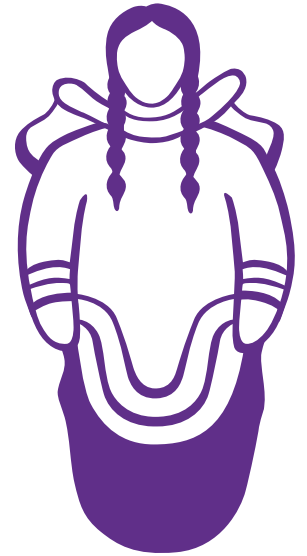


Ensuring the Safety and Well-Being of Inuit Women in the Resource Extraction Industry: A literature review



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PAUKTUUTIT
INUIT WOMEN OF CANADA

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Acknowledgments

This literature review is an important component of a three-year project which addresses the economic security of Inuit women in the resource extraction industry. The literature review provides an overview of best practices regarding workplace safety in the industry in addition to presenting recommendations on how to best ensure the safety of Inuit women to all relevant actors. The review draws on human rights codes, legislations and frameworks that are both international and national in scope in order to highlight the roles and responsibilities of governmental, non-governmental and industry actors in safeguarding the well-being of Inuit women and communities.

The review has been written by Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada with the support of our project Advisory Committee. We are appreciative to the feedback, insights and knowledge of the Advisory Committee in the development of this literature review. This important work would not have been possible without their expertise and dedication to the project.

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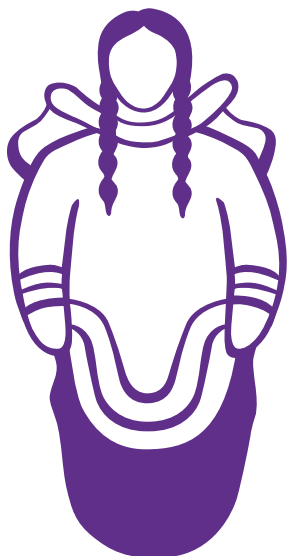
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Introduction

Building on previous work around mining opportunities for Inuit women, Pauktuutit has received federal funding through the Department of Women and Gender Equality (WAGE) to address barriers Inuit women face in the resource extraction industry. Over three years, the project will identify workplace policies and practices that fail to address the issue of workplace sexual harassment and violence encountered by Inuit women in the resource extraction industry in addition to developing policies and procedures addressing current gaps in order to cultivate safe and secure workplace environments.

Background

Mining and resource extraction in Canada's North offer significant economic opportunities for industry actors, their business partners, and Inuit women and their communities. In a study conducted by Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada (Pauktuutit) and the University of British Columbia (UBC) on the impact of resource extraction on Inuit women and their families in Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut, 75% of women interviewed identified working in the resource extraction industry had "given their families good opportunities" (2016). Mining and resource extraction offer considerable possibilities for economic security and prosperity for Inuit communities and Inuit women, who often represent the largest portion of female workers in the mines.

Despite the economic prospects the resource extraction industry can offer Inuit communities, there are significant challenges that disproportionately affect Inuit women, including workplace sexual harassment and violence. In the aforementioned study, women reported that harassment and disrespect by Qablunaat (non-Inuit) was one of the most difficult challenges associated with working at mining sites. While this research offers a nuanced assessment of the impact of resource extraction on Inuit women in Baker Lake, there is little research or policy data regarding the scope and nature of workplace sexual harassment and violence encountered by Inuit women in the industry.

Literature Review

This literature review will draw on human rights codes, legislations and frameworks that are both international and national in scope in order to highlight the roles and responsibilities of governmental, non-governmental and industry acts in safeguarding the well-being of Inuit women and communities.

The international human rights frameworks will provide an overview of how women human rights defenders address regional and community issues related to extractive operations. It will also highlight the responses of industry and state actors towards women human rights defenders, in addition to showcasing the global trends of gender-based violence associated with the resource extraction industry. Specific international human rights frameworks to be used in this literature review, which will present the international standards of human rights in relation to Indigenous peoples, include the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) and the *United Nations Declaration on Human Rights* (UDHR).

National frameworks, such as the *94 Calls to Action* by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* will also be assessed in order to emphasize the obligations of the Canadian government in preserving and improving the political, social and economic rights of Inuit women, children and communities. The roles and responsibilities of provincial and territorial actors with respect to ensuring the well-being of Inuit women and communities will also be outlined, as they pertain to legislation applicable to the four regions of Inuit Nunangat, respectively.

Resource Extraction and Human Rights

At the international level, there are numerous multi-state endorsements of women's and girls' rights under international law, including: the 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW); the 1995 *Beijing Declaration*; and the 2015 *Sustainable Development Goals*. However, despite the introduction of these international conventions, most state-led assessments of resource extractive operations do not integrate a gendered analysis.

It is still very important to have a good understanding of international human rights standards, conventions and frameworks under which states, multinational corporations and extractive actors are obligated to ensure the well-being of Indigenous women and communities. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights recognizes that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are defined by the unique circumstances of (Handelsman, 2002):

- a) their relationship with their homelands, territories and resources;
- b) the social, cultural, spiritual, economic and political dimensions of their relationship to their homelands, territories and resources;
- c) the crucial collective aspect of this relationship; and,
- d) the significant intergenerational aspect of these connections to their identity and well-being.

Taking these factors into consideration, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has created conventions, declarations, and recommendations which are designed to protect groups that are most impacted by extractive operations, such as women, children and Indigenous peoples (*Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169*, 1989). The *United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* (UNGP) also outlines states and all business operations within it at have an obligation to uphold and respect human rights. Under the framework, state signatories of the UNGP must have mechanisms in place to address potential violations of human rights (United Nation Human Rights Council, 2011). In order to meet human rights obligations, business enterprises must have in place:

- policies appropriate to their size and circumstances;
- human rights due diligence (HRDD) processes to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address their impacts on human rights; and
- processes to enable the remediation of any adverse human rights violations they cause or to which they contribute.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) *Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises*, which are also aligned with the UNGP, place a specific focus on worker's rights, human rights and labour relations. It calls for the respectful treatment of workers and the promotion of gender diversity in the workplace, which includes the protection of women against harassment and other physical related risks (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011). Although international human rights conventions are fundamental to our understanding of state and industry human rights obligations, they often omit gender-specific analyses and impacts of extractive activities.

