

“Exceeding Beringia”: Upending universal human events and wayward transits in Arctic spaces

EPD: Society and Space
0(0) 1–18

© The Author(s) 2020

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/0263775820950745

journals.sagepub.com/home/epd**Jen Rose Smith** 

University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

Abstract

In this article I examine the enlistment of Arctic ice to tell grand, universal stories about humanity’s origins and endings. Specifically, I analyze 18th century Natural History musings that linked Arctic climate to race and human difference. I demonstrate that these musings are constitutive to an invention of pathologized migrancy across Arctic spaces that emerge as a consequence of the inability of ice to foster agricultural settlement. I call this phenomenon *temperate-normativity*, in which Arctic spaces of ice are produced as inferior, not meaningful on their own but read as where transit to temperate locales occurs and those who linger are consequentially rendered as aberrant. To upend temperate-normative ideals of landscape and livelihood, I analyze a poem titled “Exceeding Beringia” by Joan Naviyuk Kane (Inupiaq) wherein Inupiaq relations to more-than-human kin articulate transit and migration as a mutual, obligatory responsibility.

Keywords

Environmental determinism, Anthropocene, Native American and Indigenous studies, Alaska Native studies, Arctic, ice, cultural geography, Joan Naviyuk Kane

Melting ice has become a spectacle on a global scale. The Arctic acts as a barometer for the pace of climate change. Drone images of calving glaciers and splitting ice sheets circulate widely in multiple forms of catastrophe media. As ice melts, familiar questions of state-sovereignty and property regimes are reanimated, particularly in Arctic spaces. Capitalist enterprises emerge as new economies of traffic routed through shipping lanes where ice once withheld entrance. Transformations of ice disturb predictable seasonal certainty the world

Corresponding author:

Jen Rose Smith, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 550 N. Park Street, Madison, WI 53706, USA.

Email: jrsmith39@wisc.edu

over. Many of these transformations are taken up by scholars and experts contributing to conversations of the Anthropocene, an unofficial geologic epoch that finds human induced change to the globe as heralding a new earthly time. Yet, enlisting Arctic spaces of ice as indicator of universalized human history and human futurity is not new nor innocent.

In this article, I trace an abridged racial history of ice with a focus on Arctic spaces. By analyzing assessments of Arctic ice from 18th century capitulations of Natural History, I argue that ice in Arctic spaces has long been enlisted to racialize Indigenous peoples that call the Arctic, broadly conceived, home and homeland.¹ Specifically, I examine 18th century Natural History musings that link environment, climate, and emplacement on the globe to difference across humans—estimations that other Human Geographers have also analyzed as contributing to environmental determinism (Bassin, 1992; Frankel, 1992; Livingstone, 2002a, 2011). While much contemporary scholarship on race and colonialism focuses on histories of scientific racism and analytics of biopower to make sense of and critique historical and ongoing racialized systemic violences, environmental determinism was also integral in multi-modal oppressions forged through a linking of racial difference to specificities of climate, environment, and space. These forms of racialization had particular force in how humans of “extreme environments” were organized into colonial categorizations, and many critical discussions of environmental determinism have focused on racialization through tropicality (Aravamudan, 1999; Eze, 1997; Gomez, 2008; Livingstone, 2002b; Pratt, 1992). Far less has been discussed regarding the supposed racializing and subject-making powers of ice and frozen geographies of the Arctic.

To interrogate this historical phenomenon, I offer the concept *temperate-normativity*, which demonstrates how “proper” civilizations are said to arise from settlements in temperate locales that depend largely on cultivation via agricultural practices. Sedentarism through agricultural practice becomes a universal indicator and foundation for civilization. Under this rubric, ice, in its resistance to root and hostility to settlement, is said to not only racialize due to “extreme” climate but the Arctic also becomes a space where pathological migrancy and transit takes place. Such narrations enmesh within the Bering Land Bridge Theory wherein waves of human migrations are said to have moved through the Arctic on the way to temperate zones, and those who linger are exceptional and aberrant. Within this explanation, indigeneity becomes a temporal question, and Indigenous peoples who reside in the Arctic are read as recent arrivals from elsewhere. Temperate-normativity is also latent within dominant conversations of the Anthropocene, where the Arctic becomes a space of consequence for all humans equally under the conditions that its melting unsettles a temperate world. Within such universal explanations that utilize the Arctic uncritically as both setting and protagonist, the specificities of Indigenous political autonomies and their ongoing relationalities with one another and more-than-human kin go overlooked and are therefore made more precarious.

To rethink co-optations of Arctic space as demonstrating something inherently universal about human origins, endings, and land use along the way, I turn to poet Joan Naviyuk Kane (Inupiaq) and her poem “Exceeding Beringia” (2016). Kane’s work undermines universal narrations of humanity’s migration story across a phantomatic land bridge and into the modern moment of climate crisis. For the Arctic, scientific discourse and data collection operate as dominant, and often preferred, forms of knowledge production that draw conclusions about a changing climate, and about the origin and migrations of humans. A turn toward poetry as a form of evidence upends an overreliance on Science as arbiter of truth both in a climate crisis and toward a conclusion of human origins. Therefore, Kane’s poetry creates space and opportunity for long existing and complex relationships to the Arctic come to the fore.

In considering Kane's poem alongside 18th century Natural History capitulations, I employ *transit* as a critique of sedentarist metaphysics, or the notion that to be fixed in space is a necessary precondition of successful civilization (Malkki, 1992). Transit is not only a source of a critique but it is also a mode of analysis (Byrd, 2011). Transits and traffic between poetry and Natural History abound, particularly so in the 18th century and onward, where poetic reflections on land and landscape rub elbows with geology, archaeology, and ethnology documentations (Carter, 1987; Pratt, 1992; Schiebinger and Swan, 2005). To place Kane's work in proximity to Natural Historian reflections, then, is not unusual, but is one analysis of the transit of ideas, world-making, and world-interruptions (Lorde, 2007). "Exceeding Beringia" works toward the action of its title by centering a kinship of seasonal transit among red phalarope and Inupiat in Arctic spaces that complicate temperate-normative ideas of unilinear directionality of both human migrations and geologic time. Furthermore, offering poetics as a counterpoint to over-determined climate Science helps to reimagine an Arctic geography that is not circumscribed to quantitative data alone but offers a vibrancy both discursive and material, human and more-than-human (McKittrick, 2006; Million, 2011).

In the next section I examine the specificities of Arctic ice and its role in contemporary Anthropocene conversations to demonstrate how ice is currently enlisted to tell overarching stories about humanity. I then show that these enlistments are as historical as they are ongoing. I bring together multiple 18th century temperate-normative musings about the racializing effects of the "extreme" nature of Northern environments that supposedly shape inferiority, which is also read as a pathological migrancy due to perpetual transits imposed by land bridge ideas. To interrupt these multiple overlapping formations that utilize Arctic ice without critical engagement, in the final section I analyze Kane's poem "Exceeding Beringia" as a world-making narrative of emplaced historical and ongoing relationships in geographies thought by many to be only for movement through and not within.

