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6 Human rights begin with breakfast

Maintenance of and access to stable traditional food systems with a focus on the European High Arctic

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Introduction

Food systems include a range of activities, from the production to the consumption of food products. Traditional food systems (TFSs) consist of activities in which food is collected or produced locally from available natural resources, shared and consumed locally as part of customary food practices, and processed for wider distribution within and beyond the local region (Kuhnlein, 2009). Across the Arctic, TFSs comprise traditional activities such as berry picking, hunting, reindeer herding, and fishing along with processing, distributing, and consuming these food products. Due to climate change and increasing human activities in the region (such as extractive industrial developments, tourism, and maritime activities), the maintenance or preservation of stable TFSs is facing serious challenges. The people residing in this region, including the Indigenous population, are key players in the region's TFS. For them, the maintenance of stable TFSs is vital. It is also connected to their sociocultural, emotional, and psychological values and to their local and traditional knowledge (Kuhnlein et al. 2013). In addition to establishing stable food systems, maintaining TFSs is sustainable, conserves ecological systems, and enables ecosystems to function. Stable food systems also ensure food security (International Union for Conservation of Nature [IUCN] 2013), which enhances human security (Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations [FAO] 2016). Against this background, this chapter examines TFSs and their importance to local Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in the European High Arctic (EHA) region. It seeks to pinpoint the position of TFSs within a human rights framework. In doing so, it places the right to traditional food not only under the general right to food provision, but under a broader human rights framework. This broad framework designates food as an individual right like the right to health and to practice one's culture and creates a collective dimension where food becomes a community property (and/or a collective concern). In this approach, stable food systems require integrating local and

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traditional knowledge and ensuring meaningful community participation in protecting and promoting the systems. Therefore, this chapter uses a human rights framework to argue that protecting and promoting TFSs must include the right to self-determination. This right guarantees food sovereignty in a TFS. In sum, this chapter examines the relationship between an overarching human rights framework and TFSs in the context of the EHA. The chapter is divided into six sections including the introduction and the conclusion. The next section identifies the connections among food, population, and the EHA region.

European High Arctic (EHA): the region, population, and food

The European High Arctic (EHA) refers to the European North and the European portions of the Arctic (Tamnes and Offerdal 2014, 5). This area includes the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden, and Finland and the north-western part of Russia (Stepien and Koivurova 2017). The population in this region is comprised of Indigenous Peoples and local communities. The Indigenous population includes Sami, Nenets, and Veps, among others (Barents Info a). Non-Indigenous local people include Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, and Russians, along with a small number of immigrants from other nationalities. There are at least 90,000 Sami in the region (Barents Info b). Most of them live in Norway (50,000–65,000), many in Sweden (20,000), and some in Finland (8,000) and Russia (2,000). Many other Indigenous Peoples live in the Russian part of the European Arctic; approximately 283,975 Nenets, Pomors, Veps, and Komi (the Komi are not considered Indigenous Peoples under Russian law) live in Russia (Barents Info a). Indigenous inhabitants of the EHA region, particularly those in the three Scandinavian countries, often cross national and international borders to engage in traditional livelihood activities, which include herding, hunting, fishing, and foraging (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). These activities comprise family traditions and build relationships in communities (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018).

In the Nordic countries in general, the food culture creates a 'strong symbolic bond' between nature and food (Bergflodt, Amilien, and Skuland 2012). This bond is linked with the traditional activities mentioned above; even eating outdoors is said to represent Nordic cultural values and practices (Bergflodt, Amilien, and Skuland 2012). This is also true for the rests of the EHA. The food culture in this region is diverse, yet many traditional virtues and practices relating to food are similar throughout the EHA. In the Arctic regions, abundant food resources can be gathered or accessed from the natural environment. However, available food resources differ in different Arctic countries. EHA tourist industries promote specific local foods in each country. For instance, in Northern Norway, cod, coley, Atlantic halibut, herring, haddock, and red bream are available from the sea (Nord Norge 2018a). Fresh fish is a source of food, but dried fish is also

