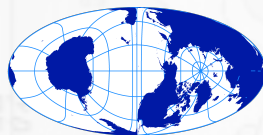




The Impact of Welfare Colonialism on Inuit Responses to Climate Change in Qikiqtani, Canada

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i Abstract

Climate instability in the Arctic poses large challenges for Inuit who live there and whilst climate vulnerability research is effective on many levels, this approach has been critiqued for overlooking the impacts of colonialism. Therefore, a niche exists that investigates how the ongoing issues of welfare colonialism, which refers to the problematic centre-periphery interactions between the state and indigenous groups from the 1950s, affect the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change. To do this, the ‘vulnerability’ term, currently widely used in Canadian Arctic research, was re-framed to ‘community wellness’ in order to offer a more open-ended analysis. Through consulting literature, this study asks: How do the legacies of welfare colonialism in Qikiqtani, Canada affect community wellness in Igloodik and Grise Fiord? It was found that the main factors of community wellness, which include kinship, culture, community, mobility and subsistence, were all adversely impacted by aspects of welfare colonialism such as resettlement and the removal of Inuit from their homes for education and medical treatment. It is suggested that Inuit in Qikiqtani today are less able to respond to challenges due to these legacies of welfare colonialism. Analysis of literature indicates that there is significant overlap between the ongoing impacts of colonialism and non-climatic factors of climate vulnerability in the Canadian Arctic. Because of this, welfare colonialism is argued to affect the human dimensions of climate change in Qikiqtani as it increases the vulnerability of Inuit. It is also noted that the centre-periphery aspects of welfare colonialism can be also be partially seen in the research that is conducted in the Canadian Arctic today and that there is opportunity for future studies to explore ways in which aspects of this research could be decolonised.

ii Acknowledgements

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The Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI) offers a fantastic space to meet expert staff, PhD students and visiting scholars. The countless hours of conversation this has provided has been crucial to the formation of the ideas presented in this thesis and also gave me an insight to the bigger picture of the geographical and political landscapes of the Arctic, in which my work is situated. The Centre of Governance and Human Rights (CGHR) also provided a crucial platform through which I was able to meet like-minded students from a variety of different disciplines. Through the CGHR, I also received support to organise a university-wide event which focussed on climate change and indigenous groups and the presentations and discussion it involved gave valuable input to this project. Lastly, through attending the Royal Geographical Society's Postgraduate Forum, I had the chance to present my early ideas for this work and receive feedback and suggestions from a group of expert geographers and fellow postgraduate students from universities across the UK.

It was through engaging with these individuals and organisations whilst doing my MPhil that not only made the last nine months thoroughly enjoyable but also made them the most intellectually stimulating nine months of my life.

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Human Dimensions of Climate Change in the Canadian Arctic

‘We are all accustomed to the dire metaphors used to evoke the havoc of climate change, but in many parts of the Arctic, the metaphors have already become a very literal reality. ... While climate experts warn that an increase of two degrees in the global average temperature is the threshold of disaster, in the Arctic we have already seen nearly double that. ... The land that is such an important part of our spirit, our culture, and our physical and economic well-being is becoming an often unpredictable and precarious place for us.’ (Watt-Cloutier, 2015, viii)

Inuit human rights activist, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, here makes a plea to the international community to understand the devastating impacts that climate change is having on the people of the Arctic. As scientific studies of the changing Arctic environment tell us that sea ice is reducing in area and growing increasingly unstable each year (Niederdrenk and Notz, 2018), and that surface air temperatures are rapidly rising (Perrie et al., 2012), it is crucial to understand how Arctic communities are being effected and what might be the most appropriate ways to offer support. Due to their cultural and subsistence ties to the natural landscape, Inuit ways of life have the potential to be impacted by climate change on many levels. As the most immediate impacts of climate change will be felt in remote subsistence communities, and because people in these areas are likely to be of indigenous descent, it is of crucial importance to understand these cultures, such as Inuit, and how they might be impacted by climate change. In the region of Nunavut, Canada, which translates as ‘our land’ from the Inuit language of Inuktitut, Inuit form 81% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2018a), and therefore this area provides an optimum platform for academic researchers to investigate how climate change could impact Inuit.

1.1.1 The Colonialism Niche

To date, some of the most comprehensive knowledge produced detailing the way climate change impacts the people of the Canadian Arctic comes from the vulnerability framework which sees the susceptibility of communities to the impacts of climate change explained as a function of exposure to climatic hazards and the ability of each community to adapt (Ford and Smit, 2004). In the fifteen years since its conception, this framework has been tailored to look at how climate change impacts themes of food security (Ford, 2009) and hunting practices (Laidler et al., 2009), and has been used to suggest

policies such as economic support for hunters who struggle to hunt due to the thinning sea ice (Ford et al., 2010).

Despite its apparent success, the vulnerability approach has received criticism. The inspiration to take on this research project comes from Emilie Cameron's critique of the 'vulnerability' framework which, to date, has been one of the most common approaches to understanding the human dimensions of climate change in the Canadian Arctic. Cameron (2012) argues that the majority of current research does not acknowledge or discuss how the ongoing impacts of colonialism are shaping the communities that are being investigated.

Kral and Idlout (2009) also propose that, as the ongoing impacts of colonialism in the Canadian Arctic can still be felt today, the first step in finding a solution to these problems must be acknowledging their colonial origin. Bringing these ideas into her own work, Cameron goes on to state that understanding the colonial origins of contemporary social issues is fundamental to understanding the human dimensions of climate change.

Although supported as a theory, this link between colonialism in the Canadian Arctic and the human dimensions of climate change in contemporary society has not yet been explored through a case study. Therefore, a niche in research exists that looks at the ways in which ongoing impacts of colonialism influence the human dimensions of climate change in Nunavut.

However, how do we bring in issues of colonialism and frame the human dimensions of climate change when the current standard for this, 'vulnerability', has been identified as being problematic? In this study, in order to build a research question that can investigate this niche, it is hoped to re-think how best to frame our understandings of Inuit society through considering the concepts of 'welfare colonialism', which refers to ill-informed actions of the Canadian state, and 'community wellness', a re-framing of the concept of 'vulnerability', to consider how able communities are to respond to challenges. But first, it will be helpful to consider briefly Inuit culture in the Nunavut region to provide a context for these terms.

1.1.2 Inuit Culture in Qikiqtani (Nunavut)

Inuit culture is based around strong kinship bonds, which refer to relationships with members of the extended family, with one another and the surrounding landscape (Kral et al., 2011). Seasonal hunting, whereby each family would move between several different sites on a yearly basis, is the backbone of this lifestyle and relies on the availability of animals such as seals, walrus and caribou (Qikiqtani Inuit