Ice and the Anthropocene

While interest in ice has erupted in a current moment of rapid climate change, ice—and Arctic ice in particular—has long been a focal point of study for scientific knowledge production and has held a key foothold in imperial Western cultural imagination (Blum, 2019; Dodds, 2018; Wilson, 2003). Scholars have critiqued representation and reportage of ice as blank, barren, and empty, or ice as essentially ahistorical and disconnected from ongoing socialities (Bravo, 2018; Davidson, 2005; Grace, 2001). A range of work has intervened to rewrite the Arctic as an important ecological ecosystem (Bravo and Rees, 2006), as a space where white masculinity and nationalism is tested (Bloom, 1993; Robinson, 2006), either verified or foiled (Craciun, 2016), and as a geopolitical zone that defies bureaucratic clarity as neither land nor water (Steinberg et al., 2015).

The Arctic has also been writ as a space of historical human activity, in particular in regard to archaeological research that aims to evidence large-scale theories of human migrations through the Arctic to other climes, largely in exit from Africa or East Asia (Graf and Buvit, 2017; Turnbull, 2010). Material scientific data have long been extracted from the Arctic (Bravo and Sorlin, 2002), and continues in contemporary forms such as through ice-core technologies (Antonello and Carey, 2017; Elzinga, 2017), as well as drone imagery and satellite data that track ice melt. While much Arctic scholarship attends to Western presences, more recent work offers a fuller inclusion of longstanding Indigenous histories and ongoing politics (Banerjee, 2012; Cameron, 2015; Cruikshank, 2006; Huntington et al.,

2019; Routledge, 2018; Stuhl, 2016). Often these contributions arrive in the form of assessing traditional ecological knowledge, Indigenous mapping, or examining literary narrations (Aporta et al., 2014; Bennett et al., 2016; Kollin, 2001; Krupnik et al., 2010).

These transdisciplinary contributions of ice-analytics offer a characterization of ice as a materiality that is uneasily categorized by perceptions of the colonial or theoretical: ice does not produce agriculture, it does not give root, it does not generate arborescence, it is not rhizomatic. Ice is a conundrum across academic disciplines; it confounds an aesthetic determinacy through lens or by brush. Immensity of glacier and icefield remains an artistic puzzle and representational bane (Balog, 2012; Bloom and Glasberg, 2011). Ice is slow and plodding as it shifts, breaks, melts, and hardens, though scholars and artists often dramatize its precarity. Within dominant conversations of the Anthropocene, ice is made a focal point as its melting is a danger to a temperate world.

The crisis of climate change animating Anthropocene discourse is explicit and straightforward: human-made environmental destruction is immediately identifiable. Yet, many analytical offerings of the Anthropocene are inadequate as they authorize a universal truth of how the Arctic must be known, depicted, and managed. Dominant Anthropocene discussions are constituted by three overlapping formations. First, as a Science that works to “save humanity” from a self-induced catastrophic crisis (Chakrabarty, 2009). Second, as a bureaucracy that works to attend fully to claims of sovereignty by primarily colonial nation-states and secondarily, if at all, to Indigenous polities (Shadian, 2014; Zellen, 2008, 2009). And third, through a liberal multiculturalism that allows for multi-dimensional aesthetic portrayals of the Arctic to exist simultaneously and equally. Within the latter is a niche narration of Indigenous peoples as apolitical and often ahistorical, repeating tropes that herald alternative qualities of uninterrupted Indigenous lifeways within Arctic spaces. This inclusion of “the alternative” articulates Arctic Indigenous peoples not as so many autonomous sovereign polities, but as a potential resource of land-based knowledges that can recover a global “we” from self-inflicted destruction. Within this capitulation, the death of a white, temperate planet might be salvaged by an orchestrated return of a set of once subjugated knowledges.

The Anthropocene as the (unofficial) latest geologic epoch (Crutzen, 2002) has been roundly problematized (Baldwin and Erickson, 2020; Fagan, 2019; Ojeda et al., 2020; Simpson, 2020; Tsing et al., 2017; Tuana, 2019; Verges, 2017; Yusoff, 2019). Scholars critique the colonial, racist foundations of the Anthropocene discourse and call for careful interrogations of which sets of humanity must be held accountable for capitalist activities that contribute most to a changing climate. Françoise Verges (2017) puts it most succinctly writing that the Anthropocene is an easy story to tell, “because it does not challenge the naturalized inequalities, alienation, and violence inscribed in modernity’s strategic relations of power and production.” Bringing attention to the white supremacist and anti-black underpinnings of the Anthropocene, Verges invokes a more apt term “racial capitalocene” to assess the current state of the world.

Similarly, Zoe Todd and Heather Davis argue that extractive logics of climate change must be read as emerging from within conditions of *longue durée* coloniality. They write that, “Indigenous philosophies and processes of Indigenous self-governance as a necessary political corrective, alongside the self-determination of other communities and societies violently impacted by white supremacists, colonial, and capitalist logics instantiated in the origins of the Anthropocene” (Davis and Todd, 2017: 763). In addition to accounting for the violences intrinsic to capitalist relations, scholars also draw attention to more-than-human kinships that have long animated Indigenous socialities despite capitalist interventions (Davis and Todd, 2017; Pulido, 2018; TallBear, 2017; Todd, 2015; Whyte, 2017). One

method of undermining a universal humanist position inherent within dominant Anthropocene scholarship is to cultivate practices that serve and attend to particularities and distinct historicities of relations and coloniality embedded in place. Such practices disallow a managerial Science from maintaining authority and require an adherence to the sovereignties of Indigenous polities, however they take shape. One such practice, offered here, is an attendance to poetic imaginings and articulations of space and sociality sidelined in favor of more “legible” climate data.

Within Anthropocene conversations, ice in particular gets de-linked from the social histories of its origins and is made to serve as evidence of a shared global crisis. As often as one might see a melting glacier divorced from its socio-political context, so too are many floating theories or critiques of the Anthropocene unmoored from material stakes. In the following section, I analyze 18th century Natural History descriptions of ice as a materiality and geography to demonstrate how ice has been weaponized to produce a subject that is categorized as racially inferior and pathologically in transit. This transit is due to the extreme nature of ice-landscapes and spatial proximity to a landform that is thought by some to have once bridged continents.