enjoyed by the locals and is Norway's oldest export (Nord Norge 2018b). The forests, mountains, and plateaus in the north are home to reindeers and elks (Nord Norge 2018b). Cloudberries, blueberries, and lingonberries are also abundant in the forests and are often served as a side dish or dessert (Nord Norge 2018b). In the Swedish part of the EHA, salmon, grayling, whitefish, and roe are found in the clear waters, and traditional dishes include reindeer, moose, grouse, and capercaillie. These dishes are also served with berries, often freshly picked. The tourist industry often promotes these local foods (Heart of Lapland 2018). Like in Northern Norway, in the Swedish part of the EHA, cranberries, blueberries, cloudberries, and Arctic raspberries are often served as side dishes or desserts, in drinks, or even eaten fresh (Heart of Lapland 2018). In Northernmost Sweden, the local cuisine may vary from place to place. The food culture of this region is directly connected to nature, and the same is true for Northern Finland (Bergflodt, Amilien, and Skuland 2012). In the Finnish part of the EHA, for instance, reindeer is an essential part of the local cuisine (Reindeer Herders' Association 2014); in fact, no part of the reindeer remains unused. The meat is sautéed or served in fillets, cold cuts, jerky, mince, and sausages, among other forms (Reindeer Herders' Association 2014). Game birds such as capercaillie, willow grouse, black grouse, and waterfowl also form part of the cuisine of Northern Finland. Elk meat is also popular in this area, and bear meat is considerably less popular but still eaten (Visit Rovaniemi 2018). Tourist information about Finnish Lapland highlights the access to fish such as salmon, trout, pike perch, whitefish, arctic char, grayling, and vendace. Berries are also common in Northern Finnish forests, including bilberry, cloudberry, lingonberry, and cranberry. These foods are prepared and eaten in similar ways in Northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland (Visit Rovaniemi 2018). In the Russian part of the EHA, wild mushrooms and berries are often gathered (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). Reindeer meat also forms part of the food system in the Russian Arctic. Reindeer hides are often salted to preserve them (Karpukhin 2016). A variety of fish are found in the Russian Arctic, including haddock, cod, pollock, capelin, poutassou, herring, grouper, and mackerel (Stupachenko 2018). Atlantic salmon can also be found in the Kola Peninsula (Aas, Klemetsen, and Einum 2011). Fish can be smoked or cooked in soups.

Traditional food systems

Conceptualising TFS

The TFS of the EHA is similar in many ways to the food system promoted by the tourism industry, but there are also some differences (see Chapter 7 of this book). To understand TFSs, it is necessary to first define a food system. Global Environmental Change and Food Systems (GECAFS, an interdisciplinary research program), categorises food systems based on whether

they encompass all activities related to the production, processing, distribution, preparation, and consumption of food. These activities contribute to an essential interrelationship between humans and food. This interrelationship broadly defines the link between food security and food systems. Food security refers to availability, access, utilisation, and stability of food (FAO 2008a). Availability is ensured by production, distribution, and exchange. Access means affordability, allocation, and preference. Utilisation refers to the additional values embedded in food, including nutrition, social values, and food safety. Food security contributes to broader human security, including environmental, health, community, and economic security. In food systems, interactions among biological, geographic, and physical structures and between these structures and human environments influence food-related activities and their outcomes (Ericksen 2008). As a result, food systems encompass all food processes from production to consumption as well as the influence of those processes on society, politics, the economy, the culture, and the environment (Capone 2014). Therefore, a food system cannot be understood only by considering the processes it involves; the actors in a food system, along with their roles and interactions, must be examined as well (Ericksen et al. 2009).

The actors in food systems form the largest group of natural resource managers in the world (European Environment Agency 2017). Their contributions to the food systems are integral; they identify problems and implement solutions (European Environment Agency 2017). Food system actors include farmers, fishermen, traders, processors, food industry workers, retailers, and consumers (Westhoek, Berkum, and Hajer 2016). In large-scale industrial production and processing, actors' roles vary – some are more powerful than others. While these actors' actions are integrated in food system in general, a TFS approach offers a different perspective, suggesting that the consumption preferences of grassroots-level actors deserve to be heard. Most actors in the EHA engage in small-scale food production using traditional resources, means, and methods, primarily to meet local needs. Maintenance of the food system plays a role in their subsistence activities (see, e.g., Chapter 10 of this book). However, as the traditional subsistence activities of the local Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in this region have been replaced by a mixed economy, more and more local foods and their by-products are being processed to attract external markets.