Gender-Specific Impacts of Mining

The literature finds Inuit women are disproportionately affected by negative impacts of resource extraction. *Indigenous Communities and Industrial Camps: Promoting Healthy Communities in Settings of Industrial Change* examined gendered effects of industrial camps on neighbouring Indigenous communities and strategies to prevent and minimize negative impacts on community well-being (Gibson, Yung, Chisholm and Quinn, 2017).

The report noted Indigenous women experienced the most negative effects associated with industrial camps, including sexual harassment. Women also experienced the hyper-masculine culture and attitudes of the camps and transient workers, which heightened the risk of trafficking of Indigenous women and the cycles of sexual violence against Indigenous women (Gibson et al., 2017). Other negative effects included: an absence of meaningful relationships with local communities, poor wages, and racist and discriminatory employment practices (Gibson et al., 2017).

The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) has noted the global experiences of women human rights defenders challenging extraction industry actors often meet tactics of criminalization, violence, sexual abuse and intimidation carried out against them and their communities. Women human rights defenders also face barriers to participating in negotiation and decision-making processes, criminalization, stigmatization, and militarization of their communities (2017). AWID has also emphasized that common experiences of women human rights defenders opposing extractive industries reflected global trends of repression and gender-specific violence perpetuated by corporate, government and non-governmental actors (2017). Furthermore, the Centre for International Cultures of Peru (CHIRAPAQ) noted in 2013 that the lack of industry regulation on the part of state governments has led to the exploitation of Indigenous peoples' territories and practices of work-related sexual violence against women. These findings are echoed in the *Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (2019a) that noted "resource extraction projects can drive violence against Indigenous women in several ways, including issues related to transient workers, harassment and assault in the workplace, rotational shift work, substance abuse and addictions, and economic insecurity" (p. 584).

Oxfam Australia's report titled *Women, Communities and Mining: the gender impacts of mining and the role of gender impact assessment* (2009) and Oxfam International's report titled *Position Paper on Gender Justice and the Extractive Industries* (2017) also outlines negative gendered impacts of large-scale extractive projects. This included financially compensating men on behalf of families, therefore denying women access to the potential economic gains of mining projects, and limiting benefits for women, including lack of employment opportunities or meaningful consultation prior to project starts. The resulting shift away from gender equity within affected communities further disempowered women and compounded structural issues, such as poverty and food insecurity (Oxfam International, 2017). The creation of a transient and predominantly male workforce generated an influx of gender-specific health and social problems, including alcohol and substance use family violence, trafficking of women, gendered sexual violence, and workplace discrimination and harassment (Oxfam Australia, 2009).

Furthermore, Oxfam Australia (2009) reported extractive industries often create and/or exacerbate existing gender inequalities in local communities, which negatively impact women's rights to socio-economic prosperity and well-being. The 2017 Oxfam International report also highlighted the entrenched gender bias within the resource extraction industry, which prevented women's participation and access to associated socio-economic benefits.

Gender-Specific Negative Impacts of Mining in Inuit Nunangat

Gendered and negative impacts associated with resource extraction are also reflected in research focused on Canada's North. Pauktuutit and UBC conducted qualitative (2014) and quantitative (2016) studies respectively focusing on the social and economic impacts of mining activity near Baker Lake, Nunavut. This research found Agnico Eagle's Meadowbank mine offered positive economic benefits for the community.

Inuit women reported that because of their employment in mining, they experienced financial independence and greater autonomy, improved family relationships and an enhanced quality of life. However, the women also discussed negative impacts of mining activity on the community, including

language conflicts, favoritism of non-Inuit workers, disrespect by non-Inuit workers, stress, substance abuse, lack of financial literacy and access to a bank and a lack of knowledge about workers' rights (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2014). Inuit women also detailed that lack of adequate and affordable on-site childcare, along with the incidence and prevalence of sexual harassment and violence caused them to leave their temporary and contract positions at the mine (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2016).

Stories of sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination experienced by Inuit women in the resource extraction industry are also common in the media. In 2018, a female Inuk employee of Baffinland's Mary River mine spoke publicly about the regular discrimination and intimidation she experienced at the work site by non-Inuit mining employees (Nunatsiaq News, 2018). She also noted that Inuit women employed in the industry were targets of sexual harassment, racism and sexism. The article made direct links between these experiences and Inuit women's ability to participate safely in the mine; for example, while Inuit employees accounted for 20% of the mine's workforce in 2016, that percentage decreased to 12.5% in early 2017.

The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIA)W has also noted that Indigenous women and communities in Canada's North are disproportionately affected by the negative impacts of resource extraction, whereby women bear the burden of mining and extraction projects without access to potential benefits (Steinstra, Clow, Baikie, Stinson and Manning, 2016). The influx of workers to resource-based communities impacted local infrastructure where limited, inadequate and affordable housing, lack of health and social services, and food insecurity were present obstacles (Steinstra et al., 2016a). Specific gendered negative impacts also included increased substance use, greater incidents of sexual violence and trafficking, and increased encounters of on-site sexual harassment and racial discrimination (Steinstra et al., 2016a).

Gendered Division of Labour

Literature highlighted in this section presents positive and negative impacts of resource extraction on mining-affected communities. The literature analyzing mining activities in Inuit Nunangat and Canada's North demonstrates the gender-specific negative impacts of extraction on Inuit women and the correlating effects on their ability to access potential socio-economic benefits. National and international literature cite that, on average, women in the resource extraction industry make less money than men and occupy more entry level and administrative roles (Women in Mining Canada, 2010; Women in Mining Canada, 2016). This is consistent with findings by Gibson, Yung, Chisholm and Quinn (2017), who noted Indigenous women in the resource extraction industry faced racism and discrimination in employment practices, including wage disparity and unequal access to employment opportunities.

To further illustrate, in 2016, Inuit women represented 60% of women working at the Meadowbank mine and were more likely to be temporary workers (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2016). Despite representing over half of all women working at the mine, they accounted for only 6.5% of the permanent workforce (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2016). Moreover, Inuit women tended to hold unskilled positions, and were often relegated to housekeeping, administrative, and food services positions stereotypically seen as *female jobs*, highlighting the gendered division of labour Inuit women experience while employed in the industry (Steinstra et al., 2016a; Pauktuutit and UBC, 2016). This gendered division of labour at mining sites is particularly detrimental for Inuit women, as housekeeping activities situate Inuit women near the largely temporary and transient male workforce, therefore increasing their risk of experiencing sexual harassment and violence (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2016).