Temperate-normativity: Environmental determinism and stories of universal transit

Before the rise of scientific racism in the mid-19th century, which biologized race as something measured through supposedly innate characteristics of the body, philosophers attributed human difference to geography and climate, referred to now as environmental determinism. The rise of environmental determinism is often attributed to work by Ellen C. Semple in the early 20th century (Frankel, 1992), which drew on Friedrich Ratzel’s *Anthropogeographie* (1882 and 1891). Here Ratzel influentially analyzed “the geographical distribution of societies, the relation between migration and the physical environment, and...the influence of environments upon societies” (Peake, 2017: 1). Yet, environmental determinism, while not a unitary theory agreed upon across thinkers, was a common theme that trafficked across multiple conversations long before Ratzel.

For instance, Georg W. Hegel (2001 [1837]) writes in “Geographical Basis of History” that “Groups who lived in certain climatic zones should not be considered as historical actors... In the Frigid and in the Torrid zone the locality of World-historical peoples cannot be found.” For Hegel, inhabitants of the “frigid” and “torrid” locales of the globe should not be considered as actors in the History of the World. Yet, Hegel’s characterization of appropriate historical actors emerging from particular geographies was not created in a vacuum—his influences were many.

Those influences constitute a genealogy that can be traced back further still; the set of quotes that follow are not exhaustive, but demonstrate the discursive proliferation of linking climate and geography to racialized bodily characteristics. One common dimension of such thinking was that peoples of Arctic environments were the strongest example of environmental determinism resulting in an inferior intelligence. For instance, Georges-Louis Leclerc, also known as the Comte de Buffon (1749), wrote that

nothing can afford a stronger example of the influence of climate than this race of Laplanders, who are situated, along the whole polar circle...the breadth of which is limited by nothing but excessive cold; for that race totally disappears whenever the climate becomes a little temperate. (286)

Similarly, David Hume (1875 [1748]) argued that “all the nations, which live beyond the polar circles or between the tropics, are inferior to the rest of the species, and are incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind” (228). Later Hume (1875 [1748]) references George (Bishop) Berkeley, who claimed that “the native of a cold climate” have some intelligence, but “the northern geniuses are like melons, of which not one in fifty is good; but when it is so, it has an exquisite relish” (229).

According to these men, Indigenous peoples of the Arctic suffer from their surrounding Northern climes, and by contrast temperate zones have an opposite influence. Immanuel Kant’s (2015 [1802]) lectures from 1750s to 1790s reveal this quote, “in the hot countries the human being matures in all aspects earlier, but does not, however, reach the perfection of those in the temperate zones. Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites” (576). Comte de Buffon (1749) agrees, stating “the most temperate climate. . . produces the most handsome and beautiful men. It is from this climate that the ideas of the genuine colour of mankind, and of the various degrees of beauty, ought to be derived” (286). Hegel (2001 [1837]) again concurs and summarizes these trains of thought when he wrote that “the true theatre of History is therefore the temperate zone” (97). These excerpts demonstrate the perceived superiority of whiteness brought about by the geographies of a temperate zone, and a supposed nongenerativity and inferiority of both frozen ice-scapes and peoples of a “frigid zone” or “polar circle.”

I call this phenomenon *temperate-normativity*, which is the supposed nongenerative features of ice as understood in relation to a Western ideal of civilization in temperate climes. Temperate-normativity arises in part from a dependence upon forms of agriculture, a practice that is meant to act as both a civilizational and government-making activity, which consequentially renders spaces of ice and those who move through them as aberrant and pathological. Ice is maligned because it does not adhere to a temperate-normative requirement measured by agricultural fertility that engenders stasis. For instance, James Scott (2017) writes that the dominant version of “human prehistory” that most people learn is one in which “fixed-field crops. . . were the origin and guarantor of the settled life, of form religion, of society, and of government by laws” and that “those who refused to take up agriculture did so out of ignorance or a refusal to adapt” (7). David Turnbull (2010) accords, writing that “fixity in space and place has become the foundation stone of Western rationality and epistemology. . . movement is equated with wandering, irrationality, and the primitive, something that needs to be controlled and set in logical, linear order” (77). Ice acts as the anti-agriculture that disturbs the very roots of the West. Movement, migration, and transit relatedly act as a counter to fixity and settlement which constitutes the literal ground from which Western culture emerges.

Temperate-normativity is constituted in part by the idea that those who inhabit geographies of ice are racially inferior, and also that these same Indigenous peoples are constitutively rendered peoples of pathological *transit*. As Jodi Byrd (2011) writes, to be in transit “is to be in motion, to exist liminally in the ungrievable spaces of suspicion and unintelligibility. To be in transit is to be made to move” (xv). In this case, Arctic Indigenous peoples become invariably unintelligible as geographies of ice supposedly force constant and pathologized movement. Ice as an historically racialized geography produces inferior human beings and, in its rootless materiality, presupposes a coerced movement. This conjuring of aberrant migrancy is implicated within other narratives of transit, namely human migrations across and out of geographies of ice toward settlement in temperate locales. Natural Historians of the 18th century were equally interested in the influences of climate upon the body as they were in tracing human origins and their migrations.

The racialization of Arctic ice, and the constant transit it supposedly requires, then, is also entwined with concerns of origins, in that temperate-normativity is not only about the superiority of temperate landscapes but hinges upon the necessary narratives of migration across and away from ice to temperate zones. For example, in Kant's (2007 [1775]) piece "On the Different Races of Man," he hypothesized that the race "displaced into the arctic zone" is not only of "smaller stature" due to the risk from cold, but also that "most of the now-known inhabitants of the arctic zone seemingly are but late arrivals there . . . and have taken up their present seat only since the emigration from the eastern part of Asia" (91). Kant's musings illuminate entangled concerns about the nature of human migrations and temperate-normative notions of livable landscape. Further, his argument renders Indigenous Arctic peoples' relationships to land as recent and unsettled.

Temperate-normativity also assumes that typical and logical human migrations occurred through the move out of undesirable cold climates and into preferable temperate climes, and those who "remained" in Arctic spaces were deviant and illegible. For instance, Thomas Jefferson (1999 [1785]) in his 1787 *Notes on the State of Virginia* wrote,

[d]iscoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to shew that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times . . . discoveries of Captain Cook . . . have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow streight [sic]. So that from this side also, inhabitants have passed into America: and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture, that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former. . . . (107)

Scholarly uses of this excerpt often focus on its potential openness in terms of the directionality of movement across said "streight." Yet, the last part of this sentence, often omitted, is particularly crucial: ". . . or the latter of the former: *excepting indeed the Eskimaux*, who . . . must be derived from the Groenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent (*italics mine*)" (Jefferson, 1999 [1785]: 107). Arctic Indigenous peoples, for Jefferson, are held in a geographic-racial category that is exceptionally "of the North," while Kant suggests a recent migration from Eastern Asia. The musings of these thinkers don't necessarily need to match neatly for their capitulations to be influential and enduring. As Maile Arvin (2019) writes, the goal is "not to provide a more appropriate racial classification . . . but to show how racial knowledge—never stable, but often shifting—has been and continues to be central" to colonial projects (4). Following the damaging analytics put forth by these men, the climate and geographical placement in the Arctic produces negative corporeal characteristics and an inability to properly settle.