Consequently, a TFS includes local, natural food products that are socially and culturally acceptable (Kuhnlein, 2009). Although this definition has often been used in connection with Indigenous Peoples, in this chapter, it will be used to include Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents. Here, the EHA's TFS refers to processes that use local food sources, such as berry picking, hunting, reindeer herding, and fishing, as well as processing these food items for consumption. In short, collecting food directly from nature and then preparing and consuming that food is the TFS. The cultural, social, political, economic, and environmental outcomes of these processes are also part of

the TFS, and local actors and their roles in the maintenance of food systems are the most important elements of a TFS. The EHA is characterised by robust interactions amongst traditional cultures and the lands used and/or otherwise occupied by Indigenous and non-Indigenous local peoples (Paci et al. 2004). As a result, its TFS does not exclude cultural practices or the spiritual aspects of food practices; rather, the relationships between these practices and food offer a more complete understanding of TFSs in the high Arctic.

Relevance of TFS in the EHA

Maintaining TFSs in the EHA is key to the stability of food systems in this region. Stability is one of the four dimensions of food security – the other three, as mentioned above, are availability, access, and utilisation (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). The 1996 FAO definition of food security also includes access to food which is socially and culturally acceptable (Jones et al. 2013). A food-secure community has more human security because TFSs are interconnected with other aspects of society. For example, the nutrition of traditional food provides health security; maintaining traditional and natural food systems complements environmental conservation and preservation, providing environmental security; traditional food is less expensive than imported food, which is often expensive in the high Arctic, contributing to economic security; and finally, the connectedness of traditional food to cultural values creates community security.

The practice of traditional food collection in across the region of the EHA, particularly from natural sources, is consistent over time. The connection between land and food cannot be disregarded – for instance, the growth of berries in wild forests and organised farming are both examples of food cultivated from the land (Elde et al. 2018). In Finland, under the national legislation supporting 'every man's right', anyone may gather wild berries, mushrooms, and apples from the forests for free; this is subject to restriction in conservation areas and on private properties (Ministry of the Environment 2016). Fishing is somewhat restricted; angling and ice fishing are banned in fast-flowing sections of watercourses (Ministry of the Environment 2016). Anyone who pays the state fisheries management fee may lure fish with a single rod anywhere in Finland except in fast-flowing sections, and people under 18 and over 65 can fish for free (Ministry of the Environment 2016). Fishermen who use nets or fish traps must obtain permission and pay the state fisheries management fee (Ministry of the Environment 2016). In Sweden, similar regulations apply to picking berries and mushrooms (Kuruzovic 2019), and Swedish rules and restrictions on fishing also mirror those of Finland (Aas 2008). In Norway, there are no restrictions on gathering berries and mushrooms, but special rules apply to cloudberries in Northern Norway (Kagda, Cooke and Nevins 2017). No license is needed to fish for saltwater species for personal use, but a license is required for all other kinds of fishing (Norwegian Environment Agency 2013).

Reindeer herding and hunting are regulated slightly differently across the three Nordic states. In Finland, hunters must take a hunting examination and pay a state game management fee, after which they can obtain a hunting card (Tuunanen, Tarasti, and Rautiainen 2015). and Residents of Lapland may hunt on state-owned land (Section 8, Hunting Act). The right to practice reindeer herding is not reserved to Sami people, but it can only be done in designated reindeer herding areas (Section 3, Reindeer Husbandry Act). Reindeer herding is not reserved to Indigenous Peoples in Russia, either (Forrest 1997). In Sweden and Norway (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018), anyone who pays a permit fee for a license may hunt reindeer (Swedish Environmental Protection Agency 2019), but herding rights are reserved to the Sami people (Torp 2013). In Russia, a license is needed for hunting and fishing. Amateurs may hunt animals for fur with a voucher, but for licenced species, such as river beaver, a licence is required by the 1995 Federal Law of the Russian Federation on Wildlife.

