baby seal massacre’ to describe the hunt, using well-known symbols from the Games to depict blood dripping from the Olympic rings (Kelly, 2010).

The main methods employed in the hunt, including hakapiks, wooden clubs, and, less frequently, firearms, are criticized not only for their brutality but also for their inefficiency. Firearms are seldom used due to concerns over cost-effectiveness. Dr. David Lavigne, a marine mammal scientist who has been researching the seal hunt since 1969, has highlighted that seals often

remain alive and endure immense suffering for hours after being struck (PETA, 2008b). The income from selling seal pelts, primarily to fashion industries in Norway, Russia, and China, and blubber for oil is crucial for sealers on Canada's Atlantic coast (PETA, 2008a). However, this is contrasted against the backdrop of a declining global demand for seal products, influenced by international bans and the stigmatization of these products as symbols of animal cruelty.

Animal rights groups often portray the hunt in protests, emphasizing the bloodshed to represent their view of the hunt as an act of cruelty (PETA, 2008c, 2017).

At the heart of this discourse lie concerns regarding animal rights and contrasting perspectives on environmental stewardship. Advocates for animal rights, exemplified by Brian Davies, the founder of the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), contend that seal hunting is morally indefensible, as it prioritizes human interests above the welfare of animals. Davies was initially commissioned by the Canadian government in 1965, among other consultants, to scrutinize the hunt and propose reforms, following reports of inhumane practices dating back to 1955 (Guy, 2000). Subsequently aligning with Greenpeace, Davies emerged as a prominent leader in the anti-sealing movement, leveraging media channels to mobilize public sentiment against the practice. In spite of concerted efforts by the Canadian authorities to rebut these allegations and control information dissemination, the campaigns led by IFAW and Greenpeace endured and persisted (Backlund, 2016; Waiser, 2016).

By the late 1700s, offshore sealing ships enabled hunters to reach ice floes where seals bred, making sealing a crucial industry, especially in Newfoundland. By the mid-1800s, sealing employed many people in the region. When Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, many small communities began relocating to larger centres for better opportunities. Despite these changes, coastal communities sealers continued to rely on sealing for income (Barry, 2005). In his book

titled 'Icy Battleground: Canada, the IFAW, and the Seal Hunt', Donald Barry asserts that the harp seal population experienced a significant decline due to excessive exploitation by offshore fleets from Canada and Norway. Although some critics have described the work as poorly researched or hastily completed, particularly regarding the early history of the seal hunt industry (Sanger, 2006), separate studies corroborate that the population did indeed decline between the 1960s and 1980s (CSAS, 2021). These studies suggest that various factors, including environmental conditions, may have contributed to this decline (Hammill & Sauvé, 2017). Initially, groups like Greenpeace were concerned about the environmental impact of seal hunting. Over time, their focus shifted more toward animal rights. In 1964, film footage showing the killing of seal pups, often referred to by activists as 'baby seals', became powerful symbols for those opposing the practice. This footage generated significant controversy and public outcry, particularly in Canada, Western Europe, and the United States. The protests gained momentum, drawing media attention through symbolic actions and high-profile visits by celebrities like Brigitte Bardot, Pamela Anderson, and Paul McCartney. Musician Morrissey, staunchly opposed to the seal hunt, has even compared it to the atrocities of Nazi Germany and vowed not to perform in Canada until such practices are ended. This commitment by Morrissey and others highlights the deep emotional and ethical convictions driving the anti-sealing movement, making it one of the most passionately debated animal rights issues of the past 50 years (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Munchies, 2017).

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 3

Page 43 -44: Aggressive advocacy

The illustrations on pages 43 and 44 highlight the actual words of the anti-sealing protesters. These panels are intended to demonstrate the aggressive nature of the protesters' campaign (AP Archive, 2015; Ottawa Sun, 2018; Windsor Star, 2018). The incident led by Pamela Anderson and Sam Simon in December 2013 exemplified the aggressive tactics employed by activists to end the practice. During a news conference in St. John's, Anderson and Simon, supported by PETA, offered a \$1 million buyout to Canadian sealers to retire from the industry. This offer was intended to facilitate a government buyout of the international seal trade (CBC News, 2013; Kennedy, 2013). The physical aggression was evident when Fisheries and Oceans Minister Gail Shea was hit in the face with a pie by PETA member Emily McCoy during a speech in Burlington, Ontario. McCoy's act, accompanied by a denunciation of the 'bloody seal hunt', underscored the intense opposition to the seal hunt (CBC News, 2010a; PETAStaff, 2010).

Page 45: The tears

Blood on white snow makes for powerful visuals, and seals always look like they are crying, though this is actually a biological response that prevents their eyes from freezing. (Knezevic et al., 2018).

Even with the appearance that seals are crying, the tears visible are not a sign of distress but rather to prevent their eyes from freezing in the cold. However, this image of 'crying' seals has been a powerful tool in animal rights campaigns, fueling the emotional and moral outrage that has driven significant opposition to seal hunting (Backlund, 2016). This phenomenon underscores the lack of comprehension among numerous animal rights groups, leading to the dissemination of misinformation to both their members and the general public, as further elaborated in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

They called it the Canadian seal hunt, or even just ‘the seal hunt’, which completely fails to acknowledge that the Inuit are an important part of the seal skin market. (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016).

The failure to distinguish between the east coast spring hunt and the Inuit seal hunt lies at the core of the public’s misconceptions and misunderstandings of the issue, setting the theme for Chapter 4. In her research, ‘A Tale of Two Seal Hunts’, Sarah Levy underscores the necessity of recognizing the key differences between these hunts, including their purpose, practices, scale, regulation, and cultural significance (Levy, 2020; Urban Coast Institute, 2022). Inuit seal hunting is deeply rooted in Indigenous culture, serving as a fundamental source of sustenance, clothing, and economic activity. It is conducted in a humane, sustainable manner, adhering to customary ecological knowledge and community regulations (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Munchies, 2017). The commercial seal hunt is primarily driven by economic motives, focusing on the harvest of seal pelts for export (Levy, 2020). This practice has attracted international criticism due to its large scale, perceived inhumane methods, and significant environmental impact. Despite the distinct nature of these hunts, they are often conflated in public discourse, a confusion perpetuated by industry, government, and some interest groups. This conflation has not only compromised Inuit food security and cultural survival but has also hindered the effective regulation of the commercial hunt (Farquhar, 2020).

The efforts by animal rights groups to pressure the Canadian government to ban the seal hunt through various strategies, including the boycott of Canadian fish, ultimately failed (Backlund, 2016). Animal rights groups eventually extended their campaign to Europe in the 1980s. The overhunting of seals in the 1950s and 1960s led the European Union to support a ban on seal

imports, culminating in a Whitecoat Seal Pelts Ban in 1983 (Barry, 2005; Sellheim, 2015a). Regardless of Canada's attempts to defend the hunt through scientific and diplomatic channels, the ban was adopted (Renner, 2023). This event was significant, as it marked the first time European public opinion and their representatives united on an issue, demonstrating the power of public sentiment on policy. This ban was the first link in a chain of events that adversely affected the reputation and market for seal products, impacting on both Inuit and non-Inuit seal hunters. It also created inconsistencies with the EU's broader goals and aspirations in the Arctic region. In December 1987, the Canadian government responded by banning the large-vessel hunt, ending the commercial killing of whitecoat and blueback seal pups, and phasing out netting seals, except in traditional hunts (Pope, 2018; Renner, 2023).

While the regulation was initially motivated by concerns over animal welfare in commercial seal hunts, it is evident that the primary aim of the final policy was to shut down the commercial seal hunt entirely. This view is underscored by the continued rise in the seal population following the 1983 ban (CSAS, 2021; Hammill & Sauvé, 2017). Despite this, animal rights groups persisted, leading to the EU's regulation banning the placing of seal products within the international market, adopted on 16 September 2009 (Krämer, 2012; Levy, 2020). According to the EU, this ban was a response to the concerns expressed by its citizens and was justified based on 'public morals', as permitted under the general exceptions allowed by WTO (World Trade Organization) rules (Cook, 2014; Hossain, 2013). In the book 'Animals in International Law', it is noted that, "The ethical concerns of consumers about animal use have so far been explicitly acknowledged by the legislator only with regard to seal products and animal experiments, not to food-related uses" (Peters, 2021, p. 220). However, the book also argues that efforts to protect animals should be careful not to impose Western values on other cultures, as this can be perceived as a form of

legal imperialism. Some argue that the issue of harp seal hunting is driven entirely by emotions. As Jacques Cousteau states, “We have to be logical. We have to aim our activity first at endangered species. Those who are moved by the plight of the harp seal could also be moved by the plight of the pig - the way they are slaughtered is horrible” (Sellheim, 2015b). The EU did not account for the perspectives of First Nations, who often regard animals as deserving respect and intrinsic value. Scholars Will Kymlicka and Sue Donaldson argue that Indigenous viewpoints, which typically emphasize respect for animals’ rights, should be included in these discussions (Sinclair, 2019, p. 23).

Despite the differences between the two hunts, many Inuit argue that perceiving their seal hunt solely as a sustainable survival practice, while ignoring its commercial aspects, is highly patronizing (Munchies, 2017). This perspective implies that Inuit should only consume the meat and use the skin for clothing, without acknowledging their participation in the modern economy, which includes living in houses, and paying for gas and taxes. In a land where no plants grow and hunting is not only a necessity but also a deeply ingrained way of life, Inuit have continuously adapted since the time of colonization (The Walrus, 2017). To ignore the commercial aspect of Inuit seal hunting is to disregard their economic needs and the realities of their contemporary existence.

Many animal rights groups consistently position themselves as opposing only the commercial seal hunt, not the subsistence hunting practised by the Inuit for food (IFAW, 2016). However, when pressured to acknowledge the commercial aspects of the Inuit hunt and the detrimental impact the ban has on Inuit livelihoods, these groups often refuse or outright deny any interviews or debates with the Inuit or their representatives. These animal rights organizations appear cautious about explicitly stating their objections to the international sale of seal skins by the

Inuit, striving to maintain an ethical image while avoiding any perception of being against Indigenous practices (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Munchies, 2017).

Both the 1983 and 2009 bans on seal products included exemptions for the Inuit; however, both bans resulted in the market crashing entirely (Munchies, 2017; Patar, 2020). This crash was due to the negative representations of the entire industry, causing the price of pelts to plummet.