As this abridged genealogy demonstrates, Arctic environments, as spaces of pathological transit, are dismissed as incapable of generating agricultural settlement and Arctic peoples are denigrated as racially non-white and inferior. Consequentially, Indigenous peoples living in the Arctic are interpreted as migrant peoples having recently arrived from elsewhere and always-already ex-situ. This perpetual transit has less to do with actual historical or contemporary movements of Indigenous Arctic peoples across space or their intricate relations across polities and more-than-human kin; rather, this transit made aberrant is a consequence of human migration origin stories that rely on the racialization of Indigenous peoples in Arctic spaces. The history of ice-racialization is constitutive of the Bering Land Bridge Theory and discussions of the Anthropocene. Much Anthropocene scholarship doesn't attend to either race or the material qualities of ice, even though the latter is a popular symbol for representing climate change. The use of Arctic ice to make claims about

humanity is iterative: in the racialization of Arctic Indigenous peoples that naturalizes temperate-normativity, in the human migration narratives across Beringia into temperate lands, and in the Anthropocene discussions of melting ice as climate crisis.

Bering Land Bridge: Across and out

The Bering Land Bridge origin story offers human history as linear, narrated in chronological “waves” of migrants that moved across a landform that casts Siberia-and-Alaska as once temporarily connected. Below is an example of how the Bering Land Bridge Theory is narrated:

Through decades of collected archaeological evidence, and by the support of most of archaeologists and academics, the Bering Land Bridge theory hypothesizes that more than 10,000 years ago people travelled from East Asia to North America. These people travelled across plains that were exposed when sea levels began to drop as water was frozen in glaciers during the latter parts of the Ice Age in the Pleistocene Epoch about 1.75 million years ago. These plains connected Asia to North America; people then, inadvertently, followed plants and animals across these plains—and there remained. As the Ice Age ended, Beringia became submerged except for multiple islands in the Bering Sea (National Park Service).

The theory of human migrations across a land bridge originated with Jesuit missionary, Fray Jose de Acosta, stationed in Mexico and Peru in 1589 (Thomas, 2001) more than a century before Russia (re)named the Bering Strait. It wasn't until 1937 that Eric Hulten, Arctic botanist and plant geographer, published extensive accounts linking plant life of Eastern Siberia to Alaska and coined the term *Beringia*. The archaeological discovery of Clovis spear points found in the early 20th century, along with other geologic archaeological evidence, is meant to support the Bering Land Bridge Theory (Hoffecker et al., 1993).

An obscured dimension of such supporting “evidence” is that much of this material was and continues to be procured through violent means of disturbing, extracting, and continued ownership over thousands of human remains of Native Americans. In addition to being dependent upon well documented histories of theft, migration theories also work in an adversarial positioning against a multitude of Native peoples' distinct creation stories that narrate a range of geographically and socially specific emergences, transits, and arrivals. Beringia's human migration story undermines the complexities and textures of Indigenous histories and continuing practices, as well as the material and psychic conditions of ongoing coloniality. Yet, while there are consistently emerging disruptions and new archaeological discoveries that bring this origin story into question (Deloria, 1997; Kaplan, 2018; McGhee, 1989; Nash, 2012; Watson, 2017) the continued normalization of the Bering Land Bridge as fact persists.

Beringia also threatens Indigenous claims to land. As Byrd (2011) writes, the Bering Land Bridge Theory, “provide[s] a means to question aboriginal title to lands—if they were prior migrants from Asia, they had no aboriginal rights at all” (200). While transit is embedded within many distinct Indigenous creation stories, the concept can often be at odds with legal structures of land claims settlements that require a bureaucratic essentialism of stasis in space, tethered to concerns of property (Palmer, 2020). As Turnbull (2010) writes, “highlighting the role of movement . . . destabilizes the dominant narrative of the journey out of Africa culminating in the sedentary civilization of Western Europe,” and yet, movement acts as a “social technology of kinship—a network of relatedness, bonding, and obligations” (84). Similarly, Joy Harjo (2001) writes that

The Bering Strait Theory assumes that a land bridge was marked one way. The logic of that notion is so faulty as to be preposterous. There is no such thing as one-way land bridge. People, creatures and other life will naturally travel back and forth. Just as we will naturally intermarry, travel up and down rivers, cross oceans, fly from Los Angeles to Oklahoma for a powwow. (38)

The Bering Land Bridge Theory thus subsumes the many Indigenous articulations of transits into a universalizing narrative of one-way human transit.

Below, I analyze Joan Naviyuk Kane's poem "Exceeding Beringia" to disrupt such universal narrations. Kane's poem is attentive to ongoing discursive and material coloniality in Arctic spaces. While holding colonial actors accountable she simultaneously reinforces and centers a poetics of kinship against what others might call a Beringia landscape. Moreover, Kane's work also demonstrates the need for a range of experiential and imaginary geographies of Arctic spaces that eclipse dominant forms of scientific archaeological and climate data that dominate the policy and academic analyses of Arctic spaces.

Exceeding Beringia

In this section, I analyze a single poem by one poet in order to privilege singularity, and to valorize the enunciation of detail, situatedness, and emplacedness. The argument in this article thus far has traced and critiqued broad assignments of race to Northern icy geographies, as well as universal narratives of the Anthropocene and the Bering Land Bridge Theory that desires to group all of humanity into one homogenous unit. Therefore, an attention to specificity and local social geography is an apt intentional methodological choice to contrast against the previously analyzed material. To read poetry carefully is to deny the notion of the statistical as superior.

Joan Naviyuk Kane is the author of seven poetry collections, all of which feature and elucidate Indigenous lands and lifeways in the Arctic in multiple dimensions.² Kane's oeuvre builds a poetic geographical imaginary of Arctic space, creating an intricate and intimate rendering of a political sociality experienced in Northern spaces by Inupiat. Her poem, "Exceeding Beringia" (2016) is set in Inupiat territory. The poem was commissioned by the Academy of American Poets and funded by the National Endowments for the Arts in partnership with the National Park Service (NPS) for the "Imagine Your Parks" grant. This partnership commissioned 50 poets in 50 states to write poems about a national park in their home state. Kane was asked to write a poem about Denali National Park, but elected to write instead about the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve, a federal preserve that overlaps with the lands, communities, and histories to whom Kane is connected: Ugiuvak (King Island) and Mary's Igloo. According to the narration of the Bering Land Bridge Theory in the previous section, Ugiuvak is a "remnant island of the Beringia landform." Importantly, this is not the history that Kane articulates.