Food from traditional or local sources also supports business development in the EHA. Local foods are often used to promote local businesses and services, from tourism businesses and restaurants to other public institutions such as schools, hospitals, offices, and other institutions. Tourist agencies in Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish Lapland and in the Kola Peninsula, such as Kontiki Finland (Twitter: @kontikifinland), often share traditional recipes and pictures of traditional food on social media. Some of the region's many tourist agencies also organise food tours for their customers. Commercial fisheries are also quite active in this region, and they play a significant role in production of healthy local food. However, these kinds of businesses face challenges due to protective regulatory measures and private consumption (Setälä et al. 1999), especially since private consumption is linked with emotional and traditional values (as discussed elsewhere in this chapter). Restaurants in the EHA also serve wide ranges of traditional foods prepared with local ingredients. For example, Nili Restaurant, a popular restaurant in Rovaniemi, Finland, serves traditional Sami and Finnish food (Nili Restaurant 2019). Even the restaurant at the Arctic Centre in Rovaniemi (which is open to the public) features food prepared from the 'finest raw ingredients sourced directly from Lapland' (Arktikum 2019). Similar approaches to food service are found in many restaurants at universities, schools, and hospitals across the region.

Threats to the TFS in the EHA

The stability of the TFS in the EHA is in jeopardy because of changes in the natural environment due to climate change. Increased human activities such as tourism, mining, and extractive industrial developments and infrastructural changes also disturb the ecosystem in the long run, interrupting the natural processes of food systems (Hassen 2016). Climate change is affecting the stability of Arctic's food systems (FAO 2008b), and climate

impacts are visible in all components of local and traditional food systems. For example, extreme increases in temperatures and changes in rainfall patterns have affected the growth of crops, pests, pathogens, and weeds (Myers et al. 2017). The Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland predict that moderate increases in temperature will not only enhance crop growth but will also increase the risk of pest outbreaks and diseases in animals (Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland 2017). This is true for other areas in this region as well, and these changes alter natural foods systems. The major impact of climate change on food systems is uncertainty; its impacts depend on the connections amongst many physical factors such as temperature and carbon dioxide levels (FCRN 2015). Reindeer populations are expected to face unfavourable impacts from climate change (Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland 2017). Milder winters and increases in precipitation result in thicker snow, sometimes with icy layers underneath it (Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland 2017). This can make it difficult for reindeer to dig for lichen, which means they require more supplementary food (Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland 2017). The short-term impacts of climate change have been felt across the EHA. In Northern Sweden, for example, Sami reindeer herders have been affected by droughts and wildfires. In a 2018 study, these herders expressed concern that some of their herds might not survive the year and that young calves, weakened by the long drought, might not be able to 'follow their mothers to new feeding grounds' (Gerasimova 2018). Climate change affects reindeer directly via thermal stress and also indirectly through increased difficulty in accessing food and water due to rising temperatures (Nuttall et al. 2005). During the summer of 2018, increased temperatures affected berries as well (Pohjanpalo 2018); the drought in Sweden affected production of Scandinavian bilberries, cloudberries, and red lingonberries (Rubin 2018).

In addition, traditional food systems are increasingly threatened by mining industries in the region. For instance, the largest underground ore mine in the world is in the city of Kiruna in the Arctic Circle; it stretches across reindeer migration paths (Gaia Foundation 2014). In 2017, the new mining plan in Kiruna (Sweden) involved relocating all 18,000 inhabitants of the city (Rathi 2017). Another Swedish company, Nickel Mountain, is planning to develop nickel mining in Rönnbäcken; there are concerns that this will damage reindeer migration routes and pastures (Gaia Foundation 2014). This is the topic of a major conflict between the Sami people and the government, but the government continues to support economic interest in the mine. Local Sami organisations claim that the mine will destroy the pasture rotation for about 8,000 reindeers (Environmental Justice Atlas 2010). In the Finnish county of Lapland, Northland Mines, Inc. has decided to start mining in Kolari (Similä and Jokinen 2018). This concerned locals and members of the tourism industry in 2014 (Mainio 2014). Iron mines use chemicals, such as xanthates, which can be very harmful to fish and to microorganisms in water (Similä and Jokinen 2018). The plans for the mine show that its