Furthermore, the regulations fail to clearly define how to identify seal products originating from indigenous communities, complicating efforts for the Inuit to prove the traditional nature of their products. Distinguishing between seals killed by indigenous people and those killed by commercial hunters is also challenging (Hossain, 2013). The aim of these rules is to prevent cruelty in seal hunting, yet they do not clearly define what constitutes ‘traditional’ methods. For instance, there is ambiguity about whether the use of modern tools like firearms is permissible. This lack of clarity leads to confusion as both cruel and humane hunting methods are treated similarly (Cook, 2014; Hossain, 2013). Inuit seal products are primarily sold locally and not exported to the EU due to fears of violating EU regulations and confusion over certification processes. The certification system mandated by the ban for exemptions is complex, ineffective, and burdensome, making it difficult for Inuit communities to navigate international trade (Federica, 2021; Patar, 2020). The justification for the ban cites public morals, referring to the ethical standards and principles held by a community or society, which are often reflected in laws and regulations aimed at protecting societal values. While the intent is to protect animal rights, this approach raises questions about where these ethical standards place the importance of indigenous rights.

IFAW does not oppose subsistence hunting of seals by Inuit as a source of food. Sheryl Fink, IFAW (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016)

PETA does not get involved in the native hunt whatsoever. For propaganda purposes, the Canadian government has tried to involve the Inuit, but nobody bought it because there's no money trail. Dan Mathews, PETA (Munchies, 2017)

Though the campaign was directed against the commercial hunting of seals — and not the small-scale, subsistence hunting carried out by Northern Indigenous and coastal peoples — we did not always communicate this clearly enough. Joanna Kerr, Greenpeace (Kerr, 2014)

The intentions of animal rights groups in their persistent efforts to differentiate the Inuit hunt as purely subsistence-based warrant critical examination (IFAW, 2016). By emphasizing the term ‘subsistence’ to depict Inuit sealing as solely for food, these groups implicitly suggest that Inuit do not need to sell seal pelts for their economic survival, thereby undermining the multifaceted nature of Inuit hunting practices (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016; Munchies, 2017). This portrayal overlooks the significant impact of the 1983 EEC ban on whitecoat seal pelts, which, despite its exemptions for Inuit products, led to a market collapse that devastated Inuit livelihoods (Hossain, 2013). The exemption proved ineffective in mitigating economic harm, as the stigma and reduced demand for seal products persisted, causing widespread socioeconomic distress within Inuit communities (Patar, 2020). Notably, even with awareness that such exemptions failed to protect Inuit interests, animal rights groups continued to advocate for the 2009 European Union ban on all commercial seal products (Levy, 2020). Instead of pushing for trade regulations, quotas, or humane killing method regulations that could have mitigated animal welfare concerns without crippling the market, they chose to support a draconian ban they knew would devastate the market (Munchies, 2017). In the 1978 CBC interview with Barbara Frum, Paul Watson said that seals are very easy to exploit and major organizations profit from anti-sealing campaigns, generate more donations than other endangered species. Although Paul Watson later clarified that

his comments were intended to criticize the Greenpeace Foundation and were made many years ago, he also stated, “I wish it was easier to raise funds for sharks and sea cucumbers, but we work with what we have” (THESTAR, 2008; Watson, 2005). This statement further reinforces the reality that people are more likely to donate to anti-sealing causes more than any other cause, and the reason for their donation is because seals are perceived as cute, not out of genuine concern for wildlife conservation.

While the intentions of animal rights groups may be well-meaning, their approach to the seal hunt raises significant ethical and practical concerns (Dauvergne & Neville, 2011). Their approach failed to consider the broader consequences of imposing their moral framework on other cultures, particularly Indigenous communities (ideacity, 2020). Instead of engaging in thorough research, and consulting with Indigenous peoples and sealers to develop a collaborative solution, they pursued a course of action that led to substantial harm (Renner, 2023). The 1983 ban serves as an example; while the initial oversight might be attributed to a lack of comprehensive analysis, the continued advocacy against the seal hunt, even with clear evidence of its detrimental impact on Inuit communities, lacks justification (Patar, 2020). Moving forward, it is imperative that these groups adopt a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach, recognizing the complex socio-economic and cultural dimensions of the seal hunt. Among all the groups involved, only Greenpeace came forward and issued an apology, in 1985 (Kassam, 2017; Kerr, 2014). However, none of these organizations have shown a determined effort to raise awareness of the harm they have caused with the same vigour as their campaigns to condemn the seal hunt.

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 4

Page 62: Protecting the seal

This page illustrates the potential for animal rights groups to inadvertently alienate the Inuit, who arguably possess a deeper concern for the welfare of these animals than the activists themselves. It has been demonstrated that animal rights groups could greatly benefit from collaborating with the Inuit in their advocacy efforts, as the Inuit are deeply invested in the welfare of seals. The small Inuit community of Clyde River secured a landmark victory in 2017 at the Supreme Court of Canada, following a six-year legal battle against a consortium of energy companies and the National Energy Board, which had approved a seismic survey for oil exploration in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait (Weilgart, 2017). Though a historical distrust of Greenpeace due to past conflicts, the Inuit of Clyde River, driven by necessity, reached out to the environmental group. Together, they formed a diverse coalition of lawyers, scientists, artists, Indigenous leaders, and celebrities to mobilize public support and raise awareness. The Inuit's ability to recognize the broader issue, and their willingness to engage with an organization that had inadvertently contributed to the decline of the seal hunting economy, is noteworthy. This case highlights the need for inclusive and well-informed decision-making processes that respect and incorporate Indigenous knowledge and rights. The Inuit are aware of the substantial resources available in the Arctic and recognize the potential for economic gain from these resources. However, their primary focus remains on protecting their land and wildlife, similar to the Iñupiat in Alaska who advocate for their rights regarding oil and gas drilling on their territory (Baker, 2013; Kishigami, 2010).

Page 58: Humane

They try to tell us that the seals are all killed with the first shot, and that is a very humane and quick death. This is obviously not true. Sometimes, it takes two, three, four shots for the seal to stop moving around. It's obviously very difficult, given the environmental conditions at the seal hunt, to ensure humane killing. We continue to see examples of inhumane killing that would not be acceptable in any other animal industry and it needs to stop. Sheryl Fink (Munchies, 2017)

Another significant point to consider is the question of humane killing, which is a primary concern for animal rights groups opposing the seal hunt. While PETA opposes all slaughterhouses, the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) has clarified that they are neither a vegan nor vegetarian organization and accept that humans use animals as a source of food (Munchies, 2017). Wildlife pathologist Pierre-Yves Daoust has criticized the perceived hypocrisy of non-vegan protesters, arguing that the conditions in slaughterhouses are far worse than those experienced by seals (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016). He notes that animals in slaughterhouses endure a lengthy and stressful process from farm to auction market and finally to the slaughterhouse, which can take many hours or even days (Grandin et al., 2019; Grandin et al., 2020). In contrast, seals are killed in their natural environment.

Regarding the reflexive movements that animal rights groups claim indicate that seals are still alive because they are barking and struggling, many experts explain that these actions are reflexes and do not signify pain. Temple Grandin, in her book 'The Slaughter of Farmed Animals: Practical Ways of Enhancing Animal Welfare', states, "Body movements in response to nociception can be due to spinally-mediated reflex activity that does not require brain activity. The brain, and in particular the cerebral cortex and associated subcortical structures, must be functional for pain to be perceived" (Grandin et al., 2020, p. 24). These perspectives highlight that reflexive movements can occur without the animal experiencing pain, thereby challenging the assertions of animal rights groups. This further exacerbates the tension between these groups and advocates for the seal hunters.

Page 60: Hakapik

When brain death happens, the seal is doing a wimp, swim reflex. A veterinarian will look at that and go, okay, this is good animal welfare. Oh, there's a lot of blood, the animal is bleeding out quickly, that's good animal welfare, but for the rest of us, we see an animal struggling for its life in extraordinary pain. That's not what is actually happening. Anne Troake (Munchies, 2017)

Page 60 features an illustration of a hakapik, a main tool used in the commercial seal hunt by non-Inuit sealers in Canada and Greenland. This tool serves dual purposes, where one end functions as a hammer, while the other end is employed to drag the animal post-kill or to ensure the hunter's safety by providing a means to anchor into the ice if they fall into the water. The hakapik is perceived differently by various stakeholders. For sealers, it is an essential tool for their livelihood. However, animal rights groups view it as a symbol of the perceived cruelty of the hunt, emphasizing the use of a heavy club to strike a defenseless animal. Hunters counter this criticism by citing the endorsement of the hakapik by experts, such as those from the Independent Veterinarians' Working Group (IVWG), who have deemed it a humane tool for sealing (Munchies, 2017).

Chapter 5

... food helps to define who we are, both to ourselves and to those with whom we produce, prepare, cook, eat, and dispose of food. Food is performative: by cooking things we are familiar with and that are able to comfort us, we reassure ourselves of our own identities while projecting the image we think the world should or expects to see. (Parasecoli, 2022, p. 76)

In this chapter, the themes of food sovereignty, food security, and traditional diet are examined in relation to the research question, how have Western animal rights campaigns and international bans on seal products influenced Inuit seal hunting practices and their food sovereignty in Nunavut? With the foundational elements of the present study now established, a comprehensive analysis of the impact of Western influences on Inuit seal hunting and food sovereignty can be undertaken.

First, the importance of the traditional diet must be examined. Among Inuit adults in Nunavut, Canada, the consumption of traditional foods results in superior diet quality and nutritional adequacy compared to a diet predominantly consisting of non-traditional foods (Sheehy et al., 2015). Traditional diets provide a higher protein content and a favorable balance of fats, which is particularly essential in extremely cold environments where the body requires ample calories to maintain warmth. For instance, the fatty tissues of sea mammals, a staple in the Inuit diet, are rich in omega-3 fatty acids and fat-soluble vitamins, which are crucial for maintaining heart health and preventing conditions such as scurvy in harsh Arctic conditions (Lougheed, 2010; Sheehy et al., 2013). The traditional diet supports the concept of food sovereignty by enabling Inuit communities to maintain their cultural identity, autonomy, and environmental stewardship. Reliance on traditional foods ensures that the Inuit are not dependent on external, imported food

sources, which can be unreliable and less nutritious. It promotes self-sufficiency and resilience against market fluctuations and external political decisions that could impact food availability (Duhaime et al., 2004). Additionally, sustainable hunting and gathering practices inherent in the traditional diet align with the principles of food sovereignty, fostering ecological balance and respect for the land and sea. This approach not only secures nutritional benefits, but also upholds the rights of Inuit communities to access culturally appropriate and sustainably sourced food, reinforcing their sovereignty and connection to their ancestral lands (Borré, 1991). It is also crucial to acknowledge the pivotal role that seal hunting and processing played for women within the Inuit community. While men typically assumed the role of hunters, women were integral in crafting clothing from seal skins. This underscores the importance of traditional food practices and food sovereignty in sustaining Inuit culture (Kambic, 2015).