The Bering Land Bridge National Monument was first recognized in 1978 by presidential proclamation, and in 1980 the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act established the Preserve with allowances for subsistence practices, and sport hunting and trapping. In its several mutations of land ownership, Inupiat of this area have been extended little involvement in determining the ownership and management of their homelands. To address this sordid history, Kane (2016) leaves a remark in the "about this poem" section of the online interface:

Indigenous people continue to be dispossessed of our homelands through various policies (relocation, conservation, economic development and countless other paternalisms). As an Inupiaq

woman, it can be a challenge to celebrate aspects of the problematic history of this country, especially ones that are so closely yoked to my identity: land and place. I wrote this poem to honor sites in the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve whose importance is impressed upon me by relatives and community members, though I haven't yet been fortunate enough to spend time in all of these places. This poem also allowed me to draw upon the beautiful intricacies of rhetoric, observation, and sensibility embodied in the life work of Herbert Anungazuk (NPS Native Liaison) and contrast those with those of John Muir.

In this note to the reader, Kane makes clear that she is writing the poem to honor sites in the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve “whose importance is impressed upon [her] by relatives and community members,” thereby directing attention away from the normative histories of preservation and/or conservation often celebrated by the NPS. Kane concentrates on valorizing Inupiaq relationality as a way of knowing and claiming by pivoting away from John Muir, a well-known naturalist who encouraged displacement of Alaska Native peoples and polities. The poem then offers a different form of relating to and analyzing the Arctic, one not steeped in traditions of extractive data collection and white romanticism. Kane instead turns to Herbert Anungazuk, Inupiaq NPS liaison, who was hired as a cultural anthropologist by NPS in 1984 but held a previous occupation as a whaling captain for 14 years. His time working with the Park Service has been lauded as exemplary of the importance of Native–non-Native collaboration between experts in Arctic anthropology (Jolles, 2012). The poem begins with an epigraph of his words.

“I remember the birds ever so many of them when I hunted with the weapons of a child. The water was covered in their numbers, red as the flowers of summer on the mountain. The red phalarope were our prey of choice, there were so many. Today, these birds return yearly, but now only a few return home in spring to show us they remain a part of the land, as we are.”—Herbert Aḡiyḡaq Anungazuk

Nimiqtuumaruq aktunaamik: bound with rope.

This land with its laws that serve as wire
and root to draw us together. Sinew, snare,
the unseen growth of the green tree
many rivers south whose stump now shoals

into use. Through layer upon layer of land
submerged, of ice, of ash, through lakes
that cannot be the eyes of the earth.
The phreatomagmatic blue sprawl
of the Devil Mountain Maar, the *Kuzitrum*

drained by inland veins scrawling tributaries
with name upon vanishing name.
The giant granite tors at Serpentine:
Iyat, the cooking pot sentineled
by unscoured stone as it towers

endlessly into the flickering sky.
Auksruaq, like the blood that seeps
across such hot and dim and strenuous

times where one still cannot be serene:
red phalarope, might we follow,
leaving the meadow wet with tears?
From nest to fledge and then to move again
right out to sea, circling tight vortices
to upwell food. Let us lose our grief
in great rafts as we translate the renamed

straits. Our limbs, like yours, are burnt
and broken. Let us at last make noise
of this truth as we return together
to wear another furrow, to make portage,
to make our land our home anew.

Beginning her poem with an epigraph written by Anungazuk, Kane foregrounds a set of relations that are typically not permitted in preserves: hunting. Anungazuk is hunting migratory birds, who might also be called birds of transit. Red phalaropes were the “prey of choice” for Anungazuk when he was young, and presumably for his community as he writes “*our* prey of choice.” As the epigraph continues it is revealed that “now only a few return home in spring.” As opposed to a spectacular representation of a melting ice cap or through a narration of historical human migration, Kane offers a “Beringia” geography read through experiences of change that are distinct to Anungazuk’s own forms of measurement. The marked change from “so many” to “only a few” red phalaropes is a noticeable difference: a decrease in population. Yet, for Anungazuk’s records this is but one form of measurement and description. Instead of focusing on the decrease in phalarope numbers, one might also turn attention to an element that remains constant and, in fact, overriding: the red phalaropes continue to “return home . . . to show us that they remain a part of the land, as we are.” Change is not the most prominent variable; the central tenet of this epigraph is the persistence of presence to demonstrate that they, the red phalarope and the peoples of that area, are a part of the land, whether or not numbers indicate some other interpretation. Expert authority here is not an ability to measure and record change, but to maintain kinship even in times of perceived destruction. Presence of migratory return of the phalarope and Anungazuk persists, and though the dimensions of that presence may be changing, it continues. Within the dominant rhetoric of the Anthropocene as newest geologic epoch, the melting ice as a global event, and in universal one-way migrations, this kinship of seasonal return and transit through space is an overlooked dataset, one not particularly worthy of measurement by normative Science. Nor is there a method to chronicle such information—other than, perhaps, a poem.

A crucial element that obligates both the red phalarope and Inupiat of this region to one another and to the land is communicated through the use of Inupiaq language, which punctuates “Exceeding Beringia” from the outset. The first words of the first stanza are in Inupiaq, “Nimiqtuamaruq aktunaamik” and are followed by “: bound with rope.” “Bound with rope” may be the direct translation of the preceding Inupiaq words, or it might be a related statement or description, an ambiguity heightened by the grammatical use of a colon. This intentional lack of clarity immediately censors this poem to non-Inupiaq readers, they are *bound* from the outset by the disruption of the English language. The very opening is closed; an orientation to space is obscured. This deliberate destabilization signals that the world offered here is not the world of the non-Inupiaq, this is not a familiar space of a shared universal human event. The speaker of the poem opens and closes spaces from the

assumed universal English speaker-reader's consumption and belonging. In this sense, the non-Inupiaq reader is bound with rope, captive by the choice of the speaker.

Is this a benign or malicious binding? The next lines reveal potentially both. The first stanza can be read in two ways that may exist simultaneously. "This land with its laws that serve as wire/and root to draw us together. Sinew, snare,/the unseen growth of the green tree/many rivers south whose stump now shoals/into use." These lines offer a multi-dimensional understanding of being bound, as the laws of the land fasten "us" together. The use of many verb-nouns such as wire, root, and snare suggests that the "us" in the poem is drawn together by materials that offer potentially incarcerating and fruitful circumstances. Wire and snare can be interpreted as materials that are meant to bind in ways that trap and fasten; root and sinew offer dimensions of binding that are generative and symbiotic. Therefore, "[t]his land with its laws that serve as wire/and root" offers both confined, enforced fixity and the promise of connectivity. Furthermore, the "us" drawn together of the poem is also imbricated with "the green tree many rivers south" whose assumed destruction, in that it is a stump, emerges into benefit. Perhaps, there is growth far off that is not immediate, or spatially proximal, but nonetheless behaves as a binding actant.