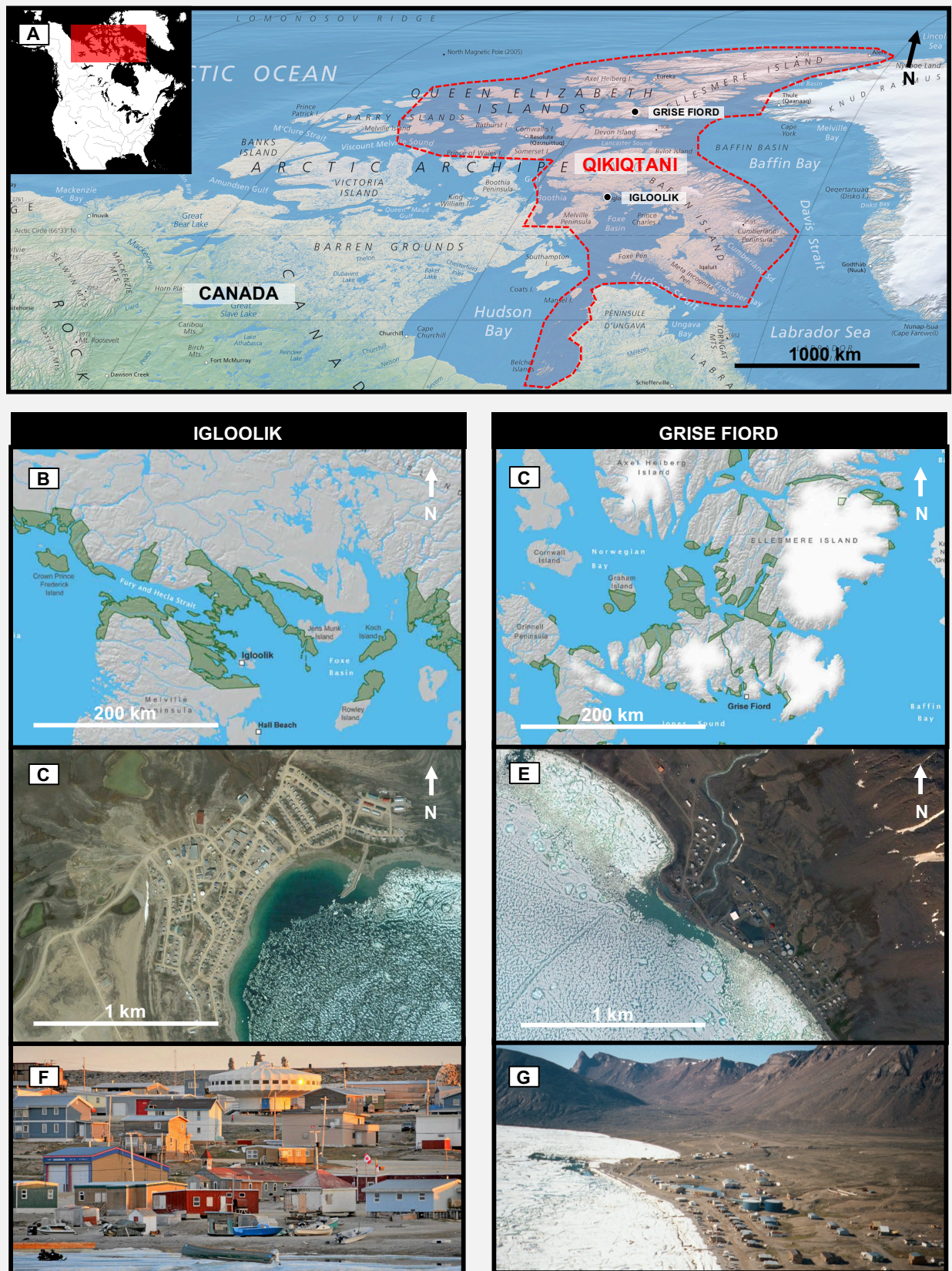


Figure 1.1 Maps and photographs showing the two case study villages of Igloolik and Grise Fiord. A shows Igloolik, Grise Fiord and the Qikiqtani region in the context of Canada and North America (Stevenson, 2014; Deviant Art, 2018). B and C show the areas surrounding Igloolik and Grise Fiord respectively, with Inuit owned lands shown in green and ice caps and glaciers in white (QIA 2014c; 2014d). C and E show satellite pictures of the two settlements (Google Earth, 2018a; 2018b). F shows a photo of Igloolik (Pfeiff, 2018), and G shows a photo of Grise Fiord (Denyszyn, 2018).

Association [QIA], 2014a). To hunt, Inuit utilise deep understandings of the environment they live in, with detailed ecological knowledge being passed down to the younger generations by elders (Laidler et al., 2009). Furthermore, for Inuit, the kinship ties surrounding family structures are incredibly important for their wellbeing and the functioning of society (Damas, 1963).

As shown in Figure 1.1, the region of Qikiqtani encompasses Baffin Island, as well as surrounding islands and mainland, and lies within Nunavut, Canada, a jurisdiction created in 1993 with the aim of offering greater autonomy to Inuit (Hough, 2013). Here, many Inuit settlements lie on the coasts of the Canadian mainland, Baffin Island and Elsmere Island and, as these settlements are traditionally surrounded by sea ice for much of the year, this ice provides a means for hunting and travel (Ford, 2009).

Over the last century, much of the history of this area has been influenced by the actions of non-Inuit and non-indigenous people, or *Qallunaat* as they are referred to in Inuktitut (Cameron, 2015a). The state-led resettlement of Inuit in the early 1950s from areas of Quebec into more northern areas of the Arctic and from camps into fixed settlements has created new communities and, in some locations, new towns altogether (Damas, 2002). Also, through the enrolment of Inuit children into Southern Canadian education systems and admission of Inuit to Canadian hospitals, the culture and traditions of Qikiqtani were strongly influenced as well (Stephenson, 2012; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). The theoretical concepts that encompass the issues that arise from Qallunaat interventions in Nunavut are detailed in the following section.

1.2 Theoretical Concepts

In order to contextualise how the ongoing impacts of state-enforced policies of the 1950s in Arctic Canada affect the ability of communities to respond to climate change, the two theories of welfare colonialism and community wellness will be drawn on to inform and guide this study and construct a research question.

1.2.1 Welfare Colonialism

Elements of colonialism feature heavily in the histories of the Canadian Arctic. Colonialism is generally known as the process of one country gaining control over another country or region and economically exploiting it (Osterhammel, 2005). There are many authors who laid the foundations for our current understandings of colonialism on a general level. One such author, Frantz Fanon (1963), discusses how

Western states, when encountering indigenous populations, can dehumanise them and enforce their own cultural ideals onto them. Similarly, Spivak (1993) sees the colonised as the subaltern, whose voice and representation has been taken from them by their colonisers. These ideas often refer to colonisation of one country by another and are often discussed today with reference to postcolonialism, which considers the ongoing legacies of former colonisations (Tomicic and Berardi, 2018). For the scope of this study, these theories of international colonialism will not be developed further and a focus will be given to colonisation of indigenous groups by the Canadian state.

Referring to the governmental policies that forced indigenous groups into central Canadian ways of living, colonialism has shaped the way Inuit communities developed. During the 1970s, as theories of colonialism and postcolonialism were advancing on the global stage, a particular strand of colonial theory was being developed with specific reference to the Canadian Arctic. This theory came in response to the events that were occurring in the Arctic at the time. Reacting to reports of disease, low education levels and poor housing amongst Inuit communities in the Arctic, in the 1960s, the Canadian Government stepped in with the aim of increasing the quality of Inuit life but caused much more severe social problems in the process through lack of understanding Inuit culture (Stephenson, 2012). In response to this history, and drawing on the work of authors such as Fanon and Spivak, Robert Paine (1977a) introduced the concept of welfare colonialism. For Paine, this centres around the centre-periphery interaction, that took place from the early 1950s onwards, between the officials from central Canada, or colonisers, who were stationed in Arctic settlements to enforce the welfare policies of the Canadian Government, and Inuit who live in the periphery of the country. He suggests that the social change that occurred as Inuit were forced into new living conditions can be explained by the dominance of government officials as well as the illegitimate privilege they felt when put in charge of Inuit groups (Paine, 1977b).

The theory of welfare colonialism has since been developed further. Sider (1987) frames this round the fact that levels of education are often measured by how much they differ from the standard of central Canada, as opposed to through an appreciation of Inuit traditional knowledge. Beckett (1988) takes this idea forwards to suggest that colonial actions often result from the state creating an inaccurate image of indigenous people that needs to be addressed. Finally, Reinert (2006) summarises that three main features of welfare colonialism are: money being invested directly into the colony as opposed to the central state; forcibly integrating indigenous people into 'western' ways of living; and putting colonised groups onto unemployment benefits, all of which come together to make indigenous people incredibly dependant on the state.

Through reflecting on this literature, the definition of welfare colonialism in this study will refer to ill-informed state efforts, from the 1950s onwards, that aimed to fix social and health issues in outlying

communities, but instead caused state-dependence and created living conditions inappropriate for local cultures. It will be investigated how the impacts of welfare colonialism have affected the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change.

1.2.2 Community Wellness

While welfare colonialism contextualises the ongoing impacts of state interventions in the Arctic, another term must also be used to investigate the relationship it has with the human dimensions of climate change. Although ‘vulnerability’ is often used to indicate how susceptible Canadian Arctic communities might be to climate change (Ford et al., 2015), this term has been identified to overlook ongoing socio-economic issues like colonialism (Cameron, 2012; Sider, 2014), and does not translate effectively into indigenous languages such as Inuktitut (Brown, 2013; Cameron, 2015b). Re-framing of the vulnerability term will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 2, but in short, a term for this study is required that is open to the cultural perspectives, histories and needs of studied communities, has culturally understandable questioning and prompts open minded analyses.