The traditional food concept can be seen even outside of the Arctic, as the push for traditional foods in Alaska, particularly in public facilities like nursing homes and hospital, underscores the vital importance of food sovereignty for Indigenous communities (McKnight's Long-Term Care News, 2015; Weikle, 2022). The traditional food movement aims to provide Alaska Natives (collectively the indigenous peoples of Alaska), such as the Inupiat, with their customary diets comprising whale blubber, seal oil, and caribou, which have been integral to their culture and health for generations. The integration of traditional foods into places like the nursing home in Kotzebue not only brings comfort and familiarity to the residents but also has significant health benefits, reducing issues like obesity that are linked to the Western diet (Dyroff, 2018). The recognition of these traditional foods in United States federal laws, as seen in the US 2014 Farm Bill (the Agricultural Act 2014), and the establishment of traditional food processing facilities, have been pivotal in overcoming previous regulatory barriers (U.S. News&World Report, 2018).

These developments highlight the broader need for food sovereignty, ensuring that Indigenous people can maintain their cultural and nutritional practices, which are deeply tied to their identity and well-being.

One of the main factors in food sovereignty is to recognize and address displacement, forced urbanization and violence towards smallholder farmers and rural communities, promoting a peaceful and just society (Cote, 2022; Schanbacher, 2019). As noted in the book ‘Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States: Restoring Cultural Knowledge, Protecting Environments, and Regaining Health’, “Food sovereignty movement seeks to address intersecting issues of hunger, environmentally unsustainable production, economic inequality, and social justice on political level” (Devon A. Mihesuah, 2019, p. 8). This means that food sovereignty is more appropriate than food security for addressing issues of justice, sovereignty, and survival than food security, especially within the context of Indigenous peoples (Mayer & Anderson, 2020).

The security of traditional Inuit food systems in Nunavut has undergone significant changes over the past few decades, raising critical concerns for both nutritional health and cultural preservation (Datta, 2021).

The prevalence of food insecurity among Indigenous households in Canada during 2017-2018 was notably higher for those living off-reservation, at 28.2%, than for the 12.7% of other Canadian households. By comparison, nearly half of First Nations households on-reserve experienced food insecurity between 2008 and 2018, and in 2012, 52% of Inuit aged 25 and older in the Inuit homeland reported the same issue (Shafiee & Szafron, 2022; The Walrus, 2017). These statistics can be attributed to several key factors, including the collapse of the European sealskin market in the mid-1980s, climate change, and the escalating costs of modern hunting equipment, which collectively reduced the number of active hunters despite a growing

population (Panikkar & Lemmond, 2020; Wenzel et al., 2016). This shift can be understood by examining the historical context of their colonization.

Prior to contact with Western cultures, the Inuit were able to sustain themselves independently. However, since the onset of Western influence, the Inuit's reliance on the commercial seal skin market has increased (Sider, 2014). While the Chapter 4 may suggest that the primary issue facing the Inuit community is the seal ban, the root of the problem lies in the colonization of the Inuit. The establishment of permanent Inuit communities is a relatively recent development, as the Inuit have traditionally been semi-nomadic, living in tightly-knit kinship groups and moving across the land in pursuit of wildlife (Fr Laugrand, 2014; Pelly, 2001). This mobility, a central aspect of their culture, was made possible by sled dogs, or 'qimmiq', which enabled the Inuit to follow familiar hunting routes and reoccupy the same sites for generations (Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010). Their movements were guided by a seasonal cycle of harvesting dictated by weather conditions, animal migrations, and cultural linkages (Wenzel, 1991). The arrival of Europeans, such as Basque whalers and Norse settlers, introduced new dynamics to the Inuit way of life, including trade relations that encompassed seal products (Sider, 2014).

Trading posts were developed, and the Inuit began trading seal skins and fox furs for goods they could not procure themselves, such as bread and tea. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and Moravian missionaries were the main agents in the early stages of establishing governance in the Arctic, employing a 'truck and credit' system in their dealings with Indigenous peoples, including the Inuit (Sider, 2014). This system involved providing production supplies, such as seal nets, on credit against the future delivery of goods like sealskins. The Moravians urged the Inuit to prioritize activities like cod fishing and fox trapping, which generated income, over hunting seals and caribou, which were crucial for food and clothing but had little monetary value

(White, 2023). By the early 19th century, the Inuit's use of seal nets, along with guns obtained from the Moravians, became essential for catching large quantities of seals.

Despite the intense control and domination exercised through the trade and credit system, the Inuit found ways to assert a degree of autonomy. This autonomy is evident in how they continued to organize and conduct their hunting and economic activities, including seal hunting, within the constraints imposed by European traders and missionaries. The most significant shift in the Arctic occurred between the 1950s and 1970s, a period marked by acute changes. During these two decades, traditional ways of life underwent drastic transformations within a relatively short span of approximately 20 years.

Dogs were an asset; they were essential. You couldn't eat without dogs, you couldn't seal hunt without dogs, and you couldn't travel without dogs. Dogs were probably one of the most important aspects of Inuit culture before the 1960s. Dr. Frank Tester (Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010)

By the 1950s, Canada had already asserted its sovereignty over Baffin Island, a claim dating back to 1880. However, concerns about potential threats to its control over the waters in the Arctic Archipelago intensified during this period (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2014). Policing in the region was deemed necessary, and since the 1920s the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had been the main policing presence in most areas of the Arctic, becoming more permanent in the 1950s (Alluna, 2023). During this time, the RCMP began systematically killing Inuit dogs, claiming health risk reasons, and effectively forcing the Inuit into settlements (Corporation, 2005; Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010). The Inuit relied heavily on their dogs for transportation, and the killing of these dogs significantly disrupted their semi-nomadic way of life (Fraser-Celin & Rock, 2022). Consequently, the increased reliance on snowmobiles was not

solely a matter of choice but rather a necessity due to the loss of the Inuit's traditional means of hunting (Corporation, 2005; Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010).

Between 1953 and 1955, the Inuit experienced another devastating event known as the High Arctic Relocation (Bowers et al., 2023). This forced relocation involved moving Inuit families from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, which resulted in the separation of many families and the creation of lasting trauma. In 1952, the Canadian government held a conference in Ottawa on what they termed 'The Eskimo's Affairs', aiming to reduce relief payments by finding ways to maintain the Inuit's economic independence (Clancy, 1987). The main debate was whether the Inuit should be assimilated into white society or encouraged to return to their traditional way of life. Despite the significance of the issue, Inuit representatives were not invited to the conference. The relocated Inuit faced severe challenges due to inadequate supplies and unfamiliarity with the new environment. The Inuit in Inukjuak were accustomed to a warmer climate and different diet compared to those in the harsher climates of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (Kunuk, 2009; Tassinari, 1995).

The Inuit were forced into settled communities and a way of life dictated by laws made thousands of miles away by people who had little understanding of or experience with living in the Arctic. These policymakers believed they were acting in the best interests of the Inuit. Subsequently, the Inuit faced the atrocities of residential schools which further dismantled their traditional way of living, stripped them of their native language, and annihilated their cultural practices (Rose, 2018). Additionally, there were numerous allegations of physical and sexual abuse within these institutions (Al Jazeera English, 2017). The dog killings, relocations, and the impacts of residential schools inflicted tremendous pain and generational trauma on the Inuit community. These events stripped away their cultural identity and autonomy, leading to a

significant increase in the suicide rate within the Inuit population (Alluna, 2023; Kral, 2019). The effects of colonization have left indelible marks on Inuit society, reshaping their traditional ways of life and contributing to the myriad struggles they face today. The legacy of these colonial policies continues to reverberate through Inuit communities, manifesting in social and economic challenges.

Returning to the seal hunting controversy, particularly in light of the European Union's ban on seal products, exacerbates the already challenging way of life for the Inuit, unveiling entrenched issues related to colonialism, capitalism, and environmental justice. This policy not only impacts the Inuit's traditional practices but also highlights broader systemic inequalities and power dynamics that have long affected Indigenous communities (Struthers Montford & Taylor, 2020).

What may be deemed ethical by external standards can, in reality, be deeply unethical and damaging when imposed without proper understanding of and respect for the affected communities (Spagnuolo, 2022). The parallels between these incidents are striking, as even if well-intentioned, the efforts of both animal rights groups and the Canadian government have inadvertently harmed the Inuit population. This harm is primarily due to a lack of thorough research or understanding of the issues at hand (McLean, 2020).

The impact of colonialism has stressed Inuit cultural and social structures, and this fallout has diminished their ability to retain food sovereignty (Hossain et al., 2020). The killing of the sled dogs, the relocation and the seal ban highlight a common thread – the absence of thorough consultation with the Inuit, and a failure to consider the broader socio-cultural and economic impacts of these policies. This pattern underscores the importance of inclusive decision-making processes that respect and incorporate Indigenous knowledge and rights, aiming to prevent interventions from resulting in unintended harm.

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 5

Page 72: Qimmit

Initially, the illustration on page 72 was intended to be more graphic, incorporating testimonies from the victims featured in the research and graphic novel. However, depicting such anguish in graphic detail appeared exploitative. Therefore, readers are encouraged to read the testimonies of the Inuit who experienced these events in the Qikiqtani Truth Commission Reports (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2014) or hear their words in the films *Qimmit: A Clash of Two Truths* (Sanguya & Gjerstad, 2010) and *Echo of the Last Howl* (Corporation, 2005). Those sources provide a more respectful and authentic understanding of Inuit experiences, allowing the voices of those affected to be heard.