The non-Inupiaq reader is brought in to an "us" but also not given access to full comprehension. The "us" is bound together, but not equalized or universalized. Moreover, the "land with its laws that serve as wire/and root" can mean entirely different things for Inupiat and non-Inupiat. While contemporary non-Inupiat readers might interpret being bound to the land and to an "us" in a time of climate change as meaning that we are all at the mercy of potential destruction, an Inupiaq reader could interpret the laws of this land differently. Particularly in that Indigenous peoples might experience the "land with its laws" not as some new-fangled form of destruction or plight but as ongoing violence. Whether it be through processes of forced governmental relocation; incarcerating communities through bureaucratic land claims processes of dispossession; generating certificates demonstrating degrees of Indian blood; or legal regulations on hunting, fishing, and gathering, the conditions of legal coloniality continue to inform the daily lives of Native peoples. This is especially salient in Alaska as there are currently no legal protections for hunting and harvesting practices that mandate an Alaska Native priority (DiNovelli-Lang and Hébert, 2019), and through an unprecedented form of land claims in the State, Alaska Natives are not conventionally understood as autonomous sovereign polities (Huhndorf and Huhndorf, 2011). In particular to Kane's poem and hunting birds, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act in Alaska in the 1960s–1970s prohibited and penalized Alaska Native peoples for migratory bird hunting and was not overturned until 1977 (Maxwell, 2018). The laws of the land here can be interpreted as policy actively work to dispossess and disenfranchise Native peoples.

One could also entertain a different reading of the "us" drawn together by the laws of the land. "Us" might mean the people to whom Herbert Anungazuk belongs and the red phalarope, and thus the laws of the land exceed the juridical, bureaucratic legal policies instituted from on high. In which case, the red phalarope is distinct from Inupiat, as Inupiat is distinct from the red phalarope, and it is their differences that make them accountable to the kinship they share. It is these very distinctions that obligate them to one another and to the "Beringia" geography. If Inupiat and the red phalarope are bound and drawn together by the laws of the land in both carceral and generative forms, the following stanzas can be read as a description of the shared space, histories, and present interface with a changing world.

What constitutes this shared geographic imaginary? This space is, at the very least, one that refuses transcendentalist renditions that curate land as vital nature and calls into question a geological time as universally applicable. The speaker of the poem in "Exceeding Beringia" delivers a characterization of landscape that works against normative

formulations of geology and the romantic nature writing and the “sublime,” such as that deployed by Henry David Thoreau. The poem reads: “Through layer upon layer of land/submerged, of ice, of ash, through lakes that cannot be the eyes of the earth.” In *Walden*, Thoreau (2010) wrote, “A lake is a landscape’s most beautiful and expressive feature. It is Earth’s eye; looking into which the beholder measures the depth of his own nature” (128). The speaker of the poem informs the reader that the “us” is not bound through the vertical space of mineral layers and submerged ice and ash that correspond to a geologic form of memory-keeping, or to a masculine form of self-measure. These methods of relating exist, and may even be useful, but they are not universally applicable—they *cannot* be the eyes of the earth.

As the poem continues, the reader is pushed not to take sedimented landscape as an inherent indication of veracity, but to grapple with continual movement and the transit of the landscape itself. The ground moving beneath one’s feet through the “phreatomagmatic blue sprawl,” the eruption and movement of the earth as its expanse grows, although it is narrated by another colonially given name “Devil Mountain Maar.” The reader follows the Kuzitrun lake as it is “drained by inland veins scrawling tributaries/with name upon vanishing name.” The motion of the landscape here is linked to alteration—not by a changing climate but colonial forces of dispossession and processes of re-naming landscapes that drain Inupiat places of their fullness.

While the poem destabilizes universal narratives of Beringia that render Kane’s ancestral homelands its “remnants,” it is not a return to the unscathed. Kane does not offer a pristine, untouched space that conjures an idealized return to a pre-contact, rather, her work makes them constitutive to modernity. While the poem draws attention to Inupiaq language and place names that mark a history of sustained spatial relationships and practices, these relationships are not unmarred. In the fourth stanza the second line begins

Auksruaq, like the blood that seeps/across such hot and dim and strenuous/times where one still cannot be serene:/red phalarope, might we follow,/leaving the meadow wet with tears? From nest to fledge and then to move again/right out to sea, circling tight vortices/to upwell food. Let us lose our grief/in great rafts as we translate the renamed/straits.

The historical loss of land and ongoing forms of dispossession continue to create strain and stress contributing to a contemporary moment when “one still cannot be serene,” and even the *auksruaq* (red phalarope) conjures images and memories of blood.

Kane’s poem ends with a gesture to the most modern form of forced relocation experienced by both Inupiat and the red phalarope: “Our limbs, like yours, are burnt/and broken. Let us at last make noise/of this truth as we return together/to wear another furrow, to make portage,/to make our land our home anew.” Forced relocation historically and contemporaneously in the Arctic and specifically Alaska is particularly relevant. Kane’s own community was made to relocate from their homeland at Ugiuvak in 1959 by decree the federal government, which resulted in the community dispersing across Nome, Kotzebue, and Anchorage (Kingston and Marino, 2010). Many Alaska Native villages along the coast of Alaska have consistently faced the challenge of responding to rising seas near their homes. Villages such as Shishmaref, Newtok, and Kivalina have been pushed to consider relocating their villages with little to no economic assistance from either State or federal governments (Bronen, 2010; Marino and Lazrus, 2015; Shearer, 2012).

Kane’s poem does not offer climate Science as a solution to the problem of a changing landscape for the red phalarope and the Inupiat. The speaker of the poem suggests that the way forward is to “make noise/of this truth as we return together . . . to make our land our

home anew.” The transits of Indigenous peoples are not new—both Inupiat and the red phalarope move through space without compromising their relations to one another or to the land, sea, ice, and air. Yet, a concerted effort of narrating experience is made necessary especially under these conditions of change and modern forced migrations and relocations.

Conclusion

In this article, I offered an analysis of Indigenous Arctic spaces as they have been enlisted to tell stories about universal human origins and precarious endings. I traced an abridged critical racial history of ice to illuminate how Arctic spaces and Arctic Indigenous peoples have been racialized and rendered migrant and perpetually in transit in order to create and maintain what I call temperate-normativity. Temperate-normativity is constituted by a bolstering of temperate landscapes and those who live there as superior based on foundational aspects of the West being rooted in settled agriculture. Temperate-normativity espouses sedentarism and settlement as the apex of humanity, and thus Arctic spaces of ice are denigrated and maligned, as are Indigenous peoples who call the Arctic home. Additionally, ice is also hinged to understandings of human migrations over a supposed Bering Land Bridge, where transit is meant to occur through and out of spaces of ice toward temperate locales. Therefore, in the Arctic, Indigenous peoples are subject to the racialization of environmental determinism and its link to problematic theories of original waves of human migrations. In this way, the Arctic, a vibrant and multiply rich space, is often reduced to a scientific dataset, an archaeological setting wherein human migrations, or a spectacular vision of melting ice that evidences an Anthropocentric crisis occur and are meaningful only in relation to an unsettled temperate material world and cultural imaginary.