In this study, the term ‘community wellness’ will be used in place of ‘vulnerability’ as it offers a greater insight into the histories and needs of studied communities and will specifically refer to the ability of a community to achieve the factors necessary for their optimum experience of life. Factors influencing this ability will encompass the histories of villages, the social challenges and aspirations they hold as well as outside influencing factors. This will be seen as a foundation upon which to build our understandings of the human dimensions of climate change. Therefore, through understanding how welfare colonialism has impacted community wellness through specific community case studies, Cameron’s argument, that the impacts of colonialism are a fundamental factor in understanding climate change, will be able to be assessed.

This term also has particular relevance for the Canadian Arctic. Kral and Idlout (2009), when reflecting on the effectiveness of community health initiatives conducted in Nunavut, advise that community led projects that focus on healing and wellness are most effective. They also go on to outline that some of the most important factors in sustaining a healthy community are: having a strong sense of community, culture and family life; having zero-tolerance of substance abuse, violence and child neglect; as well as putting an emphasis on personal dignity.

Overall, it is hoped that a focus on the community wellness of each settlement studied will highlight how able they are to meet these factors for sustaining adequate levels of health and, ultimately, how

this might impact their ability to respond to climate change. The methods used in this project to approach this will be discussed in the following section.

1.3 Approaching This Research

1.3.1 Objectives and Questions

The overall goal of this research is to investigate the links between welfare colonialism and the human dimensions of climate change in the Canadian Arctic through studying the levels of community wellness experienced in two Inuit community study sites in Nunavut, Canada. This is hoped to add illustrative case study information, detailing the settlements of Igloolik and Grise Fiord, to Cameron's (2012) argument that current climate change research in the Arctic that details indigenous people should give more consideration to the ongoing impacts of colonialism.

This study will ask: How do the legacies of welfare colonialism in Qikiqtani, Canada affect community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord? To construct an answer, this work will be broken down into three sub-questions:

1. What factors are important in sustaining community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord?
2. What are the impacts of the legacies of welfare colonialism on contemporary Inuit society?
3. How do the legacies of colonialism affect community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord?

Here the legacies of welfare colonialism refer to ongoing socio-economic challenges that can be traced back to the ill-advised actions that the Canadian Government took, beginning in the 1950s, that aimed to improve the living conditions of Arctic communities. For each case study community, this will include both actions and events that took place within the village, and the experiences of Inuit who have moved to the villages from elsewhere in Nunavut and have influenced their histories. The factors constituting community wellness will be defined independently for each settlement in order to offer as culturally sensitive a discussion as possible. Ultimately, findings of welfare colonialism and community wellness will be compared in order to understand how significant an impact colonialism has on the wellness of communities today, and more broadly, the human dimensions of climate change.

1.3.2 Methods and Study Area

The consultation and analysis of literature published in English was the main way in which information was gathered for this study. The source material will partly consist of commissioned reports detailing

the impacts of colonial interventions in Nunavut. This includes the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1994a), which originated from a public inquiry that addressed issues among Aboriginal people in Canada. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QIA, 2014a) is an independent inquiry conducted by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) about the legacies of colonialism in the Qikiqtani region of Nunavut. Also, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCCa) (2015) is an investigation into the impacts of residential schooling in Canada, conducted by National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. Further information on these reports can be found in Figure 1.2. It will also consist of academic work which investigates the factors that constitute community wellness, the processes and impacts of welfare colonialism in Nunavut and the issues facing contemporary Inuit society. Through comparing the ideas presented in these bodies of literature, it is hoped to draw links between community wellness and welfare colonialism, as well as, in a wider discussion, the human dimensions of climate change. All research questions will be answered through extracting different information from the literature and bringing it into further discussion and critique.

This method is taken on literature detailing two specific settlements in the Qikiqtani region of the Canadian Arctic: Igloodik and Grise Fiord. These locations were chosen for several reasons. Firstly, they had the most relevant literature available about them, with commissioned reports and academic literature giving a heavy focus on these locations. They were also chosen to bring stories from different sizes of settlement and from settlements with distinctive histories of colonialism into discussion. Both settlements are within the Qikiqtaaluk region of Nunavut which encompasses Baffin Island and surrounding communities, as can be seen in Figure 1.1.

Report	Published	Description	Affiliations
The Royal Commission of Aboriginal People (RCAP)	1994, 1996	Published in 1994 was the 'High Arctic Relocation' report which details resettlement. In 1996 a larger 5-volume report was released dealing with numerous aspects of aboriginal life in Canada.	Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada.
Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) [cited as QIA]	2014	This series of reports was written and published by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association in 2014. It includes community histories for thirteen towns in Qikiqtani and nine thematic reports on particular issues that details changes in their way of life that occurred due to colonialism,	Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA).
Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC)	2015	These four reports were written after interviewing over six-thousand witnesses to the negative actions of Canada's residential school system. It was created by the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.	National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba.

Figure 1.2 Information detailing the three main reports from which information was taken for discussions within this study. Background details of each report was taken from the Government of Canada (2018), the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (2018) and the TRCC (2015a).

Igloolik is the only community on Igloolik Island in the Foxe Basin, roughly 7km from the Canadian mainland and 70km from the nearest settlement of Hall Beach (QIA, 2014c). Currently home to 1682 residents (Statistics Canada, 2018b), Igloolik's population is 94% Inuit and identifies as Iglulingmiut, which translates as people from Igloolik (QIA, 2014c). The Foxe basin environment has provided local hunters with sea ice to hunt on since the area was first inhabited over four thousand years ago (QIA, 2014c). Laidler and Ikummaq (2008) discuss how this relationship between people, hunting and the sea ice was crucial in shaping the cultural life of Igloolik.

Turning attention to Igloolik's history since 1950, many impacts of welfare colonialism can be seen. As noted in the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, when the Canadian state established a presence in Igloolik in the early 1950s, they implemented measures such as removing people diagnosed with tuberculosis to southern hospitals for treatment and getting rid of Inuit dog teams (QIA, 2014c). The impacts of such interventions included the loss of close kinship ties and inability to conduct traditional cultural practices which have led to significant mental health and substance abuse issues in contemporary Igloolik (Stephenson, 2012).

Located roughly 790km to the north of Igloolik is Grise Fiord, known as Ausuittuq in Inuktitut (Kulchyski and Tester, 2007), and is a smaller community of 129 people situated on the southern coast of Elsmere Island and the most northern settlement in North America (QIA, 2014d; Statistics Canada, 2018c). Although the wider area of Elsmere Island has been periodically inhabited by small groups for two thousand years, the settlement of Grise Fiord in its current location was established in the 1950s through state-led relocations, understood here as an aspect of welfare colonialism, of people from locations such as Inukjuak in Quebec (QIA, 2014d).

Having started as a small camp and inhabited by relocated Inuit who had to build the community from scratch, there was a period of poor living conditions before the standard of life in Grise Fiord improved (Damas, 2002). Although residents have now shifted their identification from their families' former settlements to identify as Aujitturmiut, people from Grise Fiord, there are still many lasting impacts of this relocation and assimilation that can be felt today (QIA, 2014d).

1.3.3 Limitations and Considerations

Whilst these locations offer an opportune setting to learn about Inuit culture, history and environmental interactions, approaching them with a literature-based study such as this also presents many ethical challenges. For this work to be credible, it will be crucial to acknowledge some limitations of the way in which this research was approached.

Firstly, many potential issues stem from the positionality of the author. Here, positionality refers to how the perspectives, privileges and experiences of the author to date might affect the ability of this research project to accurately represent Inuit and their understandings of the world (Kusek and Smiley, 2014). It is important to note that this research was conducted solely at a desk in the Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI) in Cambridge. No fieldwork or travel to Nunavut was possible in this study, nor were any Inuit consulted regarding these research questions. Information was therefore obtained from books, papers and reports that detail the Arctic and many of these authors are non-Inuit themselves.