Issues With Environmental Assessments

According to the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (2018), EAs include identifying potential negative environmental effects and developing measures to mitigate them. In the case of mining, EAs evaluate possible impacts a project may have on the environment where the mining site will be physically located. Research by Dalseg, Kuokkanen, Mills and Simmons (2018) has revealed women are underrepresented in all aspects and stages of resource governance, from pre-project decision-making, including EA processes, to implementation and monitoring. The same study found that Indigenous women were excluded from adequate and meaningful participation in EA processes for the Voisey's Bay and Meadowbank mines and the Mackenzie Gas Project.

There is a discrepancy between some sources regarding the Voisey's Bay case, as it is often cited as a success story in relation to women's participation in EAs (Cox and Mills, 2015; Dalseg et al., 2018; O'Faircheallaigh, 2011); however, Innu (other Indigenous inhabitants of the area) and Inuit women organized themselves independent of the EA process, collectively asserting themselves and making submissions to the EA panel (Cox and Mills, 2015; O'Faircheallaigh, 2011). Despite their self-directed participation, Inuit women's input and presence were limited to the public portion of the EA review process; confirming that meaningful inclusion of Indigenous women in the EA process must be safeguarded by formal and binding commitments (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999). Others have reported that when women are consulted during EA processes, it is often an inadequate and inequitable process (Gibson and Kemp, as cited in O'Faircheallaigh, 2011). Given women are most negatively impacted by resource extraction projects, it is concerning that their involvement in EAs is limited, as it leads to the omission of their needs and concerns from IBA negotiations.

The scope of EAs is limited and lacks a GBA lens because existing EA processes concentrate on environmental impacts, not socio-economic, cultural, collective, or gendered impacts (Dalseg et al., 2018; Stinson and Levac, 2016). Stinson and Levac (2016) note that although women and Indigenous peoples experience most of the negative effects tied to resource extraction, it is not mandatory that EA panels consider gendered impacts.

Limiting the discussion to potential environmental impacts can exclude women from the conversation, as women's perspectives often embrace socio-economic, familial and community impacts (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999; Stinson and Levac, 2016). Additionally, in most EA processes, when women's concerns have been included, they are usually framed in terms of employment and economic development (Cox and Mills, 2015; Dalseg et al., 2018). Because gender-based impacts are not included in formal EA processes, there are no strategies in place which mitigate potential harms such as workplace harassment and violence.

Issues With Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) and Inuit Impact Benefit Agreements (IIBA)

In overarching terms, IBAs are negotiated between two parties and outline the terms and conditions under which a proposed project may commence and/or expand (Gibson and O'Faircheallaigh, 2015). Provisions surrounding IBAs or IIBAs, to be discussed later in this review, are outlined in each of the land claim agreements for the four regions of Inuit Nunangat (Inuvialuit, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik and Nunavut). Steinstra, Levac, Baikie, Stinson and Manning (2016) accounted that some Indigenous communities view IBAs as an opportunity to establish reciprocal relationships whereby they can secure socio-economic benefits. IBAs can result in gains to communities impacted by resource extraction by way of royalties, direct employment, education and training, and increased procurement and business opportunities (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999; Steinstra et al., 2016b).

Specifically, employment is a significant factor in IBAs, as it is a tangible and measurable benefit (Cox and Mills, 2015). In the case of Voisey's Bay, Inuit women are given highest preference for employment, as outlined in the IBA between Voisey's Bay Nickle Company (VBNC) and the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), now the Nunatsiavut Government (Steinstra, Levac, Baikie, Stinson, Clow and Manning, 2016). More specifically, the Voisey's Bay agreement addresses women's employment through reporting on the number of Inuit women hired, implementing a cultural leave policy, and establishing IBA Implementation Coordinators - positions that have been held by Inuit women (Gibson O'Faircheallaigh, 2015). Although employment opportunities and targets for Inuit women are noted in many IBAs, it has been reported that women, and Inuit women in particular, are more often relegated to 'feminized' jobs in administration or house-keeping. Despite the benefits associated with IBAs, the agreements have been critiqued for a variety of reasons. Steinstra, Levac, Baikie, Stinson, Clow and Manning (2016) noted IBAs are viewed as corporate social responsibility initiatives rather than practices of meaningful relationship building between corporations and mining-affected communities. Similarly, Gibson, Hoogeveen, MacDonald and the Firelight Group (2018) indicated Indigenous communities do not recognize current impact assessment systems as mechanisms to protect individual or collective rights; instead, communities observe the current system as one that allows industries to undertake massive mining and extraction development projects to accelerate their companies' economic growth.

Much like EA processes, Inuit women do not consistently experience full, equitable and meaningful participation in IBA negotiations. Gibson and O'Faircheallaigh (2015) confirmed that women, youth and Elders are often excluded from negotiation processes. This is consistent with Steinstra, Levac, Baikie, Stinson, Clow and Manning's (2016c) findings that negotiations and agreements were made without support to meaningfully engage women, Indigenous peoples and other diverse community members. With respect to the IBA negotiations at Voisey's Bay, Archibald and Crnkovich (1999) noted that the inclusion of Inuit women was not formally planned, but rather incidental. At the time of the negotiation, Inuit women had been largely absent from IBA negotiating teams and the LIA Board of Directors, which directly impacted factors and conditions included in the final agreement. Additionally, IBAs are often privately negotiated (Steinstra et al., 2016c). In the case of Voisey's Bay, Inuit women were not invited to participate, made aware of the negotiation process, or informed of the content in the agreement-in-principle (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999). As such, for there to be informed consent from the community, all community members must have access to information about the IBA development and negotiation process (Gibson and O'Faircheallaigh, 2015).

Similar to EA processes, IBAs and IBA processes also lack a GBA lens (Steinstra et al., 2016b). With respect to employment provisions outlined in the Voisey's Bay IBA, it was noted that the employment plan needed to address barriers Inuit women face, including lack of education, training, and childcare (Cox and Mills, 2015). It is important to note here that a gender-based and intersectional analysis would provide a framework for examining the employment provisions, among many other provisions outlined in IBAs, and allow for reflection on issues and questions such as: which women will benefit from these opportunities and what individual and collective barriers do Inuit women face in obtaining employment?