To counteract this tendency, I offered an analysis of an Arctic geography as articulated through a poem by Joan Naviyuk Kane that acts as a counterpoint to an overwhelming scholarly focus on the Arctic largely rendered through dominant quantitative climate Science. Kane’s poem, and larger body of literary contributions, extends an Arctic geographic imaginary that exceeds dominant scientific and popular renderings of Arctic spaces. Her poem, “Exceeding Beringia,” in particular, delivers an articulation of transit, migration, and obligatory accountability between Inupiat and the red phalarope that exceeds an Anthropocentric “Beringia” landscape. As Beringia is exceeded, readers are given an opportunity to understand and experience the Arctic not as an icon of devastating climate change, but as a space of consistent historical, ongoing, and distinct socio-political relations. Moreover, not only is Beringia exceeded, but the poem also urges readers to bring their attention to contemporary forced transits and relocations that emerge under ongoing coloniality and late stage capitalism.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks the anonymous reviewers and Alexander Vasudevan for their labor and insightful comments that substantively improved this manuscript. The author also thanks the many readers who gave supportive feedback over the many iterations of this article, with special thanks to Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek, Shari Huhndorf, Ashton Wesner, Andrea Marston, and Erin Torkelson. A final note of appreciation is due to Joan Naviyuk Kane for permission to republish her poem “Exceeding Beringia” in its full form.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article: The author thanks the Ford Foundation Fellowship Program and the University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship Program for support while this manuscript was written.

ORCID iD

Jen Rose Smith  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7659-806X>

Notes

1. When possible, I refer to Indigenous polities in specific terms. However, in this article, I critique sweeping generalizations that refer to Northern spaces and those living there in broad, regional terms that coalesce around the “extreme” nature of frozen Northern geographical characteristics. In such writings, there is often no concern for specificity of Indigenous nation, but a sole interest in diagnosing the racializing consequences of spatialized climate upon the body. Of course, distinct specificities of Indigenous polities across the Arctic are wide-ranging, which I attend to when possible. Among other cross-Arctic relations, Arctic Indigenous peoples, while maintaining autonomous and distinct political and spatial territories and governments, often form political coalitions on shared goals and struggles across the Arctic in organizations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Saami Council, and the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North. Arctic Indigenous peoples have long imagined local politics as similarly positioned across polities vis-à-vis colonial histories and present.
2. Please visit Joan Naviyuk Kane's website thejoankane.com for a full description and list of works.

References

- Antonello A and Carey M (2017) Ice cores and the temporality of the global environment. *Environmental Humanities* 9(2): 181–203.
- Aporta C, Bravo M and Taylor GRF (2014) The Pan-Inuit Trails Atlas. Available at: <http://www.paninuittrails.org/index.html>
- Aravamudan S (1999) *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1699–1804*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Arvin M (2019) *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Baldwin A and Erickson B (2020) Introduction: Whiteness, coloniality, and the Anthropocene. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 38(1): 3–11.
- Balog J (2012) *Ice: Portraits of Vanishing Glaciers*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications.
- Banerjee S (ed) (2012) *Arctic Voices: Resistance at the Tipping Point*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Bassin M (1992) Geographical determinism in Fin-de-siècle Marxism: Georgii Plekhanov and the environmental basis of Russian history. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(1): 3–22.
- Bennett MM, Greaves W, Riedlsperger R, et al. (2016) Articulating the Arctic: Contrasting state and Inuit maps of the Canadian north. *Polar Record* 52(6): 630–644.
- Bloom L (1993) *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Bloom L and Glasberg E (2011) Disappearing ice and missing data: Climate change in the visual culture of the Polar regions. In: Polli A and Marsching J (eds) *Far Fields: Digital Culture, Climate Change and the Poles*. Bristol: Intellect Press, pp.117–142.
- Blum H (2019) *The News at the Ends of the Earth*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bravo M (2018) *North Pole: Nature and Culture (Earth)*. London: Reaktion.
- Bravo M and Rees G (2006) Cryo-politics: Environmental security and the future of arctic navigation. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 13(1): 205–215.
- Bravo M and Sorlin S (eds) (2002) *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices*. Canton, MA: Science History Publications.
- Bronen R (2010) Forced migration of Alaskan Indigenous communities due to climate change. In: Afifi T and Jäger J (eds) *Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, pp.87–98.
- Buffon G-L. LCD (1749) Varieties of human species. In: *A Natural History, General and Particular*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale.
- Byrd J (2011) *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cameron E (2015) *Far off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of the Contemporary Arctic*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Carter P (1987) *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.
- Chakrabarty D (2009) The climate of history: Four theses. *Critical Inquiry* 35(2): 197–222.
- Craciun A (2016) *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cruikshank J (2006) *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Crutzen PJ (2002) Geology of mankind. *Nature* 415(6867): 23–23.
- Davidson P (2005) *The Idea of North*. London: Reaktion.
- Davis H and Todd Z (2017) On the importance of a date, or, decolonizing the Anthropocene. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 16(4): 761–780.
- Deloria V (1997) *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*. New York: Fulcrum Publishing.
- DiNovelli-Lang D and Hébert K (2019) Rural Alaska: The struggle for subsistence. *Journal for the Anthropology of North America* 22(2): 69–71.
- Dodds K (2018) *Ice: Nature and Culture*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Elzinga A (2017) Polar ice cores: Climate change messengers. In: Bensaude Vincent SLB, Nordmann A and Schwarz A (eds) *Research Objects in Their Technological Setting*. Vol. 10. London and New York: Routledge, pp.215–231.
- Eze EC (1997) *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fagan M (2019) On the dangers of an Anthropocene epoch: Geological time, political time and post-human politics. *Political Geography* 70: 55–63.
- Frankel S (1992) Geography, empire, and environmental determinism. *Geographical Review* 82(2): 143–153.
- Gomez NW (2008) *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Grace SE (2001) *Canada and the Idea of North*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Graf KE and Buvit I (2017) Human dispersal from Siberia to Beringia: Assessing a Beringian standstill in light of the archaeological evidence. *Current Anthropology* 58(S17): S583–S603.
- Harjo J (2001) *A Map to the Next World: Poems and Tales*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Hegel GWF (2001 [1837]) *The Philosophy of History* (Sibree J., Trans.). Kitchener: Batoche Books.
- Hoffecker JF, Powers WR and Goebel T (1993) The colonization of Beringia and the peopling of the new world. *Science* 259(5091): 46–53.
- Huhndorf RM and Huhndorf SM (2011) Alaska Native politics since the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 110(2): 385–401.
- Hume D (1875 [1748]) Of national characters. In: TH Green and TH Rose (Eds.), *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*. Vol. 3. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, pp.224–245.