Secondly, one of the notions on which this project was built is the problematic nature of non-Inuit researchers using their own frameworks to study and make decisions about development in Inuit communities. There is consequently a hypocrisy that could arise from this set of research questions as they attempt to define the levels of wellness in Igloodik and Grise Fiord and summarise the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism.

To mitigate these issues, several control measures will be taken throughout this project. Positionality is a theme that will be revisited and reflected on throughout many of the following chapters. The research questions have also been written with the aim of being as open to Inuit understandings of the world as possible and are heavily influenced by authors who strive for more sensitive representations of Arctic cultures.

The work presented in this thesis should be seen as no more than the start of a wider discussion. It would be inaccurate to suggest that what follows resembles conclusive facts detailing the state of contemporary Inuit culture. However, through exploring different bodies of literature, it is hoped to pose questions that can encourage discussions between Inuit and non-Inuit, and between different academic perspectives, that might lead to a better understanding of the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic being achieved.

1.4 Thesis Overview

The chapters of this thesis are laid out in a way that aims to gradually build reports of welfare colonialism into a base level understanding of community wellness in a way that can assess the extent to which this has impacted the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change. Discussions will continue in Chapter 2 with an explanation of how this study approached the issues of climate change in Arctic communities. Through this it will be discussed how the concept of ‘community wellness’ was established in the concept of this study as a substitute for ‘vulnerability’ in an attempt to understand the

true state of contemporary Inuit communities. There will also be reference made to ethical considerations and issues of positionality.

Information from literature will be presented firstly in Chapter 3, which aims to answer the first research sub-question and state the most main factors of community wellness. These include social factors of kinship, community, culture, mobility, subsistence and environmental stability. Chapter 4 builds on community wellness to answer the second sub-question and introduce the histories of welfare colonialism in the Canadian Arctic and assess their ongoing impact on Inuit communities through a discussion of how they disrupt the factors of community wellness. This will feature primary impacts of resettlement, education, medical treatment and the dominance of non-Inuit in communities as well as the secondary impacts of mental health and substance abuse. This chapter will conclude with a summary of the state of community wellness for Inuit today and how this has been affected by colonialism in order to answer the third research sub-question.

Moving to a wider discussion, Chapter 5 firstly aims to compare the findings of this study with the literature that details the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic in order to consider the extent to which colonialism has impacted the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change. Secondly, a discussion is given on how much current research contains elements of welfare colonialism itself. Finally, concluding remarks and recommendations for future research are given in Chapter 6.

2 Framing Climate Change in Arctic Communities

As this study aims to investigate the effects of welfare colonialism on the human dimensions of climate change, it is crucial to identify a term to frame this work that will link the current wellbeing of a community with its ability to respond to climate change. The connotations of this term will be required to link back to the ongoing impacts of social issues like colonialism but also to offer a context in which to consider how able individuals and communities are to respond effectively to particular environmental changes. This chapter explains how and why the term ‘community wellness’ was chosen through considering the effectiveness and limitations of previous research as well as thinking about how to sensitively represent issues facing Inuit from the perspective of Western science.

1.1 Re-framing the ‘Vulnerability’ Approach

1.1.1 *Popular Approaches*

When looking at the growing body of research that explores the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic, two words that are often used to frame this kind of study clearly stand out: vulnerability and resilience.

Vulnerability, which, as defined by Verheyen (2002), refers to the “function of exposure to climate change hazards and the capacity of the system to adapt” (130). This idea was taken forward by Ford and Smit (2004), who presented an influential framework which stated that, to assess community vulnerability to climate change, the current climatic hazards and ability to adapt must be analysed, followed by comparing predicted future climatic change with estimated changes in adaptive capacity. This approach has been effective in identifying socio-economic issues directly associated with changes in the physical landscape and has been utilised by many scholars who focus on the Canadian Arctic region (Pearce et al., 2009; Smit et al., 2015). For example, it has been shown that, due to the fact that sea ice surrounding the community of Igloolik freezes later in the year and is becoming thinner and less stable, travelling and navigating across the ice for hunting is now much more challenging and this has resulted in an increase in Igloolik’s vulnerability to climate change (Laidler et al., 2009). This has been very effective in suggesting policy amendments to mitigate the negative impacts on hunting and public safety caused by changing landscape (Andrachuck and Pearce, 2015), and subsidies for hunters, increased education and emergency preparedness have now all been advocated (Ford et al., 2010).

Whilst vulnerability research is effective in identifying specific weak points in communities that could be enhanced to increase their ability to tackle new challenges, it has also received a degree of criticism. As noted in the previous chapter, the vulnerability framework has been queried on the fact that, through focusing on the responses of landscapes and livelihoods to climatic changes, it might be limited in its ability to encompass the impacts of ongoing socio-economic issues such as welfare colonialism on contemporary society (Cameron, 2012). Sider (2014) suggests that, because of this omission, vulnerability research can only be seen to present a partial representation of society. Another issue with this framework, as discussed by Cameron et al. (2015b), is that it shifts the burden of dealing with climate change to those most severely affected through adaptation. Due to this framing the state of contemporary communities, it is possible that the full picture of the challenges and facing Inuit settlements, and the complex social phenomena that exist within them, might not be represented as accurately as possible when using this framework.

Turning attention to resilience, similar issues are thought to emerge. Defined, in the social sciences, as “the ability of human communities to withstand external shocks or perturbations to their infrastructure” (Adger, 2000, 361), resilience research has been used to assess how prepared communities in the Arctic are for future changes. Berkes and Jolly (2001) discuss how, in the Canadian Arctic, changes in land-based activities in the short-term and adapting cultural practices in the long-term can increase the resilience of communities to climate change.

Similar to critiques of vulnerability, Brown (2013) writes that this approach could underplay internal social dynamics and power relations within communities and also add an overly scientific slant to the issue. Cameron et al. (2015b) take this point forward to suggest that, by using the language of Western science and judging what is discovered in the Arctic against our own personal perspectives of the world, we run the risk of falsely representing Inuit culture and using terminology that is not understood by Inuit when translated into Inuktituk. The resilience framework also runs the risk of overemphasising the need for recovery and preservation and could ignore the need for fundamental change amongst some communities (Jerneck and Olsson, 2008). Given that this study requires the human dimensions of climate change to be seen from a perspective wide enough to encompass historic colonialism, as well as to represent the needs of Inuit communities as sensitively as possible, the term ‘resilience’ also does not seem to suit.

1.1.2 Arriving at Community Wellness

In considering terminology required for the driving question of this research project, the intent of all of these previously mentioned definitions was considered, along with their critiques, to create as informed

a term for this study as possible. On the broadest level, the intent behind the terms of ‘vulnerability’ and ‘resilience’ were resoundingly similar as they aim to identify the extent to which a community can overcome issues caused by external influencing factors such as climate change and quantify what support is needed to enhance their ability to do so. In mobilising this intent to create research frameworks and methodologies for this study, the critiquing literature suggests three points to consider:

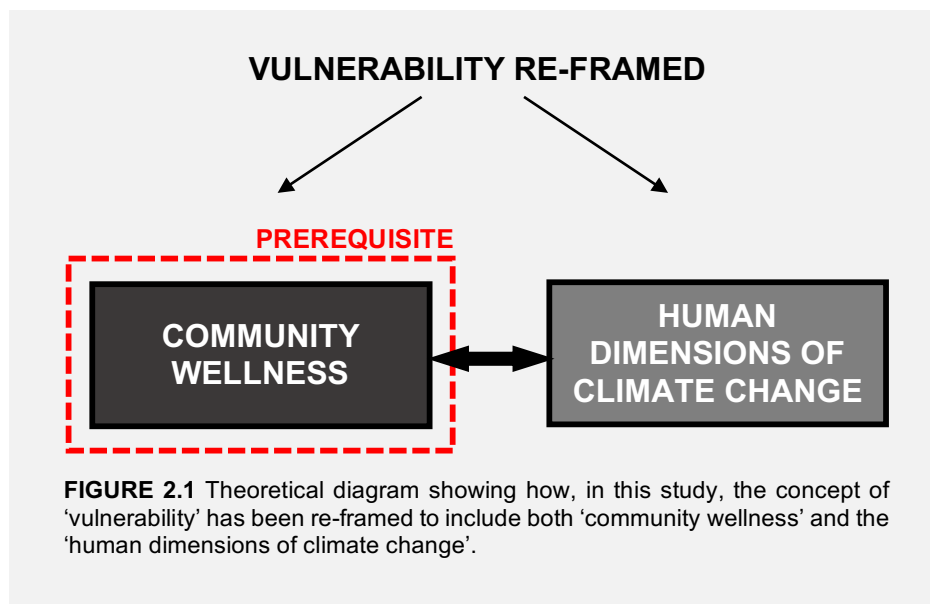
1. *Broader understandings of community*: We could benefit from moving away from looking partially at a community by asking linear questions like ‘how does climate change impact X?’, to seeing communities in a more complete sense by analysing the histories and social issues at play prior to any inclusion of climate change.
2. *Culturally translatable questioning*: Research could be designed that allows us to avoid analysing different cultures through a lens tainted by the terminologies of Western science, through utilising more open-ended and culturally appropriate research questions.
3. *Open-minded analysis*: It could be of use to move beyond looking only at the opportunities for preservation and recovery of ways of life and remain open minded to the prospect that fundamental change may sometimes be a more suitable step forwards.