Transparency of IBAs

As previously noted, there exists a lack of transparency surrounding provisions set out in IBAs. Additionally, wherever agreements are available to the public, there is lack of access to the detailed information within them. Confidentiality provisions around IBAs make it difficult for community members to access and understand the agreements, which erodes the principle of a full, open and frank relationship between all affected parties (Diges, 2016).

In 2016, Diges argued that if one portion of the IBA is modified, it can change the whole scope and nature of the project in question. As such, meaningful implementation of IBAs requires: a streamlined development and implementation process; an evolved, accepted and informed implementation of provisions cited in the IBA; open communication between parties negotiating IBAs; and the capacity of negotiating parties to implement provisions such as employment targets (Diges, 2016). It was also noted that although in principle IBAs are binding obligations, in practice this is often not the case. Furthermore, it is difficult to enforce IBAs against third parties, especially governmental actors and their duty to consult, which interferes with the effectiveness of the whole IBA framework (Diges, 2016). As such, Diges (2016) maintained that litigation remained the principal means of enforcement of rights in an IBA process.

Focus of IBAs: Region-Specific Illustrations

The land claims agreements of Inuit Nunangat have mechanisms in place to address resource royalty sharing and IIBAs, excluding the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, which will be discussed in subsequent sections. Article 25 of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (NLCA) states Inuit must directly benefit from resource development revenues and Inuit have the right to be paid an amount equal to 50% of the first CAD\$2 million of resource royalty received by the Government of Nunavut in a calendar year and 5% of any additional resource royalty generated (Nunavik Tunngavik Inc. and the Government of Canada, 2009). The NLCA outlines that project benefits must: be consistent with and promote Inuit cultural goals; contribute to achieving and maintaining a standard of living among Inuit equal to non-Inuit in the Nunavut Settlement Area and across the country; and relate to the nature, scale and cost of the project, as well as its direct and indirect impacts on Inuit. Other matters considered appropriate for Inuit benefits in the NLCA include availability of training at all levels, safety and health, use of Inuktitut in the workplace, information flow and interpretation, and housing and accommodation.

Article 26 of the NLCA states that no major development project may commence until an IIBA is finalized and may include any matter connected with the major development project that could have detrimental and/or positive impacts on Inuit communities. Article 26 also specifies that IIBAs can be renegotiated throughout the life of a project, which allows for greater flexibility to include and/or incorporate gender impact assessments and greater measures of accountability, such as regular public reporting.

It is important to note however, that the focus of the NLCA in relation to IIBAs is centered on potential economic impacts, with little to no emphasis on the importance of workplace safety in the industry for Inuit employees. Furthermore, the NLCA specifies that the negotiation of an IIBA is completely voluntary and negotiating parties can agree that an IIBA is not required for the commencement of a project. Additionally, there is no guarantee that items such as safety, health and access to information will be included in IIBAs. A 2016 review of Baffinland's Mary River IIBA conducted by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) provided additional insight into Nunavut's IBA (re)negotiation and agreement processes. The purpose of the IIBA review was to ensure the negative impacts associated with the Mary River mine were minimized and the project was providing benefits to Inuit (Qikiqtani Inuit Association [QIA], 2017). As the regional representative actor, QIA ensures that Baffinland Irons Mines Corporation meets its IIBA commitments. As the operator, Baffinland is solely responsible for training and hiring of Inuit and providing procurement and/or business opportunities to Inuit. However, QIA's review outlined that the IIBA had not been implemented in a way that benefited Inuit for a variety of reasons, including QIA's lack of organizational capacity to monitor the agreement due to its complexity and the use of legal and ambiguous language (QIA, 2017).

Regulation and accountability were the key themes that emerged from the analysis of the NLCA and QIA's 2017 review of the Mary River site: namely, how can all parties ensure IIBAs are effectively implemented when the provisions of the agreement are often unclear and ambiguous? It is also important to note

that current IIBA provisions focus on maximizing economic revenue benefits; workplace safety has not been incorporated as a key provision of the IIBA. This translates into a lack of gender-based content in the development of community consultation and site expansion phases. Additionally, the review stated there was a steady decrease of Inuit employment at Baffinland despite IIBA commitments to training and employment (QIA, 2017).

Similarly, the *Nunavik Land Claims Agreement* reasserts Inuit rights, titles, interests and jurisdictions in the Nunavik Inuit Settlement Area (Makivik Corporation and the Government of Canada, 2008). With respect to resource development, the agreement outlines that projects may not be operational until an agreement is reached between the proponent and the land claims representative in the form of an IBA. Matters related to IBAs include: establishment of an advisory committee; employment rotation reflecting Nunavik Inuit needs and preferences; business opportunities for Inuit in Nunavik; use of Inuktitut in workplaces of protected areas, services and facilities; environmental concerns; access to and flow of information; and the development, (re) negotiation and implementation of IBAs (Makivik Corporation and the Government of Canada, 2008). The Nunavik Inuit Mining Policy notes Inuit must receive direct and indirect social and economic benefits during the exploration, development and operating phases of mining activities (Makivik Corporation, 2014). The policy objectives place an emphasis on sustainable mining development in the region through the mitigation of negative social and environmental impacts and establishing open dialogues. With regards to increasing social and economic benefits, the policy focuses on preferential hiring for Inuit and ensuring the availability of training and educational opportunities.

It is important to note that in relation to both the *Nunavik Inuit Mining Policy* and the *Nunavik Land Claims Agreement*, provisions relating to gendered impact assessments and workplace safety, particularly geared towards attaining higher rates of employment of Inuit women, can seamlessly be classified under matters relevant to IBA development. However, there are no requirements that workplace safety be explicitly included in IBAs; it is directly left to the prerogative of the parties who are negotiating agreements, whose focus is often limited to economic benefits and opportunities. Additionally, there is no discussion around the composition of the membership of advisory committees or of the individuals and parties who negotiate IBAs. The importance of incorporating a gender-inclusive lens when designing community consultations or deliberating (re)negotiations of agreements is overlooked. As such, there are no accountability mechanisms to ensure that IBAs are negotiated to reflect the interests and concerns of Inuit women and communities.