- Huntington HP, Carey M, Apok C, et al. (2019) Climate change in context: Putting people first in the Arctic. *Regional Environmental Change* 19(4): 1217–1223.
- Jefferson T (1999 [1785]) *Notes on the State of Virginia*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Jolles CZ (2012) Aġiyġaq Herbert Anungazuk and Ernest S. Burch, Jr.: Remembering an Inupiaq anthropologist and his mentor. *Arctic Anthropology* 49(2): 213–220.
- Kane JN (2016) Exceeding Beringia. Available at: <https://poets.org/poem/exceeding-beringia> (accessed February 2018).
- Kant I (2007 [1775]) Of the different races of human beings (H. Wilson and G. Zöller, Trans.). In: Loudon RB and Zöller G (eds) *Anthropology, History, and Education: The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.82–97.
- Kant I (2015 [1802]) Physical geography (O. Reinhardt, Trans.). In: Watkins E (ed) *Kant: Natural Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.434–679.
- Kaplan S (2018) *Washington Post*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/science/wp/2018/03/30/the-oldest-footprints-in-north-america-are-right-where-native-historians-said-they-should-be/> (accessed August 2020).
- Kingston DM and Marino E (2010) Twice removed: King islanders' experience of "community" through two relocations. *Human Organization* 69(2): 119–128.
- Kollin S (2001) *Nature's State: Imagining Alaska as the Last Frontier*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Krupnik I, Aporta C, Gearheard S, et al. (eds) (2010) *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice*. Berlin: Springer.
- Livingstone DN (2002a) Race, space and moral climatology: Notes toward a genealogy. *Journal of Historical Geography* 28(2): 159–180.
- Livingstone DN (2002b) Tropical hermeneutics: Fragments for a historical narrative: An afterword. *Journal of Historical Geography* 90(2): 65–88.
- Livingstone DN (2011) Chapter 27: Environmental determinism. In: John Agnew DNL (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.368–380.
- Lorde A (2007) Poetry is Not a Luxury. In *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde*. New York: Crossing Press.
- McGhee R (1989) Who owns prehistory? The Bering Land Bridge dilemma. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadien D'Archéologie* 13: 13–20.
- McKittrick K (2006) *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Press.
- Million D (2011) Intense Dreaming: Theories, Narratives, and Our Search for Home. *American Indian Quarterly* 35(3): 313.
- Malkki L (1992) National geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 24–44.
- Marino E and Lazrus H (2015) Migration or forced displacement?: The complex choices of climate change and disaster migrants in Shismaref, Alaska and Nanumea. *Human Organization* 74(4): 341–350.
- Maxwell L (2018) *KTVVA*. Available at: <https://www.ktva.com/story/39088081/us-government-and-state-issue-joint-apology-to-alaska-natives-over-migratory-birds>. (accessed August 2020)
- Nash C (2012) Genetics, race, and relatedness: Human mobility and human diversity in the geographic project. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102(3): 667–684.
- National Park Service (2019) History of the Bering Land Bridge Theory. Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/bela/learn/historyculture/the-bering-land-bridge-theory.htm>. (accessed December 2019)
- Ojeda D, Sasser JS and Lunstrum E (2020) Malthus's specter and the Anthropocene. *Gender, Place & Culture* 27(3): 316–332.
- Palmer MA (2020) Rendering settler sovereign landscapes: Race and property in the Empire State. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. Epub ahead of print 16 May 2020. DOI: 10.1177/0263775820922233.
- Peake LJ (2017) Anthropogeography. Peake, L. J. (2017). Anthropogeography. In D. Richardson, N. Castree, M. F. Goodchild, A. Kobayashi, W. Liu, & R. A. Marston (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology* (pp. 1-3): Wiley Online Library.

- Pratt ML (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Pulido L (2018) Racism and the Anthropocene. In: Gregg Mitman RE and Armiero M (eds) *The Remains of the Anthropocene*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp.116–128.
- Robinson MF (2006) *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Routledge K (2018) *Do You See Ice?: Inuit and Americans at Home and Away*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Schiebinger L and Swan C (2005) *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Scott JC (2017) *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shadian J (2014) *The Politics of Arctic Sovereignty: Oil, Ice and Inuit Governance*. New York: Routledge.
- Shearer C (2012) The social construction of Alaska Native vulnerability to climate change. *Race, Gender & Class* 19(1/2): 61–79.
- Simpson M (2020) The Anthropocene as colonial discourse. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 38(1): 53–71.
- Steinberg PE, Tasch J and Gerhardt H (2015) *Contesting the Arctic: Politics and the Imaginaries in the Circumpolar North*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Stuhl A (2016) *Unfreezing the Arctic: Science, Colonialism, and the Transformation of Inuit Lands*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- TallBear K (2017) Beyond the life/not life binary: A feminist-indigenous reading of cryopreservation, interspecies thinking and the new materialisms. In: Radin J and Kowal E (eds) *Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp.179–200.
- Thomas DH (2001) *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*. New York: Basic Books.
- Thoreau HD (2010) *Walden, Civil Disobedience, and Other Writings*. New York: Classic Books International.
- Todd Z (2015) Indigenizing the Anthropocene. In: Davis H and Turpin E (eds) *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies*. London: Open Humanities Press, pp.241–254.
- Tsing AL, Bubandt N, Gan E, et al. (2017) *The Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet: Ghosts and Monsters of the Anthropocene*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuana N (2019) Climate apartheid: The forgetting of race in the Anthropocene. *Critical Philosophy of Race* 7(1): 1–31.
- Turnbull D (2010) Trails and tales: Multiple stories of human movement and modernity. In: M. Bravo & N. Triscott (Eds.), *Arctic Geopolitics and Autonomy*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, pp.71–88.
- Verges F (2017) Racial Capitalocene: Is the Anthropocene racial? In: Johnson GT and Lubin A (eds) *Futures of Black Radicalism*. London: Verso.
- Watson T (2017) News feature: Is theory about peopling of the Americas a bridge too far? *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 114(22): 5554–5557.
- Whyte K (2017) Indigenous climate change studies: Indigenizing future, decolonizing the Anthropocene. *English Language Notes* 55(1): 153–162.
- Wilson EG (2003) *The Spiritual History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yusoff K (2019) *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Zellen BS (2008) *Breaking the Ice: From Land Claims to Tribal Sovereignty in the Arctic*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Zellen BS (2009) *On Thin Ice: The Inuit, the State, and the Challenge of Arctic*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Jen Rose Smith (dAXunhyuu [Eyak]) is an assistant professor in the Geography Department and American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her current research analyzes ice in relation to coloniality and Indigenous geographies of Alaska and the Arctic.