Helpful insight to the issues that can arise through Western scientific frameworks is also given by Sider (2015) who shares his own approach to research design in indigenous communities and states:

“I think asking research questions is a very major obstacle to doing serious research, for among other problems it assumes that the questioner knows what is important to talk about – a very limiting assumption.” (Sider, 2014, 112)

This argument is helpful in raising questions about the limitations of the ways in which research questions are formulated. As this research aims to consult published literature in English, clear questions will be crucial to guide the investigation and ensure that a concise narrative can be formed, so it is not possible to reject research questions altogether. However, the questions themselves will be left as open as possible in the hope that the biases of Western science can be partially mitigated.

Taking account of these points, the term ‘community wellness’, defined here as the ability of a community to achieve the factors necessary for their optimum experience of life, seems apt in approaching the human dimensions of climate change as it considers the ongoing issues of a community, avoids biases of Western terminology and promotes open-minded analysis. As community wellness explores what factors a community needs to have their optimum experience of life, this leaves answers open to whatever information is presented. Once community wellness is understood, it can then be asked, ‘How will the addition of climate change to this community impact their ability to develop?’



Overall, through re-framing the concept of vulnerability to contextualise this study, two separate strands develop, as can be seen in Figure 2.1. Firstly, community wellness contextualises the histories of and challenges faced by the studied communities and also acts as a prerequisite for further study of the human dimensions of climate change in this area. Secondly, this awareness of community wellness could be built on to investigate how factors of climate change, such as loss of sea ice and increasing temperatures, interact with and influence the ongoing socio-economic issues and historic trends present in a community. Ultimately, it is argued here that re-framing the vulnerability framework in this two-pronged approach could enhance the accuracy and breadth of the knowledge we produce that details the interaction between climate change and human society in the Canadian Arctic.

This work will focus mainly on the first point of community wellness and, although the human dimensions of climate change in this study area will be discussed, further in-depth analysis of climate change in Qikiqtani will fall out with the scope of this project and will provide opportunity for further study.

1.2 Ethical Considerations and Research Methods

“One of the results of a more focused government gaze on Igloolik was the arrival of researchers who were more interested in studying and planning adaptation than in understanding traditional society.” (QIA, 2014a, 31)

With reference to the well-intentioned but arguably ill-informed actions of the Canadian Government in the mid-twentieth century, the Qikiqtani Truth Commission points out the problems that arose when

non-indigenous researchers attempted to analyse the Canadian Arctic based on their own scientific understandings of the world, rather than making attempts to approach their investigations from the perspective of Inuit. This refers to a period over sixty years ago and, since then, countless academic publications have come to the conclusion that, in order to represent indigenous Arctic communities as sensitively as possible, the histories of these communities and the viewpoints of their residents must be thoroughly understood (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994; Stevenson, 2014; Sider, 2014). Therefore, as we attempt to study the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic today, it is important to learn from issues noted in previous research and make sure we avoid falling into the trap of studying and planning adaptation without understanding indigenous society.

In this section, it is hoped to outline the methods that will be used to answer the research questions of this study and then consider how to approach this work as ethically as possible through a discussion of positionality.

1.2.1 Research Methods

The main approach taken with this research will be to consult several different types of literature. This will include reports written that detail the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism in the Canadian Arctic which include the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996) and the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) (QIA, 2014a). There will also be academic literature consulted that encompasses ethnographic accounts of Inuit communities (Damas, 1963; 2002), critiques of the interventions of the Canadian government in the Arctic (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994) and that which details the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic (Ford et al., 2015).

The overall aim of this work is to investigate how the legacies of welfare colonialism in Qikiqtani affect the community wellness, and consequently the ability to respond to climate change, of Igloodik and Grise Fiord. This will be done through answering research questions that detail the factors of community wellness as well as how these have been impacted by the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism in Igloodik and Grise Fiord.

1.2.2 Positionality and Ethical Considerations

It has been widely discussed that our backgrounds as researchers can impact how we interpret the results of our work (Kusek and Smiley, 2014; Caretta and Jokinen, 2017). This can be summarised by the concept of positionality, which refers to how factors of race, class, and gender can give biases to the

way we approach our research (Merriam et al., 2001). As the presence of non-Inuit researchers can cause significant problems in Qikiqtani (QIA, 2014a), and as it is crucial to reference the positionality of the author (Kusek and Smiley, 2014), I will now discuss my own positionality in relation to this research project.

I should firstly note that I conducted the entirety of this research at a desk in the Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge and was unable to visit Qikiqtani or consult Inuit about my findings. There are therefore several levels of bias here which include my own and that of the authors of the literature I have consulted. However, I have attempted to overcome this through the way I give wider context to this research. Instead of stating that this work depicts the true state of affairs within Igloolik and Grise Fiord today, I suggest that this research analyses the perceptions of published literature in English that presents these areas.

As the dominating influence of non-Inuit lies at the heart of welfare colonialism, the issue on which this work is based, I feel that it is vital to state my own non-Inuit heritage. This causes two issues. Firstly, I start with the handicap of not having been brought up within an Inuit family and therefore will have to make up for this through learning what I can from academic writing in English. Secondly, the goals and ideals of my culture and class in the United Kingdom do not necessarily match the aspirations of Inuit. Through designing the community wellness theme, it was hoped that, through investigating what factors are necessary for their optimum experience of Inuit life, I could bring this attempt to understand Inuit race and culture into the body of my research in a way that is not tainted by my own perspectives.

Finally, I must also acknowledge that my approach to research comes from a Euro-centric experience of education. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Western scientific frameworks are not necessarily the most well suited to understanding indigenous cultures and communities. It is also problematic that the literature I consult comes mainly from non-Inuit (Damas, 1963; Stevenson, 2014; Cameron, 2015a; Kral, 2016), so there will be challenges in representing the true Inuit voice. This is something that will be reflected on throughout this project and will be given space for wider consideration at a later point.

Having stated this background to research design and ethical considerations, it is now possible to consider the first research question which investigates what factors are most important for community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord.

3 Community Wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord

Before producing new knowledge relating to a community, it is an important prerequisite to gain an understanding of the specific perspectives that community has of the world, along with how their histories and the challenges they have faced shape their existence. In this study, the community wellness theme attempts to contextualise the individual experiences of each community in order to understand how able they are to achieve the factors necessary for their optimum experience of life. Firstly, this chapter will focus on which particular factors are necessary for the optimum experience of life amongst Inuit in Igloolik and Grise Fiord. This will be done on many levels. As local culture draws on wider themes of Inuit tradition held across the circumpolar region (Sakakibara, 2017), literature will be consulted that looks at Inuit culture in its most general form, that which focuses on the Qikiqtani area of Canada as well as on particular case studies of Igloolik and Grise Fiord. In doing so, it is hoped to answer the first research question of this study, which asks, what factors are important in sustaining community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord?

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a social context for the study areas of Igloolik and Grise Fiord, with reference to wider circumpolar theories of Inuit culture. Firstly, social factors will be presented and then this will be followed by a discussion of the importance of the natural environment to community wellness before moving forward to considering welfare colonialism.