The deliberate omission of detailed information regarding the transition from sled dog to snowmobile hunting in Chapter 2, which is elaborated upon in this chapter, is intended to maximize the narrative impact of the story.

Page 73: The relocation

The illustration on page 73 depicts the relocation of the Inuit from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. This passage highlights the Canadian government's limited understanding of Inuit culture and lifestyle, particularly regarding their dietary practices (Lackenbauer, 2020). The government's misconception that all Inuit consume the same food disregards the fact that the Inuit of Inukjuak experience a climate more similar to Quebec than to Baffin Island. The significance of local food sources is underscored, emphasizing how the dietary change resulting from the relocation impacted the Inuit both physically and emotionally (Lackenbauer, 2020; Tassinari, 1995).

Page 75: Twice Colonized

The illustration on page 75 is directly inspired by the poster for the documentary film ‘Twice Colonized’, released in 2023 (Alluna, 2023). This film chronicles the life of Aaju Peter, an Inuk lawyer and activist, and her lifelong struggle for justice for Inuit peoples, alongside her personal battles and traumas (Innis Alumni, 2022). The documentary illuminates the pervasive issue of Inuit relocation, demonstrating that it was not an isolated incident in Canada, but a widespread phenomenon affecting Indigenous communities globally. Aaju Peter’s experiences reflect the compounded effects of colonization, having been born as a Greenlandic Inuk under Danish rule and later experiencing colonization by the Canadian government in Nunavut. The plight of Indigenous peoples in relation to their lands and traditions extends beyond the Inuit, encompassing other Indigenous groups such as the Sami – the native people of northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia’s Kola Peninsula, who face systemic discrimination and have long petitioned to have reindeer killings classified as hate crimes (La Parra-Casado et al., 2024; Sebastian et al., 2024). Similarly, North American Indian tribes, such as the Osage, have suffered grievous injustices, including murders, for the rights to oil on their land (Dennison, 2017; Gahman, 2016).

These parallel struggles underscore a broader narrative of Indigenous resilience and resistance against colonial powers. The illustration on page 75, therefore, not only pays homage to Aaju Peter’s fight for justice, but also symbolizes the shared experiences of Indigenous peoples worldwide. By drawing attention to these interconnected histories and ongoing injustices, the artwork aims to foster a deeper understanding and solidarity among diverse Indigenous communities and advocates for their rights to self-determination, cultural preservation, and equitable treatment.

Page 74: Broken Promises

The illustration on page 74 is inspired by the Frobisher Cemetery in Iqaluit, Nunavut, and a stone monument created by local carver Looty Pijamini. There were actually two monuments built to commemorate the hardships faced during the relocation of Inuit families, which resulted in the forced separation of many family members, despite the government's promises of staying together. This separation occurred between Resolute and Grise Fiord. To recognize this hardship and honour those affected, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) commissioned two monuments in April 2008 (CBC News, 2010b). Simeonie Amagoalik of Resolute Bay and Looty Pijamini of Grise Fiord were the artists behind these works. Amagoalik carved a man from local stone in Resolute Bay, while Pijamini created a granite sculpture of a woman and child in Grise Fiord. Both monuments face the sea and towards each other, symbolizing the enduring hardships of the High Arctic relocations.

Despite the federal government's apology and compensation, the relocation of Inuit families remains a condemnable act that should not be forgotten, and it is imperative to preserve the memories of all those who suffered from this incident (Lackenbauer, 2020).

Chapter 6

Our food runs in our veins; it is in our blood memory. Food evokes memories of our past, of time spent with learning from our Elders. (Nunavut Arctic College, 2021, p. 14)

Chapter 6 offers an examination of the struggles faced by the Inuit as they attempt to rebuild their lives in the aftermath of a period of mistreatment and hardship. Colonialism and intergenerational trauma are foundational to the social and economic inequities experienced by many Inuit in Nunavut. The rapid social and cultural transitions accompanying these historical experiences have given rise to numerous social challenges, including heightened suicide risk factors such as addictions, childhood adversity, and mental illness (Kral, 2019; Sider, 2014). These social challenges are further exacerbated by systemic inequities, including constrained access to housing and healthcare services, low educational attainment and employment rates, and pervasive food insecurity (Kral, 2019; NTI, 2024). These factors collectively hinder many Inuit from achieving optimal health and wellness. Nunavut's population, which is comparable to that of a small Canadian city like Penticton, British Columbia, experiences magnified impacts due to the concentrated nature of these challenges within close-knit communities (NTI, 2024). The Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture 2015-2017 concluded that the protective factors to the suicide risk rate among Nunavut Inuit require a multifaceted approach that addresses both immediate and long-term social and economic disparities.

A critical protective factor against suicide is the strengthening of social support systems within the community. Strong familial and community connections, positive coping strategies, intact self-esteem, and self-worth have been shown to buffer against the adverse effects of stress and trauma. While cultural identity and the revitalization of Inuktitut language are crucial, they alone

are not sufficient to address the complex social and health disparities contributing to suicide risk (NTI, 2024). Comprehensive approaches that integrate cultural continuity with efforts to alleviate poverty, improve access to health services, and enhance educational and employment opportunities are essential. By addressing these root causes, it is possible to reduce the suicide rate among Inuit to levels comparable to the Canadian average, demonstrating the potential for significant public health improvement through targeted, culturally-informed interventions. This marks the importance of preserving the traditional way of life, including the seal hunt, which are integral to the social, economic, and spiritual well-being of Inuit communities. The maintenance and support of these traditions are essential not only for individual and community health but also for the continuation of cultural heritage and identity (Alluna, 2023; AMI: Accessible Media Inc., 2019).

It's always going to be expensive in the North, but when people have to pay \$10 or \$11 for one can of frozen Minute Maid concentrated juice, then you start to think, what's wrong with that picture? Or like \$28 for a head of cabbage. Leese Papatsie (TVO, 2014)

Despite numerous hardships and high food costs, many Inuit strive to rebuild their communities by employing food sovereignty as a means to improve their quality of life (Life That Matters, 2020; SLICE, 2022). The initiative focused on increasing access to local, healthy and traditional foods for youth, while promoting community engagement and capacity-building can also be seen in community engagement models such as Learning Circles: Local Healthy Food to School (McEachern, 2022) and Feeding My Family (CBC, 2016; Sentinel, 2013). Findings from the programme indicated that the model supported the development of a more autonomous food system through local food production and consumption, the integration of traditional knowledge and practices, and the fostering of Indigenous governance and leadership. Many Inuit families,

facing a scarcity of stable and well-paying employment opportunities, struggle to afford three nutritious meals a day. Consequently, they often rely on ‘stomach fillers’ such as rice and pasta. This issue is further compounded by the federal government’s Nutrition North Canada subsidy programme, which predominantly supports frozen vegetables, fruits, and milk (Munchies, 2021; NNC, 2020). However, these non-traditional foods are not as nutritionally suitable for the Inuit population. It is imperative that the programme reconsiders its approach by subsidizing traditional country foods which are crucial for mitigating starvation. These traditional foods are not only shared communally and support hunters, but they also reinforce cultural identity and are significantly healthier than store-bought alternatives, as discussed in the previous chapter. These movements underscore the need for systemic changes, as the current Nutrition North Canada programme fails to adequately address the high costs and limited availability of both perishable and non-perishable goods. It proved to be an adaptable and effective strategy for promoting food sovereignty in diverse First Nations communities, contributing to both food and nutrition security and the path to Indigenous self-determination (McEachern, 2022; Schanbacher, 2010). In addition, the 2017-2018 Annual Report for Nunavut Corrections details an extensive range of rehabilitative programmes available across various facilities, focusing on correctional, traditional, social, vocational, and educational aspects (Government of Nunavut, 2018). Among these initiatives are the ‘On-the-land’ programmes, designed to impart traditional Inuit culture to young individuals who grapple with a dual identity, leading in some cases to delinquent behaviour and subsequent incarceration (SLICE, 2022). In this programme, women are instructed in fishing techniques, seal skinning, sewing, and the preparation and crafting of clothing from the prepared skins. Concurrently, men receive training in wildlife hunting and survival skills, aimed at fostering a connection with nature and enhancing their self-esteem. By

reconnecting with their Inuit heritage, it is hoped that participants can rebuild their lives and ultimately break the cycle of recidivism. This stress on traditional practices highlights the role of food sovereignty in the rehabilitation process, empowering individuals to sustain themselves and their communities through culturally significant and sustainable food systems (Cote, 2022; Schanbacher, 2019).

Tourism also serves as a significant avenue to enhance Inuit economic and food sovereignty. Historically, Inuit tourism practices have encompassed a variety of travel forms, contributing to the sustainable development of their communities, which can be categorized as follows:

pulaktuk, referring to visits to neighbors or other communities; asivallaktuk, which involved traveling to find game and resources; and maqaituk, denoting the act of leaving home to hunt (Bunten & Graburn, 2018). These activities shared similarities with certain aspects of modern tourism, as travel was motivated by both practical needs, such as sourcing food and materials, and social purposes, including visiting relatives or seeking partners. Since the 1960s, tourism in the Eastern Canadian Arctic has intermittently attracted visitors interested in hunting, fishing, and experiencing Inuit arts and crafts (Bunten & Graburn, 2018).

The concept of Consumer Cultural Discourses (CCDs) can be employed to explore how media and influential figures shape public perceptions and behaviours around food, which can also be applied to the promotion of traditional Inuit foods and cultural preservation (Hollows et al., 2022). However, a significant challenge remains; some contemporary Inuit feel discomfort regarding the perception of their seal hunting practices by tourists (Bunten & Graburn, 2018).

This unease is heightened by the negative views held by some outsiders towards raw foods and traditional hunting methods. This tension is exemplified by the response to the #sealfie campaign (Rule, 2018; Vanstone & Winston, 2019). Tanya Tagaq, a renowned Inuit throat singer, posted a

picture of her baby lying next to a dead seal as part of an Indigenous digital activism campaign aimed at defending traditional Inuit seal hunting practices. Despite the campaign's intent, Tagaq faced months of harassment and death threats, with people using derogatory language and calling for legal action against her. This incident highlights the strong anti-Indigenous sentiments that persist in Canada (Battistini, 2018; Knezevic et al., 2018).