processed waters will be pumped to the Tornio-Muonio River (Similä and Jokinen 2018), a key river for salmon fishing; it goes without saying that this would affect the quality of salmon (Similä and Jokinen 2018). In Murmansk Oblast in Russia, the mining industry has been disruptive; the mine in the town of Nikel remains one of worst polluters in the region (Hossain, Raheem and Cormier 2018). The Kola Company is also located in Nikel, and pollution in these regions has harmful impacts on the local wildlife and environment and on foods such as berries and mushrooms (Hossain, Raheem and Cormier 2018).

Another current cause of concern is the planned Arctic Railway, which the Finnish and Norwegian governments are collaborating to build (Saami Council 2018). Construction of tracks alters the natural environment (Finnish Transport Agency 2018). The natural environment of Northernmost Finland is exceptionally vulnerable, and it is projected that changes would have long-lasting impacts on the area (Finnish Transport Agency 2018). The Arctic Railway Plan poses a major threat to Sami reindeer pastures and will fragment the Sápmi homeland (Saami Council 2018). The primary negative impacts of the railway are predicted to be those affecting reindeer husbandry. The impact will be seen in reindeer herding communities across the region, from Rovaniemi in Finland to the Arctic Ocean via Inari and Kirkenes in Norway (Saami Council 2018). The primary impact on reindeer management will derive from its effect on reindeer pastures; the railroad would make pastures unavailable to reindeer, altering herd ranges (Finnish Transport Agency 2018). The railway would also add toxic residues to reindeer fodder and disturb reindeer grazing (Finnish Transport Agency 2018). Accidents involving reindeers in or around the project area are also expected (Finnish Transport Agency 2018). New reports on the Arctic Railway Plan were published at the end of January 2019; these reports discussed changes made to the previous plan to avoid these adverse impacts (Ministry of Transport and Communications 2019a). A further report published by the Ministry of Transport and Communications in February 2019 explicitly states that the Ministry is aiming to minimise the adverse impacts of the Arctic Railway on reindeer herding and concludes that the Sami people should take part in impact assessments (Ministry of Transport and Communications 2019b).

A further threat to the TFSs in this region is posed by the tourism industry, which is expanding due to worldwide touristic interest in the area (Hossain, Raheem and Cormier 2018). Increased use of helicopters and snowmobiles can disturb the animals, including reindeer. They also cause sound pollution, which may force animals to relocate or cause panic flights by birds (Hossain, Raheem and Cormier 2018). Snowmobiles and helicopters are often used for reindeer herding as well, but tourism is increasing their use, disrupting the natural environment and increasing the carbon footprint of such vehicles in the region (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). Berry picking, fishing, and hunting are also popular tourist activities,

which puts additional pressure on available resources (Snyder 2007). For example, tourists often visit the Deatnu River Valley, which runs between Norway and Finland, for the area's salmon fishing (Hossain and Petretei 2016). Tourist companies across Finnish Lapland, such as Naamisuvanto Salmon Fishing in Rovaniemi (Visit Rovaniemi 2019), organise guided fishing tours. Furthermore, around 2,000 foreign hunters visit Finland per year. Although they must obtain hunting licences, these hunts are organised by tourist companies in Swedish (Limpopo and Diana Hunting Tours 2019) and Finnish Lapland ('Hunting: Gamefowl permit sales begin' 2019). This alters the natural processes of the food systems, eventually threatening their overall structure.

The natural environment of the EHA has been altered by changes ranging from climate change to increased tourist activities. This alters the stability of EHA food systems, making it more difficult for local Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to have adequate access to traditional foods and maintain their traditional livelihoods. As a result, these people must compromise their rights to traditional food.