The *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement* also outlines guiding principles of IBA development, based on the premise that benefits derived from major development projects must be consistent with and promote Inuit cultural goals and well-being (Labrador Inuit Association and the Crown, 2005). More specifically, matters appropriate to IIBA negotiations include employment and training, Inuit involvement in management, income sharing, use of Inuktitut in the workplace, and Inuit social and cultural protection (Labrador Inuit Association and the Crown, 2005). Likewise, Section 10 of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* outlines Participation Agreements and states:

'...except as otherwise agreed by Inuvialuit Land Administration, before exercising his guaranteed right of access, a developer must have concluded a valid Participation Agreement (PA) with the Inuvialuit Land Administration setting out the rights and obligations of the parties respecting the activity for which the access is being granted.' (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the Crown, 2005, p. 26).

Terms and conditions that may be incorporated into the PA include training and education, procurement contracts, employment, and equity participation benefits (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the Government of Canada, 2005). With respect to monitoring and evaluation of the agreement, section 10 notes that parties involved in the PA have the right to monitor and inspect the activities outlined in the PA. However, it is important to mention that this is not mandatory, which makes it difficult to ensure parties are held accountable to the agreed upon terms and conditions.

The benefits associated with resource extraction in the Inuit context, particularly the emphasis placed on economic revenue in the land claims agreements, has been further investigated in an IBA toolkit designed by the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO). The toolkit highlighted that the objective of IIBAs is to ensure certainty of Inuit benefiting from resource development, which is largely framed as increased access to job and training opportunities for Inuit communities (NAHO, 2009). The goal of Inuit negotiators is to ensure the proper use of their land, reduce (un)anticipated adverse effects of industry activities and ensure the greatest degree of economic benefit to communities. An overview of the various regional mining policies and land claims has highlighted that IIBAs mainly focus on economic revenue generation and place less emphasis on social aspects, such as workplace safety, gender-inclusive frameworks of impact assessment and consultations, health, and cultural well-being.

The IBAs also do not address the impacts of the strenuous and arbitrary two weeks in/two weeks out schedule of extractive operations. The disruptive schedules often exacerbate existing issues within communities such as access to affordable childcare in addition to disrupting family dynamics, which further contribute to violence against women and children in homes (Pauktuutit and UBC, 2014). Furthermore, because the agreements are often not transparent, it is difficult to assess how and/or to what extent IIBA provisions are being implemented.

Ineffective Workplace Policies and Procedures

Existing workplace policies and procedures fall short of guaranteeing Inuit women's safety working in the resource extraction industry. Publicly-available policies and procedures surrounding workplace violence, sexual harassment, health and safety, and human rights for resource extraction companies presently operating in the North do not include a gendered approach; they do not address the needs of women, generally, with no mention of Inuit women, specifically, nor do they focus on how women experience the workplace differently than men (Barrick Gold Corporation, 2012, 2017, 2018; De Beers Group of Companies 2012, 2017; Glencore, 2011, 2017). Given that women, more specifically Indigenous women, bear many of the negative impacts of extractive industries, the lack of an intersectional gender-based analysis (GBA+) is concerning. Though many of the policies detail the companies will not tolerate sex-based discrimination, the focus is based on race or class or gender, not how these intersecting factors impact Inuit women's experiences in the workplace.

The same publicly available workplace policies and procedures did not include distinct, stand-alone sexual harassment and violence policies. Issues surrounding harassment and violence were predominately found embedded within two types of documents: codes of conduct and human rights policies. Codes of conduct for Barrick Gold Corporation (2017), De Beers Group of Companies (2017) and Glencore (2017) mentioned general workplace harassment and noted harassment of any form would not be tolerated. Barrick Gold Corporation (2017) and Glencore (2017) both included references to specific forms of harassment, including sexual harassment. The *Employee Human Rights Policy* for De Beers Group (2012), stated that "...physical, sexual, racial, religious, psychological, verbal or any other forms of harassment, threat or abuse, whether manifested in behaviour, language or gesture is strongly condemned and will not be tolerated" (p. 8). Although De Beers Group (2017) noted that harassment may manifest in gestures, behaviors and/or language and all reviewed policies clearly indicated that

sexual harassment and/or abuse would not be tolerated, they did not provide clear definitions of what specific behaviours constituted sexual harassment. To effectively ensure Inuit women's safety, policies and procedures must be clear and incorporate the experiences of Inuit women in the workplace.

Accountability and Transparency: Roles and Responsibilities

Roles of Federal and Provincial/Territorial Governments

As outlined in the *Human Rights Act* (2010) of Newfoundland and Labrador, one cannot discriminate on the grounds of "race, colour, nationality, ethnic origin, social origin, religious creed, religion, age, disability, disfigurement, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, marital status, family status, source of income and political opinion" (Section 9, chapter H-13.1). Similarly, the *Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms* states that "every human being has a right to life, and to personal security, inviolability and freedom." It further states that one cannot harass a person on the grounds of race, colour, sex, gender identity or expression and that "every person who works has a right, in accordance with the law, to fair and reasonable conditions of employment which have proper regard for [their] health, safety and physical well-being" (Section 10, chapter C-21).

The *Northwest Territories Human Rights Act* (2019) similarly outlines that one cannot discriminate based on "race, colour, ancestry, nationality, ethnic origin, place of origin, creed, religion, age, disability, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression" (p. 11). The *Nunavut Human Act* echoes the same principles and states that an individual cannot be discriminated on the grounds of races; colour; ethnic origin; religions; sex; family status; and sexual orientation (2004, p. 3). The *Act* also states that "no person shall, on the basis of a prohibited ground of discrimination, harass any individual or class of individuals." (p. 4).

The roles and responsibilities of state governments to implement and safeguard the rights of Indigenous peoples are outlined in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP). This declaration aims to recognize the rights of Indigenous peoples and enhance relations between state governments and Indigenous peoples based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights and non-discrimination (United Nations General Assembly, 2007). Article 21 states that Indigenous peoples have the right to the improvement of their economic and social conditions in areas of education, employment, vocational training, housing, sanitation, health and social security. The same article also identifies that state governments must take all effective measures to ensure the continuing improvement of the economic and social conditions of Indigenous Elders, women, youth and communities. With regard to the well-being of Indigenous women specifically, Article 22 states that governments must take measures to ensure Indigenous women and children enjoy full and guaranteed protection against all forms of violence and discrimination.