The struggles faced by Inuit communities in the face of historical and ongoing challenges are significant, yet their efforts towards food sovereignty, cultural preservation, and community-based solutions offer a hopeful outlook. By embracing traditional practices, advocating for more inclusive policies, and fostering social support networks, Inuit communities are actively working towards a future where their cultural identity and well-being are not only preserved but thrive.

Informative Tidbit for Chapter 6

Page 79: NIRJUTIT IMAANI

The illustration on page 79 is directly inspired by the book ‘NIRJUTIT IMAANI: Cooking with Fish and Seal’ (Nunavut Arctic College, 2021).

Page 81: Suicide Risk and Protective Factors for Inuit in Canada

The illustration on page 81 is directly inspired by the Suicide Risk and Protective Factors for Inuit in Canada information in the Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture 2015-2017 (NTI, 2024).

Page 82: Real Comments

The illustration on page 82 is directly drawn from authentic comments from the following media sources:

Canada’s Seal Hunt: Five Myths That Simply Aren’t True | *The Dodo* (The Dodo, 2017)

WTF: This is Canada’s Commercial Seal Slaughter (peta2TV, 2017)

Canada’s Seal Hunt Controversy: The Politics of Food (Munchies, 2017)

Angry Inuk (Arnaquq-Baril, 2016)

Page 87: Josh

On page 87 of the graphic novel, the narrative reveals that the protagonist's tour guide, Josh, has taken his own life. This plot development is inspired by the real-life context of the high suicide rates in Nunavut, reflecting the intense struggles faced by many Indigenous communities.

Josh's suicide, coming after his poignant midnight speech to Peter, can initially appear as an abrupt and unexpected for the reader. This mirrors the often-unexpected nature of real-life suicides, where outward appearances of happiness and stability can mask deep, internal struggles (Bradley & Toole, 2022; Lee & Lee, 2024). This depiction resonates with the broader, tragic reality of suicide, where individuals who seem fine to others on one day may take their own lives the next (Lee & Lee, 2024). The intense tension between contemporary society and customary culture is one of the main reasons many Indigenous people carry an internal burden that is not visible externally, as highlighted in Chapter 5. The shift from a happy parting to discovering Josh dead three weeks later symbolizes the relentless battle between cultural identity and the expectations of a colonized society (NTI, 2024).

While Josh may have appeared content and well-adjusted to the protagonist on the surface, the internal trauma and turmoil were ever-present, reflecting the constant struggle of reconciling cultural identity with the pressures of contemporary life. It is essential to underscore that the graphic novel does not attribute Josh's suicide solely to the effects of colonization. However, the alarming increase in suicide rates coinciding with the period of colonization cannot be ignored, suggesting a severe impact on the mental health and well-being of Indigenous communities (Greenwald, 2009).

By not providing a specific explanation for Josh's suicide, the graphic novel aims to respect the complexity and sensitivity of the issue. It avoids reducing the character's actions to a single cause, thereby recognizing the multitude of factors that contribute to such a tragic decision. It also acknowledges the limitations of authorship. Suicide is a deeply complex and multifaceted issue, where the underlying reasons are often elusive and intensely personal. The novel's approach seeks to honour the real-life experiences of those affected by suicide in Nunavut and to foster a deeper understanding of the ongoing challenges faced by Indigenous peoples (Kral, 2019).

Epilogue

The epilogue of this graphic novel reveals a self-reflection and critical analysis of the protagonist's journey, intertwining it with my own academic exploration. As the protagonist decides to write a book entitled the same as the graphic novel, this mirrors my endeavour to translate research into narrative form. Despite never having been to Iqaluit or personally knowing anyone from Nunavut, I have strived to faithfully depict the authentic voices and testimonies of the Inuit. This effort is rooted in research, aiming to present an accurate portrayal of their experiences and perspectives.

Central to this narrative is a link back to the research question, as this graphic novel examines the impact of Western animal rights campaigns and international bans on seal products on the Inuit seal hunt and their food sovereignty in Nunavut. The protagonist's decision to write a book serves as a metaphor for my decision to undertake this topic and the call to action that this research embodies: a plea for a more holistic and informed understanding before taking any action. The Western animal rights movements and international bans on seal products, while aiming to prevent animal cruelty, have inadvertently disrupted the traditional practices and food sovereignty of the Inuit in Nunavut. These actions have impacted on not only their cultural heritage but also their economic stability and autonomy.

Informative Tidbit for Epilogue

Page 97 - 103:

The illustration spanning pages 97 to 103 is intentionally designed to parallel pages 3 to 9 of the prologue, with a critical alteration in the final image. While the prologue depicts a blood trail originating from seals hunted by the Inuit hunter, this later illustration portrays the blood trail emanating from the Inuit hunter himself. This visual shift underscores a poignant message – without seals, the Inuit hunter’s survival is imperiled, as seals are integral to their sustenance and cultural identity. The symbiotic relationship between the Inuit and seals is so profound that the absence of seals threatens the very essence of Inuit life and continuity. This narrative device effectively highlights the existential dependency of the Inuit on seals, emphasizing the role seals play in defining their way of life, survival, and food sovereignty. The erosion of the Inuit’s traditional relationship with seals, resulting in a loss of food sovereignty, has weighty and far-reaching negative impacts on Inuit communities. This deterioration severely compromises their well-being, and tragically, many have paid with their lives.

Conclusion

This research aimed to analyze the impact of Western influences on Inuit seal hunting and food sovereignty, addressing the research question, how have Western animal rights campaigns and international bans on seal products influenced Inuit seal hunting practices and their food sovereignty in Nunavut? Synopsis of the key findings:

Chapters 1 and 2 explore the profound connection and importance of seals in Inuit culture, way of life, and identity. They highlight the misrepresentation of Inuit culture, particularly in the context of traditional seal hunting practices. These chapters dispel outdated stereotypes and emphasize the contemporary way of life of the Inuit, including their reliance on seals for sustenance and economic stability.

Chapters 3 to 5 discuss the distinction between the Inuit seal hunt, which is sustainable and culturally significant, and the commercial seal hunt, which has been the main target of animal rights campaigns. The conflation of these two hunts has led to harmful consequences for the Inuit. Anti-sealing campaigns have strategically employed graphic imagery to evoke emotional responses, leading to widespread condemnation of seal hunting. This portrayal has had significant implications for the Inuit, affecting their cultural practices and economic stability. The collapse of the sealskin market and other Western influences have threatened the Inuit's food sovereignty.

Chapters 5 and 6 delve into the historical context of colonization and its lasting impact on the Inuit. Policies and actions by the Canadian government, such as forced relocations and the killing of sled dogs, have significantly disrupted Inuit culture and autonomy. These chapters also highlight the nutritional superiority of traditional Inuit diets compared to Western diets, which are essential for the community's health. Despite these challenges, the Inuit continue to advocate

for their rights and work towards rebuilding their communities. Initiatives promoting food sovereignty and cultural preservation are highlighted as vital to their resilience.

In conclusion, it is important to acknowledge the significant gap within the current concept on food sovereignty, exemplified by the fact that most of if not all discussion on food sovereignty has been portrayed vigorously in the context of small-scale farmers, deeply rooted in advocates for the rights and voices of peasants, small-scale farmers, women, farm workers, and indigenous peoples, giving them a platform to demand and propose alternatives to current food systems.

While pivotal, it predominantly centres on agrarian communities and neglects the unique perspectives and practices of the Inuit, other Indigenous groups, and nomadic tribes, particularly those residing in environments inhospitable to agriculture.

As elucidated in Chapter 3, the reindeer is of paramount importance to the Sami people, much like the North American bison to Native American tribes (Feir et al., 2024; Moloney & Chambliss, 2014), highlighting the integral role of animals beyond their function as food sources. Moreover, the current concept on food sovereignty fails to adequately emphasize the broader significance animals hold in Indigenous cultures. Specifically, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Inuit maintain a profound spiritual connection and respect for the animals of their land, reflecting a relationship that transcends mere sustenance. Similarly, the reindeer holds significant spiritual and practical importance for the Sami people (Janse, 2022), comparable to the role of Inuit sled dogs for the Inuit and eagles for the Kazakh (Ferret, 2016), both of which serve as essential hunting companions and integral parts of their respective cultures. This narrow focus underscores the need to broaden our understanding of food sovereignty to encompass diverse cultural and ecological contexts.

By contributing to this body of knowledge on Indigenous food sovereignty and the cultural significance of non-agrarian food systems, this dissertation highlighted the importance of inclusive food sovereignty frameworks that respect and integrate Indigenous practices which aim not only to enrich the existing dialogue but also to advocate for a more comprehensive and equitable approach to food sovereignty that recognizes the vital role it plays in sustaining diverse communities. Future research should therefore examine the limitations of current paradigms and strive to incorporate the voices and experiences of Indigenous populations. Such efforts will ensure that food sovereignty is not conceptualised as a one-size-fits-all phenomenon, but a dynamic and inclusive movement that truly reflects the realities of all peoples. This inclusive approach is not only essential for academic integrity but also for the promotion of justice and equity in global food systems. The dissertation ultimately called for a nuanced understanding of the Inuit's situation, emphasizing the need for respectful and informed interventions that supported their cultural and economic survival in the context of food sovereignty.

Closing Thoughts

The impetus for this research was born from my sense of guilt and shame regarding the Inuit seal hunt. Conducting this research has deepened my realization of how little I truly knew about the issue. This journey has been painful, as each new piece of information made me aware of my own ignorance. There have been many moments of tears, sitting alone in my room in a foreign country, far from relatives, listening to the agony in the voices of the Inuit affected by the world's misperceptions of them. I realized how quick people are to judge without understanding.

Using a graphic novel as a medium to explore this topic has been challenging. I have often felt a deep fear of criticism, worried that my portrayal might be misunderstood or misinterpreted.

However, I believe that this visual and narrative approach can bring more attention to the matter, making the complexities and nuances of the Inuit seal hunt more accessible and engaging to a broader audience.

I believe it's important to recognize that mistakes are a part of life, but it's even more important to learn from them so they aren't repeated. In a way, I see this project as my tangible apology. I would like to end this dissertation with the same words I choose to end my graphic novel:

It was a call to action for all of us to seek understanding and empathy, and to ensure that our efforts to protect one form of life did not come at the cost of another.

Understand the incredible failures that led to this day and do it better the next time.