Human rights frameworks and TFSs: an assessment of the EHA

Human rights framework to analyse TFS

No direct reference to TFSs is found in the framework of human rights. The human right to food encompasses not only the right to physical consumption (which complements the rights to life and health), but also the rights of individuals and communities to cultural, psychological, and spiritual wellbeing. The TFS provides stability and access to locally produced food. The system includes the production, processing, distribution, and consumption of food, as well as all actors involved in these processes, from farmers and producers to consumers. Analysing TFS from the viewpoint of human rights embraces elements that encourage the full enjoyment of many other individual and collective human rights. The international human rights framework consists of a number of instruments. The most fundamental are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Other instruments that address the right to food, in particular in the EHA, are the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO Convention No. 169), the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD).

The first three instruments – the UDHR, the ICCPR, and the ICESCR, together referred to as the International Bill of Human Rights – endorse the

right to food in connection to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of individuals and families. This endorsement is articulated in Article 25 of the UDHR. Article 11 of the ICESCR highlights the connection between the right to an adequate standard of living and the right to adequate food (para. 1) and also recognises the universal right to be 'free from hunger'. States are therefore obligated to improve the 'method of production, conservation, and distribution of food … by disseminating knowledge … to achieve the most efficient development and utilisation of natural resources' (para. 2[a], ICESCR). The Article also highlights the equitable distribution of global food supplies (para. 2[b], ICESCR). The ICCPR does not directly refer to a right to food. However, the right to life described in Article 6 mentions food as one of the most important elements in the protection of human lives, the promotion of their overall wellbeing, and maintaining their dignity in life. An adequate supply of food that properly fulfils dietary needs only guarantees the most fundamental of all human rights – the right to life. Furthermore, according to General Comment No. 36 on Article 6, the right to life described in Article 6 of the ICCPR is not meant to be 'interpreted narrowly' (ICCPR 2018). Hence, a lack of essentials, such as food, does not create the conditions necessary for humans to not only survive (ICCPR 2018) but to live with dignity as human beings. The General Comment also mentions the resources of Indigenous Peoples, stipulating that any threat to their resources can affect the right to life by jeopardising the dignity of Indigenous Peoples.

Article 27 of the UDHR and Articles 27 and 15(1) of the ICCPR and ICESCR, respectively, address food as a part of culture. Articles 27 of the UDHR and 15(1) of the ICESCR assert the right of individuals to freely take part in the cultural life of a community. Article 27 of the ICCPR addresses the protection of the culture manifested in the practices of minorities which they share and enjoy 'in community with other members of their group'. General Comment No. 23 of Article 27, which is endorsed by the Human Rights Committee (HRC) under the ICCPR, conceptualises the meaning of culture. According to the HRC, culture manifests in many forms, including a particular way of life associated with the use of land resources. This is especially true for Indigenous Peoples, whose cultures may include traditional activities such as fishing and hunting (UNHRC 1994). The Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights takes a similar approach in General Comment No. 21 (2009) on Article 15(1)(a). According to the Committee, culture encompasses

> *inter alia*, ways of life, language, … belief systems, … natural and man-made environments, food, … [and] traditions through which individuals, groups of individuals, and communities express their humanity and the meaning they give to their existence, and build their world view representing their encounter with the external forces affecting their lives.
>
> (CESCR 2009)

Since culture is built around food and the food-related habits of a community (among other things), access to food supports individuals' rights to membership in a community. Therefore, the provisions listed here are interpreted to include traditional practices as a part of culture. Food plays a major role in these practices, especially in traditional communities. The UNDRIP lists all the rights that are applicable to Indigenous Peoples, from the practice of culture to participation in decisions relating to their lands, territories, and resources. While the UNDRP does not directly refer to 'food', it acknowledges the rights established under applicable international and domestic law (Article 17), including the improvement of economic and social conditions to promote health and a healthy community (see Articles 21, 23, and 24). The protection of the environment and of the productive capacity of their lands, territories, and resources are also key to maintaining the health of Indigenous Peoples (Article 29). Food practices are an integral part of this.