Additionally, state governments must also ensure that Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities for the development and/or use of their land, territories and other resources. Finally, Article 32 of the UNDRIP notes that "States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources." It is important to note UNDRIP does not consider gendered impacts and is not representative of the unique needs, realities and priorities of Inuit women and communities. However, when Articles are read together, it provides insight into the roles and responsibilities of federal and provincial/territorial governments in ensuring the mental and physical well-being of Inuit women and communities. This

includes Inuit self-determination in the spheres of economic development, which incorporates the safeguarding of free, prior and informed consent; adequate and meaningful representation of Inuit women in decision-making processes; and ensuring the safety and well-being of Inuit women and communities. Within Canada, the roles and responsibilities of federal and provincial/territorial governments in preserving the rights and well-being of Inuit women and communities are reflected in the passage of Bill C-262 in Canada's House of Commons, which aims to ensure that the laws of Canada are in harmony with the UNDRIP (Bill C-262, 2016).

In 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) presented 94 *Calls to Action* highlighting the roles and responsibilities of the Canadian government in preserving and improving the political, economic and social state of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015).

The TRC called for the federal government to commit to meaningful consultations, build respectful relationships and obtain free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous peoples before proceeding with economic development projects. The TRC also highlighted the role of the federal government in ensuring Indigenous peoples have equitable access to jobs, training and education opportunities, in addition to gaining long-term sustainable benefits from economic development. However, the *Calls to Action* presented by the TRC do not discuss the safety of Indigenous women in detail, nor do they provide a GBA on how economic reconciliation will include Indigenous women in decision-making processes. Yet, the *Calls to Action* emphasize Indigenous rights to sovereignty over land and resources, as well as the right to participate fully in the economy. As such, in conjunction with the UNDRIP, the *Calls to Action* emphasize the role of the federal government in ensuring that extraction industry actors operate with consent of Indigenous communities and are engaged in equal partnerships with affected communities to ensure the safety and prosperity of Indigenous women and communities.

The role and responsibilities of the federal and provincial/ territorial governments in ensuring the well-being of Inuit women and communities are further acknowledged in Sections 15 and 35 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982, s 6(2)(b)). Section 35 of the *Charter* recognizes and reaffirms the existing rights of Indigenous peoples based on treaties and land claims agreements, although the rights are not clearly defined. Various Supreme Court cases, however, have resulted in the inclusion of cultural, social, political and economic rights over territories and resources under Section 35 (Asch, 1984). Although not specific to Indigenous peoples, Section 15 of the *Charter* states every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination based on race, sex, religion, national or ethnic origin, age, or mental or physical disability. As highlighted in previous sections, the role and responsibilities of federal and provincial/ territorial governments to secure and maintain the well-being of Inuit women and communities have been defined in international and national legislations and policies, however, the same degree of clarity and accountability does not exist in the roles and responsibilities of the resource extraction industry.

Responsibility of the Industry

The literature on the adverse effects of extraction on women and recommendations around measures the industry can implement to mitigate the negative gendered impacts of mining is expansive. Oxfam Australia's report on the role of gender impact assessments argues that mining operations exacerbate existing gender inequalities and often result in women experiencing discrimination and harassment in the workplace (Oxfam Australia, 2009).

The same report states that extractive companies often fail to adequately consult with women when negotiating access to land, resources and IBAs, thus undermining the legitimacy of decision-making processes (Oxfam Australia, 2009). However, there is little discussion of the roles and responsibilities of the industry, mainly because of the lack of meaningful and effective accountability mechanisms.

There is a consensus among scholars that the industry, in conjunction with community and regional partners, is responsible to ensure that development projects cultivate positive socio-economic opportunities for Indigenous women and communities (Oxfam Australia, 2017; Oxfam International, 2017; Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2017; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019b).

As previously noted, specific provisions designating roles and responsibilities of industry actors are often incorporated in IBAs. However, there are insufficient mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the role of industry -- who is responsible for ensuring that resource extraction companies include and conduct gender impact assessments, ensuring the assessments are implemented, and for measuring its effectiveness? Despite international frameworks like the UNDRIP, the lack of comprehensive legally binding international instruments to address human rights abuses by transnational corporations, combined with gaps and inconsistencies in national judicial systems, continue to be pervasive problems (Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2017). There is an acute lack of standardized mechanisms and/ or regulatory policies in place to hold resource extraction actors accountable and these issues are also acutely reflected in the Inuit context.

The reference point for industry regulation in the Nunavut region is tied to the NLCA and the *Nunavut Planning and Project Assessment Act*. This federal act focuses on land use planning and assessment of the ecosystem and socio-economic impacts of development projects in the Nunavut Settlement Area. The Nunavut Planning Commission (NPC) and the Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB) were established under the NLCA to set out directions for land use planning that recognize the significance of responsible economic development, conservation and the well-being and self-reliance of Inuit. When a development project proposal is submitted, a review is conducted, which may include a public and/ or closed hearing to consider its socio-economic and environmental impacts. Afterwards, a final decision is made by NIRB and a report is submitted to the Government of Nunavut for final approval.

The NLCA also allows for two parties to not enter into an agreement or sign an IIBA. Specific factors that are considered during the revision phase of a project include: identifying the purpose and necessity of the project; determining if the project would protect and enhance the existing and future community well-being in the designated area; confirming if the project reflects the priorities and values of the communities; and recognizing the anticipated environmental and socio-economic impacts of the project. The formal process in Nunavut does not require a GBA of potential impacts of resource extraction projects on Inuit women, families and communities. As such, the development and implementation of gender-specific impact assessments, community consultations and IIBA negotiation methods are not practiced in the review process for current projects.

In 2018, the Department of Economic Development and Transportation of the Government of Nunavut stated that Nunavut's participation in the regulatory process was conducted through NPC and NIRB, as well as other permits and licenses (Department of Economic Development and Transportation, Government of Nunavut, 2018). The Government of Nunavut admitted that its regulatory role was limited because it did not possess ownership or responsibilities for land management; however, there was potential for an increased role following the continued devolution of the NLCA concerning areas of land. The presentation also highlighted that potential impacts associated with development projects could be effectively managed through collaborative and comprehensive industry reviews and monitoring reports.

The 2016 Meadowbank gold mine socio-economic monitoring report completed by Agnico Eagle Mines was required by the NLCA and identified unanticipated effects associated with the operation. The report recommended mitigation measures related to factors including employment, income, education, training, individual and community wellness, health and safety, and community infrastructure. The report also

noted that most of the issues identified had successful results, with the exceptions of high turnover rates and the proportion of Inuit employed by skill level. Similarly, the monitoring report required by NIRB and completed by Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation for the Mary River mine in 2016 assessed the socio-economic performance of the project and monitored barriers to employment for women, including cost and availability of childcare. The monitoring report concluded the project had positive socio-economic impacts, particularly in relation to job creation and procurement, but additional data was needed for further monitoring.