References

- Al Jazeera English. (2017, June 14). *Canada's Dark Secret | Featured Documentaries* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=peLd_jtMdrc&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=52&ab_channel=AlJazeeraEnglish
- Alluna, L. (Director). (2023). *Twice Colonized* [Film]. Ánorâk Film.
- AMI: Accessible Media Inc. (2019, January 24). *A Taste Of Nunavut, documentary* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VWQkVVLDWlw&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=6&ab_channel=AMI%3AAccessibleMediaInc.
- Andree, P., Ayres, J., Bosia, M., & Massicotte, M.-J. (2014). *Globalization and Food Sovereignty : Global and Local Change in the New Politics of Food*. University of Toronto Press.
- AP Archive. (2015, July 22). *USA - Anti-seal hunting demonstration* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wF-mY3ipvfg&ab_channel=APArchive
- Arnaquq-Baril, A. (Director). (2016). *Angry Inuk* [Film]. EyeSteelFilm.
- AUT. (2019). *Auckland University of Technology code of conduct for research*. Auckland University of Technology. https://www.aut.ac.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/274371/AUT-CODE-OF-CONDUCT-FOR-RESEARCH-2019.pdf
- Backlund, B. (Director). (2016). *Huntwatch* [Film]. Discovery Channel.
- Baker, B. (2013). From the Gulf of Mexico to the Beaufort Sea: Inuit Involvement in Offshore Oil and Gas Decisions in Alaska and the Western Canadian Arctic. Retrieved October 10, 2013, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/elrna43&div=132>
- Banks, M. (2018). *Using Visual Data in Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, Limited.
- Barry, D. (2005). *Icy Battleground: Canada the IFAW and the Seal Hunt*. Breakwater Books Ltd.
- Bart, H. B., & Stephen, W. (2019). *Critical Survey of Graphic Novels: : History, Theme and Technique*. Salem Press.

- Battistini, E. (2018). “Sealfie”, “Phoque you” and “Animism”: The Canadian Inuit Answer to the United-States Anti-sealing Activism. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, 31(3), 561-594. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-018-9562-0>
- Bauder, H., & Mueller, R. (2023). Westphalian Vs. Indigenous Sovereignty: Challenging Colonial Territorial Governance. 28(1), 156-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2021.1920577>
- Bermejo-Berros, J., Lopez-Diez, J., & Gil Martínez, M. A. (2022). *Inducing narrative tension in the viewer through suspense, surprise, and curiosity* (Vol. 93). Elsevier B.V.
- Borré, K. (1991). Seal Blood, Inuit Blood, and Diet: A Biocultural Model of Physiology and Cultural Identity. Retrieved March 1, 1991, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/648960>
- Borrows, J., & McNeil, K. (2022). *Voicing Identity : Cultural Appropriation and Indigenous Issues*. University of Toronto Press.
- Borrows, J., & Schwartz, R. (2020). *Indigenous Peoples and International Trade : Building Equitable and Inclusive International Trade and Investment Agreements*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bowers, R., Turner, G., Graham, I. D., Furgal, C., & Dubois, L. (2023). *Coming full circle: a critical review of the historical changes in governance, nutrition and food security of Labrador Inuit between 1500 and 2005* (Vol. 26). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2021.2025311>
- Bradley, J., & Toole, K. P. (2022). Adolescent Suicide: Are There Warning Signs? , 48(5), 231-238. Retrieved November 3, 2022, from <https://www.news-medical.net/health/Pediatric-Nursing.aspx>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide to Understanding and Doing*. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Brinkmann, S. (2017). *Philosophies of Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Bunten, A. C., & Graburn, N. H. H. (2018). *Indigenous Tourism Movements*. University of Toronto Press.

- Burelle, J. (2020). Inuit visual and sensate sovereignty in Alethea Arnaquq-baril's *Angry Inuk* [Article]. *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, 29(1), 145-162.
<https://doi.org/10.3138/CJFS.29.1.08>
- Canfield, M. C. (2022). *Translating Food Sovereignty : Cultivating Justice in an Age of Transnational Governance*. Stanford University Press.
- CBC. (2016). *Fighting for food in Canada's North*. CBC. <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/dnto/putting-food-on-the-table-canadians-cope-with-rising-food-prices-1.3460214/fighting-for-food-in-canada-s-north-1.3462909>
- CBC News. (2010a). Fisheries minister gets pie in face. Retrieved January 25, 2010, from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/fisheries-minister-gets-pie-in-face-1.909670>
- CBC News. (2010b). High Arctic monument unveiled in Grise Fiord. Retrieved September 10, 2010, from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/high-arctic-monument-unveiled-in-grise-fiord-1.890884>
- CBC News. (2013). Pamela Anderson, Simpsons' Sam Simon offer cash to sealers. Retrieved December 17, 2013, from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/pamela-anderson-simpsons-sam-simon-offer-cash-to-sealers-1.2467207>
- Clancy, P. (1987). The Making of Eskimo Policy in Canada, 1952-62: The Life and Times of the Eskimo Affairs Committee. 40(3), 191. Retrieved September 1, 1987, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40511092>
- Cook, H. (2014). The EU's seal products ban tests the WTO's public morals exception [Article]. *Journal of Transportation Law, Logistics & Policy*. Retrieved March 1, 2014, from <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1680216340?sourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals>
- Corporation, M. (Director). (2005). *Echo of the last howl* [Film]. Makivvik.
- Cote, C. (2022). *A Drum in One Hand, a Sockeye in the Other: Stories of Indigenous Food Sovereignty from the Northwest Coast*. University of Washington Press.
- Creery, I. (1994). *The Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada*. London: Minority Rights Publication.
- CSAS. (2021). Trends in abundance of harp seals, *Pagophilus groenlandicus*, in the Northwest Atlantic, 1952-2019. Retrieved March 6, 2021, from <http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/csas-sccs/>

- Datta, R. (2021). Community-led food resilience: A decolonizing autographic learning from an Inuit community. *30*, N.PAG. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2021.100564>
- Dauvergne, P., & Neville, K. (2011). Mindbombs of right and wrong: cycles of contention in the activist campaign to stop Canada's seal hunt. *Environmental Politics*, *20*(2), 192-209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2011.551024>
- Dennison, J. (2017). Entangled sovereignties: The Osage Nation's interconnections with governmental and corporate authorities. *44*(4), 684-696. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12566>
- Devon A. Mihesuah, E. H. (2019). *Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States: Restoring Cultural Knowledge, Protecting Environments, and Regaining Health*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Drisko, J., & Maschi, T. (2015). *Content Analysis*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Dugard, J., Porter, B., & Ikawa, D. (2020). *Research Handbook on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights As Human Rights*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Duhaime, G., Chabot, M., Fréchette, P., Robichaud, V., & Proulx, S. (2004). The Impact of Dietary Changes Among the Inuit of Nunavik (Canada): A Socioeconomic Assessment of Possible Public Health Recommendations Dealing with Food Contamination. *24*(4), 1007-1018. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0272-4332.2004.00503.x>
- Dyroff, C. C. (2018). In Kotzebue, Alaska, hunters are bringing traditional foods—and a sense of comfort—to their local elders. Retrieved July 17, 2018, from <https://psmag.com/social-justice/in-kotzebue-alaska-hunters-are-bringing-traditional-foods-and-a-sense-of-comfort-to-their-local-elders>
- Earth Stories. (2023, January 12). *How Lone Inuit Hunts And Survives In Greenland | The Last Igloo | Earth Stories* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Orrb2kR4QU&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=11&ab_channel=EarthStories-ClimateDisasterDocumentaries
- Farquhar, S. D. (2020). Inuit Seal Hunting in Canada : Emerging Narratives in an Old Controversy [research-article]. *Arctic*. Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26974871>

- Federica, S. (2021, 12/01/). Sustainable Blue Arctic (Seal) Hunting [article]. *Nordicum-Mediterraneum*, 16(4b), A2-A2. <https://doi.org/10.33112/nm.16.4.3>
- Feir, D. L., Gillezeau, R., & Jones, M. E. C. (2024). The Slaughter of the Bison and Reversal of Fortunes on the Great Plains. *91*(3), 1634-1670. <https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdad060>
- Ferret, C. (2016). The ambiguities of the Kazakhs' nomadic heritage. *20*(2), 176-199. Retrieved January 1, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24772917>
- Flick, U. (2018). *Designing Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, Limited.
- Focus Asia. (2016, July 1). *CCTV America Documentary: 'On Thin Ice: the People of the North'* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5ooFU5HosU&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=21&ab_channel=FocusAsia
- Forde, J. D., & Maude, B. (2011). Feeding the family during times of stress: experience and determinants of food insecurity in an Inuit community. *177*(1), 44-61. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4959.2010.00374.x>
- Fr Laugrand, J. O. (2014). *Hunters, Predators and Prey: Inuit Perceptions of Animals*. Berghahn Books.
- Fraser-Celin, V.-L., & Rock, M. J. (2022). One Health and reconciliation: media portrayals of dogs and Indigenous communities in Canada. *37*(2), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daab110>
- Gahman, L. (2016). White Settler Society as Monster: Rural Southeast Kansas, Ancestral Osage (Wah-Zha-Zhi) Territories, and the Violence of Forgetting. *48*(2), 314-335. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12177>
- Glazer, J. (Director). (2023). *The Zone of Interest* [Film]. A24.
- Government of Nunavut. (2018). Annual Report: Division of Corrections, Department of Justice. Retrieved March 3, 2018, from https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/strategic_reports/annual-reports/annual_report_201718
- Graburn, N. (2004). Inuksuk: Icon of the Inuit of Nunavut. *28*(1), 69. Retrieved January 1, 2004, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42870751>

Grandin, T., DeVries, T., Barber, A., Baier, F., Belk, K., Broom, D., Calvo-Lorenzo, M. S., Cockram, M., Coppinger, L., & Coppinger, R. (2019). *Livestock Handling and Transport*. CAB International.

Grandin, T., Mitloehner, F., Cockram, M., Baier, F., Ben-Dor, M., Berg, L., Edwards-Callaway, L. N., Kline, H., Lamey, A., & Leroy, F. (2020). *The Slaughter of Farmed Animals : Practical Ways of Enhancing Animal Welfare*. CAB International.

Greenwald, B. (Director). (2009). *The Experimental Eskimos* [Film]. White Pine Pictures.