Articles 47 of the ICCPR and 25 of ICESCR are relevant as they provide for the right of all peoples to enjoy and to fully and freely utilise their natural wealth and resources. The common Article 1 of the ICCPR and the ICESCR is relevant in this context; it describes the rights of all peoples to freely 'pursue their economic, social, and cultural development' (para. 1), and 'to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources'. It further stipulates the right to not to be deprived of one's 'own means of subsistence' (para. 2). Indigenous Peoples often invoke this article, claiming that they are distinct from the rest of the population in the countries they inhabit and that the right to self-determination therefore applies to them given that they form a distinct group of people. For Indigenous Peoples, self-determination means more autonomy in decisions pertaining to their economic, social, and cultural development. The UNDRIP sets normative standards regarding the rights of Indigenous Peoples; these standards have been endorsed by almost all the states of the world. The exercise of the right to self-determination includes the promotion of traditional food systems that use the lands and resources that Indigenous Peoples own or otherwise occupy. Today, in relation to environment and resource management, other local people also benefit from standard procedural measures which are understood as a form of the right to self-determination. These measures include environmental and social impact assessments and human rights impact assessments. Such measures are becoming more acknowledged in national legal and policy processes and offer locals social and political empowerment in decision-making processes. Therefore, these processes promote human rights standards (Hossain and Petretei 2017).

Other international instruments, such as the CERD and the ILO Convention 169 (1989), provide references for analysing the right to TFSs from various perspectives, such as the viewpoint of non-discrimination and participation in decisions. Article 1 of the ICERD defines racial discrimination, stipulating that no distinctions, exclusions, or preferences are to be

made based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin with a view to impairing equality. However, under some circumstances, special measures should be put in place to ensure fair and adequate development for certain racial groups and for individuals belonging to these groups in order to guarantee full and equal enjoyment of rights (Article 2[2]). Such special measures are especially important for marginalised populations in peripheral regions. The ILO Convention No. 169 provides safeguards for the environment, culture, and property of Indigenous Peoples in independent countries (Article 4). The Convention also recognises the social, cultural, and spiritual values and practices of Indigenous Peoples (Article 5). Article 7 guarantees their right to participate in development processes, and Article 13 ensures respect for the cultural and spiritual values connected to their lands and territories. Articles 14 and 15, respectively, recognise the rights of ownership and possession of lands traditionally occupied by Indigenous Peoples and the right to natural resources pertaining to those lands, which includes the right to participate in the use, management, and conservation of these resources. These provisions necessarily connect TFSs to lands and natural resources. However, the Convention does not apply to the entire EHA region as only Norway has ratified the treaty. Nevertheless, the standards set by the Convention define the norm for practices affecting resources.

The CBD is not a human rights instrument *per se*, but it includes provisions pertaining to the protection of 'bio-cultural rights' which are applicable to the EHA. In its Preamble, the CBD articulates the critical importance of meeting needs for food, health, and other essentials and the importance of sharing genetic resources and technologies. Knowledge and innovation are identified as the criteria for meeting these needs. Article 8(j) addresses the traditional and local knowledge and practices of local Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities that are useful for conservation and the sustainable use of biological diversity. The importance of protecting the traditional knowledge used in traditional food production has been mentioned repeatedly, but there is some legal uncertainty around this issue from the perspective of intellectual property. From a human rights standpoint, the protection of traditional knowledge is key to the human rights of Indigenous Peoples particularly within the scope of the right to enjoy community culture. The CBD therefore interacts with the provisions of the human rights instruments discussed above. Case law jurisprudence also recognises the right to traditional food resources. For example, in the Ogiek case (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights v Republic of Kenya 2012), the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights held that Article 21 of the Charter, which establishes the right of peoples to freely dispose of their wealth and natural resources, was violated because the Ogiek community was 'deprived of their traditional food resources' and also of their 'right to enjoy and freely dispose of the abundance of food produced by their ancestral lands' (201).