Neither of the monitoring reports addressed above included a GBA of the socio-economic factors being evaluated. Although an important baseline exists with regards to the monitoring of relevant socio-economic indicators, such as education and community wellness, incidents of workplace sexual harassment and violence are not included under community health and well-being indicators, and as such, are not analyzed. Although monitoring reports are mandated under the land claims agreement and respective IIBAs, the industry does not adequately track or report on its responsibilities for ensuring safe workplaces because the standardized socio-economic indicators focus primarily on economic revenue generation and development. Both reports indicated an increased turnover rate for Inuit employees and have outlined various mitigation measures, including an increased focus on procurement and a greater emphasis on work readiness and training programs. However, there was little analysis, evaluation, or assessment of the underlying causes of the high turnover rates of Inuit employees, particularly in relation to experiences of workplace violence and harassment.

The limited regulatory role of provincial/territorial governments exacerbates the lack of accountability and transparency around industry activities. It is important to note that agreements reached through IIBAs and industry monitoring reports are important measures for assessing socio-economic and environmental impacts on Inuit women by the resource extraction industry and its activities. However, the complexity of IIBA agreements, combined with the lack of organizational capacity of regional representative organizations, and inconsistent regulatory capability of provincial/territorial actors further complicate the issue of accountability and transparency around the roles and responsibilities of governmental actors. The inherent lack of regulatory mechanisms and frameworks regarding the inclusion of gender-specific socio-economic indicators result in IIBAs and industry monitoring reports that omit factors such as workplace safety, sexual harassment and violence prevention.

Identifying Best Practices

Impact Benefit Agreements

The literature review has also highlighted promising best practices for IBA processes and workplace policies and procedures. Oxfam Australia's guide to implementing Gender Impact Assessments (GIAs) is a tool to help the resource extraction industry toward incorporating gender-specific considerations and indicators within IBA frameworks (2017). The guide emphasizes women's empowerment and participation in community decision-making processes, which increase the benefits of resource development projects.

Gender Impact Assessments

Oxfam Australia (2017) identified that GIAs mitigate potential negative risks for women in the mining and extraction industry by prioritizing the needs, interests, and experiences of women in affected communities. Identifying the impacts of a potential project on women, men, girls, and boys informs the development of gender responsive consultation and decision-making processes, including addressing barriers to women's participation (Oxfam Australia, 2017). The same guide also provided a step-by-step

framework for industry actors to design and implement meaningful GIA and IBA processes using participatory and inclusive methods. Likewise, Diges (2016) has further elaborated that the best methods to resolve questions of agreement enforcement include: building in effective communication methods; maintaining mutual respect, trust and openness; and developing an arbitration method through which agreements can be enforced. Diges further noted that the most effective enforcement mechanism is to have an efficient dispute resolution process embedded in IBAs.

Recommendations

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (2019a) has very explicitly highlighted that “federal, provincial, territorial, and Indigenous governments, as well as mining and oil and gas companies, [need to] do a more thorough job of considering the safety of Indigenous women and children when making decisions about resource extraction on or near Indigenous territories” (p. 584). This literature review has provided insight into current structures and procedural frameworks of the resource extraction industry, as well as the legislative and policy measures taken by national, provincial/territorial and regional actors to safeguard and promote the employment and safety of Inuit women in the industry.

To ensure Inuit women’s economic prosperity, safety, and security, we propose the following recommendations and actions: grievance mechanisms must be designed by women;

- gendered community consultations and impact
- assessments must be conducted prior to the formulation of IBAs;
- all relevant stakeholders must be included, namely women and community members, in all phases of IBA development including (re)negotiation, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting processes;
- larger role for federal, provincial/territorial and regional representative organizations regarding the regulation of industry activities and procedures; and development and/or amendment of existing policies and procedures to effectively address the issue of workplace sexual harassment and violence.

Gender-Specific Impact Assessments and Community Consultations

Gender-Specific Impact Assessments (GIAs) and consultations must be developed and implemented prior to IBAs and before extractive projects commence. By undertaking comprehensive GIAs, mining and extraction companies will ensure that their operations promote women’s empowerment and participation in community decision-making processes (Oxfam Australia, 2009). The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019b) calls directly for the completion of gender-based socio-economic impact assessments of potential projects to be included in project proposals along with plans to mitigate potential impacts and risks. The resource extraction industry often fails to adequately consult women when negotiating access to land and resources, but GIAs will ensure that proposed operations are reflective of the rights, interests and concerns of Inuit women and communities.

Including all Stakeholders in IBA Processes

Inuit women and community members must be meaningfully included in IBA development, (re)negotiation, implementation, and monitoring processes, and must have adequate capacity to engage. Gender mainstreaming initiatives, combined with community outreach, must begin at the exploration stage of industry activities and continue throughout the life cycle of a project by implementing IBAs through

(re)negotiations (World Bank, 2015). Specific gender mainstreaming actions include gender trainings; development of gender-specific monitoring tools and guidelines for community engagement; and GBA of monitoring and evaluation tools (World Bank, 2015). The industry can meaningfully incorporate gender mainstreaming tools in their operations by including women in IBA negotiations and discussions around land and resources management. The industry can also set targets and/or quota systems to promote women's roles in decision-making and leadership positions (World Bank, 2015). As noted by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019b), the industry and relevant negotiating stakeholders involved in IBAs should include provisions ensuring Indigenous women's safety and security are written into agreements. Ensuring the protection of women in the workplace through the creation and implementation of zero tolerance sexual harassment policies is another significant industry responsibility in addition to mitigating the negative impacts of extractive operations in nearby communities.

International frameworks of human rights reaffirm that Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities for their territories and must give their free, prior and informed consent before the initiation of projects (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2016). To meet their obligations under the principles of the UNDRIP, the TRC, and other international/ national human rights obligations, the industry must establish specific protocols to ensure the equitable, safe, and meaningful participation of women in IBA processes (Oxfam International, 2017). Inuit women's involvement in IBA processes must be planned and equal, rather than incidental or accidental, in order to ensure that all agreements include gender-specific environmental, cultural and socio-economic indicators (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999).