3.1 Social Factors

At the heart of what it means to be part of a healthy Inuit community is the ability of people to feel connected to each other and the environment around them (Kral et al., 2011). The following five themes of kinship, community, culture, mobility and subsistence were the main points to come from the consulted literature which illustrate the social aspects of community wellness.

3.1.1 Kinship

Kinship refers to the web of connections within a space that come together to create family and community and, for Inuit, this is crucial for the welfare of a social group (Guemple, 1965; Briggs, 1970). In Qikiqtani, kinship is an important factor to community wellness as it facilitates equal distributions of food, utilises the skills of all individuals and allows cross-generational education.

It has been argued by Trott (1982) that Inuit kinship is centred around locality and is flexible in structure, allowing an extended family to grow around parents and their children. This allows the incorporation of spouses, adopted children and friends into the kinship and is important to Inuit as it builds a large group of people that can mutually support each other. This structure allows equal distribution of country foods, which refers to foods provided by the land (Watt-Cloutier, 2015), through sharing practices which occur on three levels, as identified in Damas' (1963) study of Igloolik and Wenzel's (1995) study of the wider Qikiqtani region. Firstly, the products of each hunt are divided amongst hunters from separate families (Wenzel, 1995). Then, caught animals such as seals are passed upward to higher ranking members of the family, until they reach the family leader, who can then distribute them evenly (Damas, 1963; Wenzel, 1995). Thirdly, once each family has taken enough food for themselves, surplus is shared with other families in the village who are in need, allowing communities to establish economic independence (Damas, 1963).

Kinship groups also allow the skills of each individual to be utilised in order to support the wider community. Harder and Wenzel (2012) discuss there is a co-dependence between different age groups and genders within families. Women rely on the men to hunt and the men rely on women to produce food, clothing and means of shelter from meats and skins. Similarly, young people rely on the experience of older hunters who, in turn, rely on the labour of young people offer during hunts. Through this, everybody knew their place in the community and were valued for their contributions (QIA, 2014a). Whilst there are clear issues of the presentation of gender roles here and specific gender structures are important to Inuit kinship (Bunce et al., 2016), discussion of this lies out with the scope of this study.

This experience of young people shadowing elders in their kinship groups also provides an important platform to educate the younger generations and allow them to participate in the cultural practices (Briggs, 1970; Harder and Wenzel, 2012), as shown in a collection of oral histories by Bennet and Rowley (2004). For example, boys would be trained in hunting techniques from their early teens, as described by Koveyook Natsiapik who states,

“The next step in my training as a hunter was when my father started taking me on actual trips by dog team. That way I was able to learn ...” (Natsiapik, 2004; cited in Bennet and Rowley 2004, 30)

Similarly, many girls in Igloolik would learn how to make clothes by watching their mothers, and Rachel Uyarasuk says:

“By watching our mothers as they worked, we learned their style of working on skins.”

(Uyarasuk , 2004; cited in Bennet and Rowley 2004, 26)

These quotes demonstrate how the importance of family and kinship, in this case parents, in passing cultural skills to children that will allow them to feel valued and become active members of the community.

Turning attention to Grise Fiord, as it was established through the resettlement process in the 1950s (QIA, 2014d), kinship values were not created here. Instead, they were created in the communities each family lived in prior to resettlement, which mirror the themes noted above (RCAP, 1994). The impact of resettlement on kinship will be revisited in the following chapter.

Ultimately, kinship groups are based on values of respect, generosity and humility (QIA, 2014a), which, as demonstrated here, allows equal access to resources, a way to educate the younger generations and a platform to make use of every individual's skills.

3.1.2 Community

When these kinship groups come together within a living space, a wider community is formed. For people within this community to be able to have an optimum experience of life, and have a high level of community wellness, social integration is key, argues Allen (2000). In Qikiqtani, having a shared vision within the community as well as having mutual respect for fellow Inuit empower community members and allow social integration to be achieved.

Reporting on a survey of community health in Igloolik, Allen (2000) suggests that equal participation of all members of the community is key. Through this, any issues that arise can be tackled amongst all families and organisations and every individual will have equal access to support and culturally appropriate healthcare practices. Trust is also an important factor here as Inuit heavily rely on others around them. Allen's findings highlight how being connected as a community and having a shared vision for how the community should function enable participation and social integration to be achieved. It can also be seen from this study that, for people of Igloolik, the boundaries of a community do not lie at the limits of the physical settlement buildings. Instead, community is seen as encompassing the wider physical landscape and all living things within it. When these elements of trust, participation and connectivity are achieved in Igloolik, Inuit are able to feel empowered and can take an active role in maintaining community wellness (Allen, 2000).

The themes of tolerance and flexibility also support this social integration and help create a sense of community. Lange (1977) suggests that the tolerance and acceptance that Inuit demonstrate allow a cohesive and supportive community to form and states that one of his main observations was of:

“... the high degree of tolerance that Inuit afford each other regarding dissimilar means of achieving approved ends.” (Lange, 1977, 107)

This example shows how a shared vision for the community can bring people together, even if they have different ideas and approaches. Furthermore, the way a community organises itself is traditionally very flexible and, as is noted by Willmott (1960), Inuit are happy to alter this structure in response to changing economic and social conditions, particularly when they have freedom to utilise their surrounding landscape.

As, in Grise Fiord, communities were assembled initially through parts of families from elsewhere coming together and through finding common ground between different cultures (QIA, 2014d; RCAP, 1994), the values of flexibility and tolerance are of even greater importance.

Overall, within the social structure of the community, community wellness is dependent on inclusivity amongst Inuit through sharing a vision for their lives, respect and tolerance as well as the ability to connect with their wider environment, all of which come together to instil a sense of community amongst residents.

Another factor that contributes to establishing this sense of community is cultural practices. Culture is a broad and wide-reaching topic so will be explored fully in the following section.

3.1.3 Culture

Inuit culture reportedly originates from deep connections between the natural landscape, wildlife and each other and being able to identify as part of this culture is crucial to the wellbeing of Inuit communities (QIA, 2014c). In order to feel connected with this culture, it is important for Inuit to speak their language of Inuktitut, feel a strong identity and be able to understand and interact with the natural environment around them.

The native language of Inuktitut is important to Inuit because it helps them engage with their unique sense of cultural identity (Dorais, 1988). In relation to research conducted in Igloodik, Dorais observed that speaking Inuktitut allows Inuit to express their feelings and most personal thoughts in the clearest way possible as well as to utilise this language as a symbol of who they are. Shearwood (2001) takes

this idea forwards to suggest that being literate in Inuktitut strengthens the ability of Inuit to communicate and integrate and helps to establish a shared sense of cultural identity amongst a community. Dorais (1988) also links literacy to education as, through having a shared sense of culture and language within a community, young people will be able to learn from their elders as they pass down cultural values and skills and in kinship groups.

One such cultural value that forms a crucial aspect of Inuit identity is the relationship they have with the land. Mariano Aupilaarjuk, an Inuk who lives in a sub group of the Igloodik Inuit in the northern region of Hudson Bay, reflects on their relationship with the land and says:

“In order to survive from the land, you have to protect it. The land is so important for us to survive and live on; that’s why we treat it as part of ourselves.” (2004; cited in Bennet and Rowley 2004, 118)

The way in which Inuit make sense of the seascapes and landscapes in which they live and hunt has been referred to as ‘memoriscapes’ (Nuttall, 1992). Here, through drawing on Nuttall’s work in Greenland, it can be seen that, through naming and planning route ways through the land, and passing this information down through each generation, Inuit create a mental landscape based around detailed and informative memories. Fluency in the Inuktitut language allows these memories to be shared and correctly interpreted. For example, Nuttall notes that Inuit refer to a particular cave as Qammavik, which translates as “a place where hunters lie in wait for sea mammals” (Nuttall, 1992, 51). Therefore, literacy and subsequent sharing of these memoriscapes allow Inuit to connect with the landscape around them and further establish their cultural identity.