Guy, R. (2000). Seal Wars. *120*(2), 36-48. Retrieved March 9, 2001, from <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/australia-new-zealand-reference-centre>

Hammill, M. O., & Sauvé, C. (2017). *Growth and condition in harp seals: Evidence of density-dependent and density-independent influences* (Vol. 74). Oxford University Press.

Henderson, K. A. (2018). Enactive Processes, Critical Ontology, and the Digitization of Education. Retrieved March 20, 2018, from <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/cice>

Hollows, J., Goodman, M. K., & Goodman, D. (2022). *Celebrity Chefs, Food Media and the Politics of Eating*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Horisaki-Christens, N. (2022). Friends of Minamata Victims - Video Diary: and the knot of Fujiko Nakaya's early video practice [Article]. *Millennium Film Journal*(76), 12-17. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://millenniumfilmjournal.com/>

Hossain, K. (2013). The EU ban on the import of seal products and the WTO regulations: neglected human rights of the Arctic Indigenous peoples? , *49*(249), 154-166. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247412000174>

Hossain, K., Nilsson, L. M., & Herrmann, T. M. (2020). *Food Security in the High North : Contemporary Challenges Across the Circumpolar Region*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Huss, E., & Bos, E. (2022). *Social Work Research Using Arts-Based Methods*. Policy Press.

ideacity. (2020, April 16). *Aaju Peter - Seal Hunting and Life In The Arctic* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfCQIK6R9tQ&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=14&ab_channel=ideacity

- IFAW. (2016, March 15). *Canada's Commercial Seal Hunt: A Cruel, Unnecessary Waste* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4YL9A1lvuSc&ab_channel=ifaw
- Innis Alumni. (2022, November 23). *2022 Harold Innis Lecture with Aaju Peter* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ma_MMzvEVKA&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=2&ab_channel=InnisAlumni
- Jacquette, D. (2002). *Ontology*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Janse, T. (2022). Piles of Bones: The Performance of Sovereignty through Reindeer Culling in the Subpolar North. *36*(6), 535-557. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2022.2149010>
- Kambic, E. B. (2015). The Changing Lives of Women's Knives: Ulu, Travel, and Transformation. *49*(3), 35-53. Retrieved January 1, 2015, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24757024>
- Kassam, A. (2017). 'It's our way of life': Inuit designers are reclaiming the tarnished sealskin trade. Retrieved May 11, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/sealskin-trade-inuit-fashion-designers-greenpeace>
- Kawamura, Y., & Jong, J.-W. M. d. (2022). *Cultural Appropriation in Fashion and Entertainment*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Kelly, C. (2010). *PETA uses Olympic symbol to slam hunt*. https://www.thestar.com/sports/olympics-and-paralympics/peta-uses-olympic-symbol-to-slam-hunt/article_387d5027-8355-5206-be23-6810e827d3c9.html
- Kennedy, A. (2020). *On Politics*. Alicia Kennedy. <https://www.aliciakennedy.news/p/on-politics>
- Kennedy, J. R. (2013). 'Simpsons' creator Sam Simon, Pam Anderson offer \$1M to end seal hunt. Retrieved December 17, 2013, from <https://globalnews.ca/news/1034034/simpsons-creator-sam-simon-pam-anderson-offer-1m-to-end-seal-hunt/>
- Kerr, J. (2014). Greenpeace apology to Inuit for impacts of seal campaign. Retrieved June 24, 2014, from <https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/story/5473/greenpeace-apology-to-inuit-for-impacts-of-seal-campaign/>

- Kishigami. (2010). Climate change, oil and gas development, and Inupiat whaling in northwest Alaska. Retrieved January 1, 2010, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42870075>
- Knezevic, I., Pasho, J., & Dobson, K. (2018). Seal Hunts in Canada and on Twitter: Exploring the Tensions Between Indigenous Rights and Animal Rights with #Sealfie [Article]. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 43(3), 421-439. <https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2019v44n3a3376>
- Kovach, M. (2021). *Indigenous Methodologies : Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts, Second Edition*. University of Toronto Press.
- Kral, M. J. (2019). *The Return of the Sun : Suicide and Reclamation among Inuit of Arctic Canada*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Krämer, L. (2012). Seal Killing, the Inuit and European Union Law [Article]. *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, 21(3), 291-296. <https://doi.org/10.1111/reel.12006>
- Kunuk, Z. (Director). (2009). *Exile Nutaunikut* [Film]. ISUMA TV.
- Kwapis, K. (Director). (2012). *Big Miracle* [Film]. Universal Pictures.
- La Parra-Casado, D., San Sebastian, M., & Stoor, J. P. A. (2024). Ethnic discrimination and mental health in the Sámi population in Sweden: The SámiHET study. 52(4), 442-449. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14034948231157571>
- Lackenbauer, P. W. (2020). *Human Flagpoles or Humanitarian Action? Discerning Government Motives behind the Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953–1960* Arctic Institute of North America University of Calgary.
- Leavy, P. (2015). *Method Meets Art, Second Edition : Arts-Based Research Practice*. Guilford Publications.
- Lee, Y. J., & Lee, M.-S. (2024). Suicide warning signs that are challenging to recognize: a psychological autopsy study of Korean adolescents. 18(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13034-024-00731-1>
- Levy, S. (2020). A Tale of Two Seal Hunts: Contesting the Conflation of Canadian Sealing Activities. *Journal of International Wildlife Law & Policy*, 23(3), 166-190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13880292.2020.1846858>

- Life That Matters. (2020, October 8). *Reaching Remote INUIT Tribes in the Arctic Documentary - Sebastian Tirtirau* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nugPRn7x6-w&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=7&ab_channel=LifeThatMatters
- Lima, T., & Costantino, A. (2021). *Food Security and International Relations : Critical Perspectives From the Global South*. Ibidem Verlag.
- Linzey, A. (2006). An Ethical Critique of the Canadian Seal Hunt and an Examination of the Case for Import Controls on Seal Products. *Journal of Animal Law*. Retrieved July 19, 2023, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/janimlaw2&div=9>
- Lougheed, T. (2010). The changing landscape of Arctic traditional food [Article]. *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 118(9), A386-A393. <https://doi.org/10.1289/ehp.118-a386>
- Mayer, T., & Anderson, M. D. (2020). *Food Insecurity : A Matter of Justice, Sovereignty, and Survival*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- McEachern, L. W. (2022). Learning circles: an adaptive strategy to support food sovereignty among First Nations communities in Canada. *Applied Physiology, Nutrition & Metabolism*, 47(8), 813-825. <https://doi.org/10.1139/apnm-2021-0776>
- McKnight's Long-Term Care News. (2015). Nursing home praised for putting native foods on menu. Retrieved November 25, 2015, from <https://www.mcknights.com/news/nursing-home-praised-for-putting-native-foods-on-menu/>
- McLean, S. (2020). Beyond Neglect: Building Colonial Rule in the Kitikmeot, 1916–52. *101*(1), 49-75. <https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.2017-0135>
- Moloney, C., & Chambliss, W. (2014). Slaughtering the Bison, Controlling Native Americans: A State Crime and Green Criminology Synthesis. 22(3), 319-338. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-013-9220-5>
- Munchies. (2017, July 19). *Canada's Seal Hunt Controversy: The Politics of Food* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mc2t-QJvCGo&t=2287s&ab_channel=Munchies
- Munchies. (2021, February 24). *Matty Meets the Arctic Inuit | Dead Set on Life Season 2 Episode 6* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6K70UCVNe0c&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=15&ab_channel=Munchies

Nicklas, P., & Lindner, O. (2012). *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation : Literature, Film, and the Arts*. De Gruyter, Inc.

NNC. (2020). *Eligible food and non-food items: What Nutrition North Canada subsidizes*. nutritionnorthcanada.
<https://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415548276694/1415548329309>

Nolan, C. (Director). (2023). *Oppenheimer* [Film]. Universal Pictures.

Now This Originals. (2015, April 8). *How Food Can Be Used As A Political Weapon* [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqEV_wqRikU&ab_channel=NowThisOriginals

NTI. (2024). Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture 2015 – 2017. Retrieved February 1, 2023, from <https://www.tunngavik.com/files/2024/02/2015-2017-SICS-Report-ENG-Resilience-in-Life.pdf>

Nunavut Arctic College. (2021). *Nirjutit Imaani: Cooking with Fish and Seal*. Nunavut Arctic College.

Nunavut Arctic College Media. (2016a, October 14). *Dressing the Seal - Hunting Seal in the Summer* [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQSAqZoO8zU&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=59&ab_channel=NunavutArcticCollegeMedia

Nunavut Arctic College Media. (2016b, October 14). *Seal Skinning Technique - Hunting Seal in the Summer* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g1Rd9-xqgqA&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=56&ab_channel=NunavutArcticCollegeMedia

Offor, I. (2020). The Seal Hunt: Cultures, Economies and Legal Regimes Review [Book Review]. *Review of European Comparative & International Environmental Law*, 29(2), 307-309. <https://doi.org/10.1111/reel.12341>

Olsthoorn, T. (2017). Labrador Inuit on the Hunt: Seasonal Patterns, Techniques, and Animals as They Appear in the Early Moravian Diaries. *41*(1/2), 125-149.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1061436ar>

- Ottawa Sun. (2018, February 24). *PETA protests seal hunt on Hill* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJkQlgNW47g&ab_channel=OttawaSun
- Paarlberg, R. (2013). *Food Politics : What Everyone Needs to Know*®. Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Panikkar, B., & Lemmond, B. (2020). Being on Land and Sea in Troubled Times: Climate Change and Food Sovereignty in Nunavut. 9(12), 508. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9120508>
- Parasecoli, F. (2022). *Gastronativism : Food, Identity, Politics*. Columbia University Press.
- Patar, D. (2020). Inuit exemption to European Union's seal product ban is ineffective: report. Retrieved January 27, 2020, from <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/inuit-exemption-to-european-unions-seal-product-ban-is-ineffective-report/>
- Patrick, D. (2003). *Language, Politics, and Social Interaction in an Inuit Community*. De Gruyter, Inc.
- Paul, B. (2021). Tenderness amid tragedy. Retrieved June 5, 2021, from <https://www.smh.com.au/by/paul-byrnes-hvevi>
- Payne, C., Greenhorn, B., Webster, D. K., Williamson, C., & Manning, J. (2022). *Atiqput : Inuit Oral History and Project Naming*. McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Pelly, D. F. (2001). *Sacred Hunt*. Douglas & McIntyre Publishing Group.
- peta2TV. (2017, April 4). *WTF: This is Canada's Commercial Seal Slaughter* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fUq7M7Y5uMg&ab_channel=peta2TV
- PETA. (2008a, March 29, 2008). *Bloody slaughter on the ice*. <https://www.peta.org/>
- PETA. (2008b, March 29, 2008). *On ice where red blood flows*. <https://www.peta.org/>
- PETA. (2008c). *Seal pups die today*. Herald Sun (Melbourne). <https://www.peta.org/>
- PETA. (2008d, March 29, 2008). *Slow death of seal clubbing*. <https://www.peta.org/issues/wildlife/wildlife-factsheets/seal-slaughter/>