The interplay between TFSs and human rights in the EHA

The locally produced foods on which residents of the EHA depend, such as berries, reindeer meat, fish, and cereals, are part of that region's TFS. Local Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples play an important role in and around this TFS. For residents of the EHA, local, traditional foods are not only key to a healthy diet; they are also part of local emotion and culture, tradition, and spirituality (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). For example, berry picking is a popular activity for children and parents – it is a family tradition in the European Arctic (Korpela 2007). Indigenous communities still rely on hunting, herding, fishing, and berry picking for a number of important reasons, including the nutritious value of the food and cultural and social needs (Korpela 2007). To a certain extent, these reasons also apply to non-Indigenous communities in the EHA, particularly the economic and dietary importance of access to traditional foods. Most local, traditional foods, including fish, reindeer, and berries, are nutritionally superior and less expensive than store-bought or imported food products (Korpela 2007). Hence, their consumption supports the right to healthy living conditions, which is implied in the rights to life, health, and a life with dignity.

Traditional food is also an important tool for establishing social relationships according to cultural norms (Nutall et al. 2005). Hunting, herding, fishing, and gathering berries, as well as processing and consuming these foods, are important culturally and socially, especially for Indigenous communities who celebrate these resources (Freeman 2000). In Indigenous communities, such activities define, reinforce, and uphold social relationships and cultural identity (Nuttall et al. 2005; Chapter 7 of this book). They also celebrate the relationships amongst Indigenous Peoples and the animals and the environment they rely on (Callaway 1995). Traditionally, Sami people have a spiritual relationship with reindeer. Whilst acknowledging that humans and animals each have their own place, the Sami people believe that their shared environment creates a social bond between humans and animals (Castro, Hossain, and Tytelman 2016). For certain people, such as reindeer herders, access to traditional reindeer meat is a matter of survival. TFSs enable people to connect with their histories and current culture and provide a way forward for sustainable livelihoods. In the TFS of the EHA, the use of animals stems from the need for survival and is also important for social identity and other cultural reasons (Nuttall et al. 2005). Food from animals is a fundamental requirement for personal, cultural, and mental wellbeing for most Arctic residents. A loss of vitality and decreased health and personal wellbeing have been reported by Indigenous Peoples who cannot consume traditional foods (Wein and Freeman 1992). For Indigenous Peoples in this region, traditional food defines identity by promoting cultural and traditional values which have been passed down for generations (Hossain, Raheem, and Cormier 2018). These cultural and traditional values are further integrated in the management of the natural environment, a task

in which traditional knowledge plays a significant role. Traditional knowledge about the relationships among humans, lands, resources, and animals is deeply intertwined with food practices. For both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, these practices embody the right to take part in cultural life individually and in community with other members of society.

When analysing the EHA, it is also important to remember that this region is located in the periphery, far from capitals and central administrative hubs. The geophysical and environmental characteristics of this isolated region differ significantly to those of other regions. This reflects the need for the inclusion of local Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in the governance framework of the EHA. Including local communities as 'subjects' and key actors rather than passive 'objects' in decision-making processes would improve the management of natural resources in this region. The right to decide one's own priorities in the process of development is fundamental to the right to self-determination. Any processes that affect people's lives, beliefs, institutions, or spiritual wellbeing or the lands they occupy or otherwise use affect local communities' socio-cultural development. Therefore, the provisions of human rights instruments discussed above are intrinsically relevant to the management and maintenance of TFSs. Food sovereignty can only be ensured in the EHA when the right to self-determination is promoted in this way.

Conclusion

This chapter began with the phrase 'Human rights begin with breakfast'. Of course, this does not refer to literally placing food on a table. Rather, this chapter examines the importance of every aspect of food to the full enjoyment of human rights. Human rights frameworks do not contain specific reference for food systems or TFSs, but they do articulate the need to ensure adequate food for healthy living conditions. In our view, this goal cannot be realised without a system. As discussed previously, in TFSs, food is gathered or obtained from the natural surroundings and then produced, processed, and distributed. A TFS provides nutritious food that meets the dietary needs of people in a given context, so the availability of and access to local foods promotes healthy living conditions. The three pillars of food security – access, availability, and utilisation – depend on the existence of a TFS. This chapter examines the special characteristics of the TFS of the EHA region, highlighting the importance of this TFS to food security in the region. Access to and maintenance of a stable TSF thus ensures the full enjoyment of human rights for all residents of the EHA.

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