As this connection between people and land is at the heart of Inuit culture, knowledge of the landscape is more than simply a means through which to navigate and hunt. Bravo (2009a) suggests that knowing in great detail the dynamics of the sea ice and landscapes that surround Inuit communities, as well as being able to share and discuss this with others, is of great value to Inuit and is another factor that helps them establish their cultural identity.

In the context of Grise Fiord, it is important for the kinship groups there to be able to take what aspects of cultural identity they can from their previous settlements and to be able to embody these amongst different families in Grise Fiord (QIA, 2014d).

Through looking at these examples of the importance of Inuit culture to community wellness, a common theme is that culture and identity exist in situ. It is important for Inuit to feel connected with the landscape around them and be able to access generations of knowledge and memoriscapes that connect

to it. Language is also important to support Inuit identity and also supports the sharing of these memoryscapes.

3.1.4 Mobility

As Inuit depend on the land and sea for food, clothing and shelter, the ability to travel across these landscapes and between different communities is crucial for Inuit wellbeing (QIA, 2014a). Mobility is supported by the processes of trail making, the sharing of memoryscapes, navigation and access to means of travel. Furthermore, these spaces of travel are seen as socially important by Inuit and also contribute to having a sense of community.

Aporta (2004), reporting on fieldwork conducted in Igloolik, discusses the significance of trail breaking for Inuit. Each year, in order to access hunting grounds and other communities, Inuit mark new tracks through the snow with sled tracks and these lines of compacted ice remain throughout the season to guide other members of the community as they travel through the landscape. Knowledge of these routes belongs to the community, and memoryscape, of Igloolik and each year is passed on to the next generation to allow these trails to be retraced. For these routes to be accurately remembered and shared, it is vital that the Inuktitut language can be utilised in order for specific terminology to be understood and for social integration to take place so that information about these routes can be disseminated throughout the community (Laidler and Ikummaq, 2008). As noted by Nuttall (1992), whilst the landscape is open to everyone and nobody has single ownership in Inuit culture, these memoryscapes are specific to each community and allow them their own cultural experience of the land.

In terms of navigation, Bravo (2009a), uses an example of a ridge in the sea ice of Foxe Basin, to the north-east of Igloolik, where ice piles up due to currents and the basin's topography each year, to illustrate the importance of the physical landscape. This ridge, called 'Agiuppiniq', acts as a clearly identifiable landmark for Inuit who use it to locate a known location for seal hunting, as can be seen in Figure 3.1. Trails used in the Igloolik area are also shown in the figure to navigate around this ridge (Pan Inuit Trails, 2018). Travel through this sea ice environment is therefore also supported by the unique landforms created within it.

Accessing means of travel is vital to Inuit mobility. The QTC (QIA, 2014e) reports that sled dogs have been part of Inuit culture for countless generations. Hunters' teams of dogs pull sleds carrying Inuit, sniff out animals to be hunted and warn of cracks in the ice. They also provide a defence against dangerous animals such as polar bears and ultimately increase the safety of Inuit as they travel. Whilst

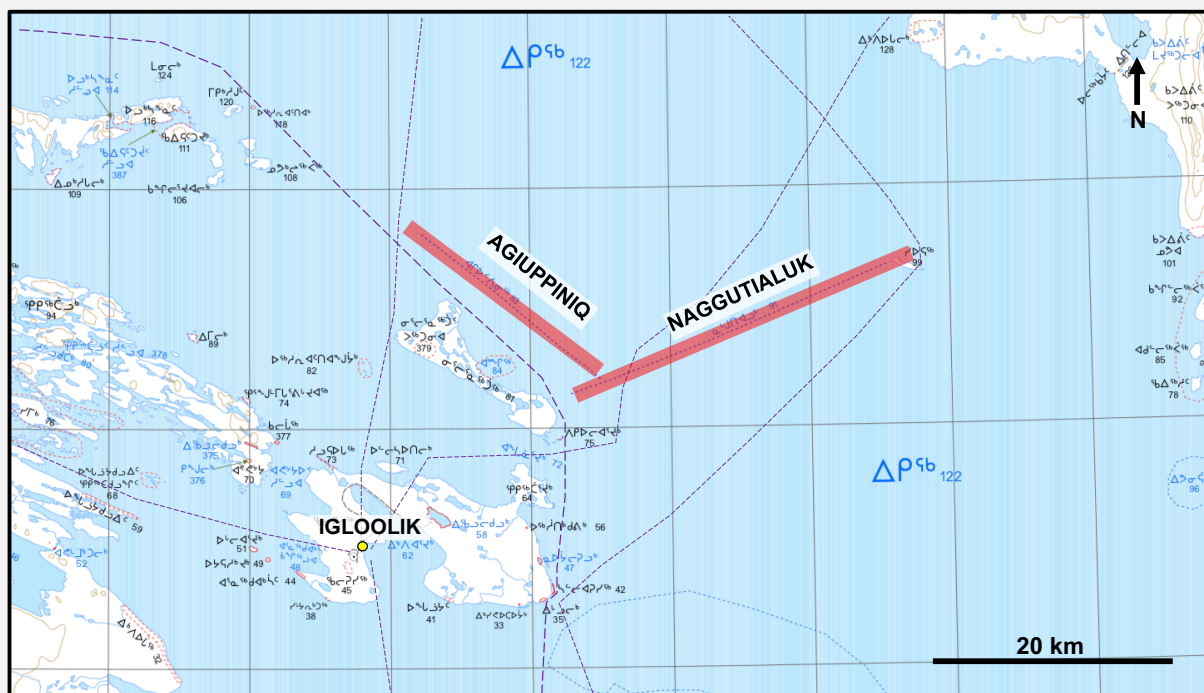


Figure 3.1 Map of the Foxe Basin surrounding Igloolik showing features of ice identified by Inuit as crucial markers of the landscape used for navigation. The 'Agiuppiniq' ridge and neighbouring 'Naggutialuk ridge' are shown by red lines and Inuit trails are shown by purple dotted lines. This map was taken from the Inuit Heritage Trust (2018) and Bravo (2009a). Routes of trails were taken from Pan Inuit Trails (2018).

sled dogs are favourable, snowmobiles also offer a means of travel but do not enhance safety and hunting in the same way dogs can (Ford et al., 2006).

While these factors support mobility, the places Inuit travel through are also an important social space. Aporta (2009a) argues that trails surrounding Igloolik are a lived environment as they encompass so much more than travel alone. During travelling seasons, trails can often see lots of traffic in the day and, during encounters on breaks Inuit take when they meet another group, they can offer each other help or supplies and share the news of the community. Travelling together also strengthens bonds between Inuit, acts as a space through which to demonstrate culture through singing songs and, during transit, many family events such as births can occur (Aporta, 2004). Therefore, these trail interactions create an extension of the sense of community and are an important space for Inuit.

In Grise Fiord, ice conditions are more dangerous and having detailed knowledge of safe routes to travel is crucial (QIA, 2014d). As Grise Fiord was created through resettlement and had no previous memoryscape or traditional knowledge for residents to draw on, the wellbeing of the community here depends heavily on the ability to quickly learn new routes, however this will be addressed fully in the following chapter. Grise Fiord residents soon created new routes through the surrounding land and sea

and, as shown by the Pan Inuit Trails (2018) project, they began to use sea ice in 1953 as a means to access other areas of the south Elsmere Island coast and Devon Island to the south.

To summarise, mobility is crucial to the wellbeing of Inuit and is supported by establishing and sharing trails between communities and hunting grounds and accessing effective means of travel. It also creates a platform for social encounters and cultural demonstrations that support the sense of community.

3.1.5 Subsistence

For the purposes of feeding extended families as well as maintaining a cultural and community identity, hunting and finding food from the land is essential to community wellness for Inuit. This is supported through having access to specific marine and land mammals throughout the year as well as having the freedom to move with families to different areas.