- PETA. (2017). *Seal Slaughter*. PETA. <https://www.peta.org/issues/wildlife/wildlife-factsheets/seal-slaughter/>
- PETAStaff. (2010). *Oh, Pie! Canada's Minister of Fisheries and Oceans Gets Creamed*. PETA. <https://www.peta.org/blog/oh-pie-canadas-minister-fisheries-oceans-gets-creamed/>
- Peters, A. (2021). *Animals in International Law*. BRILL.
- Petersen, R. (2010). *Comics, Manga, and Graphic Novels : A History of Graphic Narratives*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Piercey, M. (2007). Representations of Inuit Culture in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. 65. Retrieved July 19, 2023, from <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/18083>
- Pope, A. (2018). An 'Angry Inuk' defends the seal hunt, again. <https://canadiangeographic.ca/articles/an-angry-inuk-defends-the-seal-hunt-again/>
- Powell, S. (2019). Ulu. 45(2/3), 422-423. Retrieved March 2, 2019, from <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/socindex-full-text>
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2014). *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950-1975*. Inhabit Media Inc.
- Qitsualik-Tinsley, R., & Qitsualik-Tinsley, S. (2015). *Stories of Survival and Revenge: From Inuit Folklore*. Inhabit Media.
- Ramussen, K. (2020). *Eskimo Folk Tales - 53 Inuit folk and fairy tales*. Abela Publishing.
- Renner, J. (2023). Animal protection as animal welfare and anti-cruelty: a genealogical re-examination of the EU seal products ban. 37(3), 538-563. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00471178231191290>
- Ritchie, I. P. (2016). *What is food sovereignty?* OrganicNZ magazine. <https://nourishingrevolution.blogspot.com/2016/05/what-is-food-sovereignty.html>
- Rose, H. A. (2018). "I Didn't Get to Say Good-Bye... Didn't Get to Pet My Dogs or Nothing": Bioecological Theory and the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada. 10(2), 348-366. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jfr.12261>

- Round, J., Cortsen, R. P., & Ahmed, M. (2022). *Comics and Graphic Novels*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
- Rule, E. (2018). Seals, Sealfies, and the Settler State: Indigenous Motherhood and Gendered Violence in Canada. Retrieved December 1, 2018, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26794777>
- Sakakibara, C. (2018, Spring2018). Challenging Anti-Sealing Campaigns in the Arctic [Film Review]. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 34(1), 105-106. <https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12159>
- Sanger, C. W. (2006). Icy Battleground: Canada, the International Fund for Animal Welfare, and the Seal Hunt Donald Barry. *61*(2), 516. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40204180>
- Sanguya, J., & Gjerstad, O. (Director). (2010). *Qimmit, a Clash of Two Truths* [Film]. Piksuk Media, National Film Board of Canada.
- Schanbacher, W. D. (2010). *The Politics of Food : The Global Conflict Between Food Security and Food Sovereignty*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Schanbacher, W. D. (2019). *Food As a Human Right : Combatting Global Hunger and Forging a Path to Food Sovereignty*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Scorsese, M. (Director). (2023). *Killers of the Flower Moon* [Film]. Paramount Pictures.
- Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. Retrieved May 9, 2012, from <http://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/elt>
- Sebastian, M. S., Gustafsson, P. E., & Stoor, J. P. A. (2024). Embodiment of discrimination: a cross-sectional study of threats, humiliating treatment and ethnic discrimination in relation to somatic health complaints among Sami in Sweden. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech-2023-221365>
- Sellheim, N. (2015a). The goals of the EU seal products trade regulation: from effectiveness to consequence. *Polar Record*, 51(3), 274-289. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247414000023>

- Sellheim, N. (2015b). Policies and Influence: Tracing and Locating the EU Seal Products Trade Regulation. Retrieved February 3, 2015, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/intlfddb17&div=4>
- Sellheim, N. (2018). *The Seal Hunt: Cultures, Economies and Legal Regimes*. Brill | Nijhoff.
- Sellheim, N. P. (2016). The Legal Question of Morality. *Social & Legal Studies*, 25(2), 141-161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663915624343>
- Sentinel. (2013). *Feeding My Family - Food Insecurity in the North*. watershedsentinel. <https://watershedsentinel.ca/articles/feeding-my-family-food-insecurity-in-the-north/>
- Shafiee, M., & Szafron, M. (2022). *Food Security Status of Indigenous Peoples in Canada According to the 4 Pillars of Food Security: A Scoping Review* (Vol. 13). Elsevier B.V.
- Sheehy, T., Kolahdooz, F., Roache, C., & Sharma, S. (2015). Traditional food consumption is associated with better diet quality and adequacy among Inuit adults in Nunavut, Canada. 66(4), 445-451. <https://doi.org/10.3109/09637486.2015.1035232>
- Sheehy, T., Roache, C., & Sharma, S. (2013). Eating habits of a population undergoing a rapid dietary transition: portion sizes of traditional and non-traditional foods and beverages consumed by Inuit adults in Nunavut, Canada. 12, 70. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-2891-12-70>
- Sider, G. M. (2014). *Skin for Skin: Death and Life for Inuit and Innu (Narrating Native Histories)*. Duke University Press Books.
- Sinclair, M. (2019). *Beyond Humanity: New Frontiers in Animal Law: Foreword*. <https://www.animallaw.info/article/beyond-humanity-new-frontiers-animal-law>
- SLICE. (2022, January 31). *Inuit, Fighting for a better life I SLICE I Full documentary* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMf50ZRow3E&list=PLNdayNX_s91-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=8&ab_channel=SLICE
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Bloomsbury Academic & Professional.
- Smith, W. E. S. A. M. (1975). *Minamata Words and Photographs*. Holt Rinehart Winston.
- Sontag, S. (2004). *Regarding the Pain of Others*. Picador USA.

- Sousanis, N. (2015). *Unflattening*. Harvard University Press.
- Spagnuolo, D. (2022). Problematizing “ethical eating”: the role of policy in an ethical food system. 25(5), 934-952. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2021.1939960>
- Spielberg, S. (Director). (1975). *Jaws* [Film]. Universal Pictures.
- Spielberg, S. (Director). (1993). *Schindler's List* [Film]. Universal Pictures.
- Struthers Montford, K., & Taylor, C. (2020). *Colonialism and Animality : Anti-Colonial Perspectives in Critical Animal Studies*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Tassinari, P. (Director). (1995). *Broken Promises: The High Arctic Relocation* [Film]. NFB.
- The Dodo. (2017, May 6). *Canada's Seal Hunt: Five Myths That Simply Aren't True | The Dodo* [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XCYf9q9t9bo&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=17&ab_channel=TheDodo
- The Walrus. (2017, April 26). *Protecting the Inuit Way of Life | Aaju Peter | Walrus Talks* [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3lRIGoSpZs&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&index=36&ab_channel=TheWalrus
- THESTAR. (2008). Anti-sealer Watson rebuked anti-sealing groups.
https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/anti-sealer-watson-rebuked-anti-sealing-groups/article_8f59e800-0918-5bfd-ba18-d2addc19b60e.html
- TVO. (2014). *Transcript: Leese Papatsie: Feeding the North | Dec 01, 2014*. TVO Today.
<https://www.tvo.org/transcript/2267441>
- U.S. News&World Report. (2018). The Push for Traditional Foods in Alaska.
<https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/articles/2018-01-19/now-on-the-menu-at-some-alaska-public-facilities-caribou-and-seal>
- Urban Coast Institute. (2022, January 28). *A Tale of Two Seal Hunts* [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YZnsWU-AuYk&list=PLNdayNX_s9l-GwroCUVV9hfORQAfbAqxb&ab_channel=UrbanCoastInstitute

- Vanstone, G., & Winston, B. (2019). 'This would be scary to any other culture ... but to us it's so cute!' The radicalism of Fourth Cinema from Tangata Whenua to Angry Inuk [Article]. *Studies in Documentary Film*, 13(3), 233-249.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17503280.2019.1672919>
- Waiser, W. A. (2016). Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy, and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic by George Wenzel (review). Retrieved June 2, 2016, from <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/574261>
- Watson, P. (2005). *Commentary by Paul Watson*
Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. SeaShepherd <https://www.seashepherd.org.au/latest-news/the-orwellian-world-of-the-canadian-seal-hunt/>
- Weikle, B. (2022). Meet the chef who learned to cook with seal and other Indigenous foods at Alaska hospital. Retrieved January 29, 2022, from <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/meet-the-chef-who-learned-to-cook-with-seal-and-other-indigenous-foods-at-alaska-hospital-1.6330188>
- Weilgart, L. (2017). Seismic testing for oil harmful to marine life. Retrieved August 15, 2017, from <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/australia-new-zealand-reference-centre>
- Wenzel, G. (1991). *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy, and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic*. University of Toronto Press.
- Wenzel, G. W., Dolan, J., & Brown, C. (2016). Wild Resources, Harvest Data and Food Security in Nunavut's Qikiqtaaluk Region: A Diachronic Analysis. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43871416>
- Westphal, K. R. (2020). *Kant's Critical Epistemology : Why Epistemology Must Consider Judgment First*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- White, G. (2023). *We Are in Charge Here : Inuit Self-Government and the Nunatsiavut Assembly*. University of Toronto Press.
- Windsor Star. (2018, March 1). *Windsor Protesters Decry Canada's Seal Hunt* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FXn8MIzNzJk&ab_channel=WindsorStar
- Wolgemuth, J. R., Guyotte, K. W., & Shelton, S. A. (2024). *Expanding Approaches to Thematic Analysis : Creative Engagements with Qualitative Data*. Taylor & Francis Group.