Governance Roles and Responsibilities

The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) emphasizes the role of governments in ensuring that everyone has the right to work under just and favourable conditions and experiences an adequate standard of living required for health and well-being (United Nations, 1948). The UN's *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* also notes that states must protect against human rights abuses within their territories and/ or jurisdictions by third parties, including business industries (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2011).

The federal, provincial/territorial, and regional representative organizations, under the direction of the UNDRIP, the TRC *Calls to Action*, and the *Calls to Justice* of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, must play a larger role in the regulation of industry activities to ensure the well-being, safety and prosperity of Inuit women and communities. Current industry activities across Inuit Nunangat are primarily monitored through IBAs, which often do not include provisions for workplace safety for Inuit women. It has been highlighted that IBA negotiations are often exclusionary and agreements are often finalized between regional representative organizations and industry actors without meaningful input from Inuit women and communities (Diges, 2016; Steinstra et al., 2016c; Archibald and Crnkovich, 1999). Additionally, Harvard Law School International Human Rights Clinic (2015), mechanisms must address both the needs and expectations of those who have experienced workplace sexual harassment and violence. As such, grievance and remedy mechanisms must be designed by Inuit women and for Inuit women. Additionally, formal grievance mechanisms or processes should include other Inuit women, and should be accessible and available in the appropriate regional Inuktitut dialects. even when IBAs are being monitored, regional representative actors lack the capacity to effectively monitor and evaluate their implementation.

The same governments and organizations must work to ensure a regulated environment is created in which gender-specific impact assessments, community consultations and IBA processes become standard practice. All levels of government must guarantee relevant legislation and IBAs directly support equal

employment of Inuit women and implementation of industry-wide workplace sexual harassment policies and procedures. Federal and provincial/territorial governments must also work with regional representative organizations to design industry targeted incentives to reward extraction actors that promote Inuit women's participation in decision-making and leadership roles. There is also a need for the collection of gender disaggregated data regarding the number of Inuit women employed at mines, their roles, the number of workplace sexual harassment grievances filed, and the mechanisms used to address them. The availability of such data would help identify current structural gaps which prevent Inuit women from participating safely in the resource extraction industry.

Effective Policies and Procedures

The literature suggests a need for clear policies and recourse mechanisms to address workplace sexual harassment and violence (Gibson et al., 2017). Policies and procedures that address sexual harassment and violence in the workplace must be co-developed with Inuit women so that they are clear, distinct, accessible and meet the needs of Inuit women. The Human Resources Professional Association (2018) recommends that this be a unique and stand-alone policy, distinct from the general workplace employee conduct/harassment policy, citing that sexual assault and harassment incidents require specialized mechanisms. Furthermore, the association identifies the need for clear definitions of sexual harassment and assault to be embedded into policies and procedures (Human Resources Professional Association 2018).

The Ontario Human Rights Commission (2013) includes examples of sexual and gender-based harassment which range from unwanted touching to sexual jokes and derogatory comments to physical assault, including rape. In any such policy, steps for action should be clearly outlined if the perpetrator is a supervisor, company officer, or board director (Lomas, as cited in Rolfe, 2018). Additionally, workplace policies should be clear about the entirety of the reporting process (Lomas, as cited in Rolfe, 2018; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013).

The Human Resources Professional Association notes that the policy should:

clearly outline how to make a complaint, who to make a complaint to, what rights the complainant and accused have in the investigations process, what the investigation process entails, the process for making findings of fact and collective evidence, how the final determination is made, who makes it and what the possible penalties are (2018, p. 15).

Workplace policies and procedures need to clearly outline the remedy and/or grievance mechanisms available to Inuit women. As reported by Oxfam International (2017), grievance mechanisms should be transparent, rights-based, and accessible. Nightingale, Czyzewski, Tester and Aaruaq (2017) note that women should be directly involved in the development of mechanisms or processes for reporting incidents of gender-based discrimination and violence in the workplace. As indicated by Coumans (2018), the Columbia Law School Human Rights Clinic and Harvard Law School International Human Rights Clinic (2015), mechanisms must address both the needs and expectations of those who have experienced workplace sexual harassment and violence. As such, grievance and remedy mechanisms must be designed by Inuit women and for Inuit women. Additionally, formal grievance mechanisms or processes should include other Inuit women, and should be accessible and available in the appropriate regional Inuktitut dialects.

Company-wide training and education about new or enhanced policies and procedures are imperative to their success (Gibson et al., 2017). Lomas (as cited by Rolfe, 2018) echoed the need for more training, stating, "I've worked for companies that had a great harassment policy, apparently. But we never heard

about it...we were never educated on it or given the definitions of these behaviors.” Training on policies and procedures should go together with company-wide gender sensitivity or awareness training along with increased training for medical staff on the issue of sexual assault and harassment (Gibson et al., 2017; Mining Watch Canada, 2004; Oxfam International, 2017). In 2017, Nightingale, Czyzewski, Tester and Aaruaq also reported Inuit women in the workplace were not aware of their rights. As such, it is also critical that Inuit women receive culturally appropriate, safe and accessible workplace training in their specific Inuktitut dialect on new and existing policies and procedures to increase knowledge and awareness of their rights.

Conclusion

A comprehensive analysis of the relevant literature highlights that gender-specific socio-economic indicators pertaining to the well-being and prosperity of Inuit women and communities are not incorporated into formal policies, procedures and frameworks for a myriad of reasons presented in this review. This review has highlighted that current systems do not take into consideration the unique needs and circumstances of Inuit women, nor do the actors responsible for these structural processes incorporate gendered socio-economic considerations or consult with and/or include women meaningfully in the development phases. There is also a clear lack of accountability and transparency around the regulatory roles and responsibilities of governmental (both federal and provincial/territorial), regional and industry actors in relation to the development and implementation of gender-impact assessments and workplace safety policies. As such, there is an evident need for:

- grievance mechanisms to be designed by women;
- conducting gendered community consultations and impact assessments prior to the formulation of IBAs;
- inclusion of all relevant stakeholders, including women and community members, in the IBA development,(re) negotiation, implementation and monitoring processes;
- designation of a larger regulatory role for the federal, provincial/territorial and regional representative org development and/or alteration of existing policies and procedures to effectively address the issue of workplace sexual harassment and violence.
- development and/or alteration of existing policies and procedures to effectively address the issue of workplace sexual harassment and violence.

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