In Igloolik, Inuit rely on their access to country foods such as seals and walrus in the winter and spring, which are hunted by travelling across the sea ice. In summer, when there is less sea ice, they travel inland to hunt caribou (QIA, 2014c). Over many years, Inuit developed specialised hunting skills which were shared through kinship groups and communities. Explained by Igloolik resident Eli Amaaq (2004; cited in Bennet and Rowley, 2004), in order to catch caribou, Inuit laid many cairns in lines towards lakes and the sea. As the caribou tried to flee they would follow the cairns into the water, where Inuit would kill them from their kayaks. This technique of hunting is made possible through having strong kinship groups where teaching can occur and strongly supports subsistence. In Grise Fiord, the QTC (QIA, 2014d) reports that residents rely on the waters of Jones Sound for their hunting and subsistence activities. This area offers perfect conditions for ringed seals, which are hunted all year round. Seals are caught at breathing holes and while basking on ice through using harpoons and, aside from food, Inuit used the durable sealskin to make ropes, boots and handicraft items. In both of these cases, Harder and Wenzel's (2012) work on the importance of kinship in educating younger generations highlights how family relationships give people the skills they need to hunt and conduct their other subsistence activities.

Accessing these country foods is also important to Inuit on a nutritional level. Watt-Cloutier (2015) explains how, as country foods like seal meat and caribou are high in omega-3, minerals, vitamins and fat, it keeps people warm, gives them a balanced diet and, overall, is important in maintaining health in Inuit communities.

Through their cultural relationship with the land, Inuit are reported to have an understanding of and need for stewardship of the wildlife that surrounds them. This is illustrated by Hubert Amarualik, who says:

“A land could only be occupied for three years ... That was the way they lived, always moving to another [place] ... The land itself was prevented from ‘rotting’ by this.” (Amarualik, 1993; cited in QIA 2014c, 17)

Through moving rotationally around different settlement areas with surrounding land-use areas, Inuit extended families in Igloolik were able to utilise fresh resources in order to practise their subsistence activities (QIA, 2014c). As Grise Fiord has only ever been a permanent settlement, this was never possible there (QIA, 2014d).

Similarly to how mobility provides a space for cultural practices to occur, the processes of subsistence provides a platform through which Inuit can demonstrate their culture through their deep appreciation of the natural world. Louis Alianakuluk explains:

“[The land] seems barren, but if you travel, you see animals. Seeing animals gives the greatest joy to Inuit.” (Alianakuluk, 2014; cited in QIA 2014c, 15)

These experiences of interacting with nature and wildlife is argued to be at the very heart of what it means to be Inuit and supports them in founding their cultural identity as individuals from an early age (QIA, 2014c; Watt-Cloutier, 2015).

Overall, subsistence activities are crucial to Inuit community wellness as they offer nourishment to families (Ford et al., 2013). Also, through engaging deeply with wildlife in the landscape as they hunt, Inuit are able to demonstrate their intimate relationship with the land and strengthen their cultural identity, both as individuals and as communities.

3.2 Environmental Factors

Through coming to understand how connected the lives of Inuit are to the physical landscape, it is clear that a number of environmental conditions have to occur in order to allow the realisation of these social factors of community wellness in Inuit settlements. Through reflecting on the themes and literature presented in this chapter so far, it is hoped to suggest here how aspects of the physical environment and climate, particularly snow and sea ice, contribute to community wellness.

Snowfall in the Qikiqtani region is important to Inuit for several reasons. As the memoryscapes of Inuit communities require the surrounding landscape to be stable and for any changes to take place gradually (Nuttall, 1992; Aporta, 2004), having adequate stable snowfall each year that allows similar experiences of the surrounding environment is crucial for communities. Also, the cultural connection between Inuit and landscape is supported through communities holding detailed knowledge of their surroundings (Bravo, 2009a). Therefore the yearly snowfall supports this detailed environmental knowledge in being utilised and demonstrated in ways that can support identity, culture and the sense of community.

Similarly, stable sea ice is a fundamental aspect of Inuit culture and wellness. Igloolik resident, N. Qamaniq states:

“Sea ice is very useful, in that we are an island. [When it freezes], now we’re not an island anymore, we’re now connected to everywhere”. (Qamaniq, 2004, cited in Laidler et al., 2010, 50)

Here, Laidler et al. (2010) demonstrate how the whole social connectivity of the landscape of Qikiqtani is constructed through the mobility and cultural experience sea ice offers. This chapter has aimed to demonstrate how sea ice allows travel, hunting, socialising and cultural identity. For these factors to be supported, sea ice must be widespread enough to connect communities and hunting grounds (Ford et al., 2006), thick enough to facilitate safe travel (Laidler and Ikummaq, 2008), and known well enough by Inuit for routes to be shared and landmarks to be noted (Aporta, 2009). As Bravo (2010), argues, the presence of sea ice in the Arctic has been the foundation of Inuit culture. It provides their means for subsistence, shelter, travel, social and environmental interactions and identity, and is the foundation upon which many of the previously discussed factors of community wellness are built.

Whilst the environmental factors presented here are done so in a static fashion, it should be noted that Inuit have adjusted to climatic changes that have taken place over the last few centuries (QIA, 2014a). However, for Inuit to be able to respond to environmental change, any changes must happen slowly enough for them to adapt, and in a way that does not compromise any of their factors of community wellness.

3.3 The Community Wellness of Qikiqtani

This chapter has attempted to summarise what factors constitute community wellness for Inuit in Igloolik and Grise Fiord and, in doing so, answer the first research question. As the factors of necessary for the optimum experience of life within Inuit culture are subjective and location-specific, what this

chapter offers might best be explained as a summary of how published literature written in English perceives Inuit community wellness.

It has been shown that the five main social factors of community wellness for Inuit in the Qikiqtani region are having strong kinship groups, a sense of community, cultural identity, mobility and means of subsistence. Alongside this, it is important to have a predictable and stable climate and stable sea ice. As shown in Figure 3.2, these factors are closely linked and many support others. Kinship and the close bonds that exist within extended families are at the heart of Inuit culture and facilitate the passing down of traditional knowledge and use of a wide skillset. Communities, the coming together of individual kinship groups, support social integration and see that resources are distributed evenly whilst also creating a shared sense of identity. On a larger scale, this shared sense of identity, along with the language of Inuktitut, creates Inuit culture which exists through instilling a feeling on connection with the environment amongst Inuit and offering a means through which to hold and share memoryscapes. To travel through this environment in order to access different communities and hunt, mobility is crucial and is enabled through stable sea ice and the sharing of routes. Finally, through utilising the skills of a community, cultural practices and mobility, subsistence is made possible and offers a nutritional diet for each community.

There are also specific considerations to make for each community. The QTC describes that residents of Igloolik are:

“... bound to the sea, land, and ice of the region, and to each other, through hunting, language, cultural activities, kinship and environmental understanding.” (QIA, 2014c, 12)

Factor of Community Wellness	Supporting Conditions in Igloolik and Grise Fiord	References
Kinship	Based on relationships between parents, children and extended family members. Allows intergenerational education, emotional support and equal sharing of food. Needs flexibility and trust.	<i>Damas (1963)</i> <i>Guemple (1965)</i> <i>Trott (1982)</i>
Community	Based on social integration, having a shared sense of community and mutual trust and respect. Allows equal sharing of resources and empowerment of Inuit to act. Needs flexibility and autonomy.	<i>Willmott (1960)</i> <i>Lange (1977)</i> <i>Allen (2000)</i>
Culture	Based around relationship with the land, identity and language. Allows use and sharing of memoryscapes as well as the holding of detailed environmental knowledge. Needs Inuktitut fluency.	<i>Dorais (1988)</i> <i>Shearwood (2001)</i> <i>Nuttall (1992)</i>
Mobility	Based on navigation, trail making and travel across land and sea ice. Allows utilisation of memoryscapes and gives spaces for cultural practices. Needs intergenerational teaching and transport.	<i>Aporta (2004; 2009)</i> <i>Laidler et al. (2008)</i> <i>Bravo (2009a)</i>
Subsistence	Based around teaching of traditional skills and sourcing of country foods to feed families. Allows cultural practice of traveling through and engaging with the landscape. Needs mobility and kinship.	<i>Ford et al. (2013)</i> <i>QIA (2014c; 2014d)</i> <i>Watt-Cloutier (2015)</i>
Environmental Stability	Adequate snowfall is required to allow memoryscapes to be established. Sea ice is required to allow mobility and connect Inuit with different communities. Crucial for Inuit culture and wellbeing.	<i>Aporta (2004)</i> <i>Bravo (2010)</i> <i>Laidler et al. (2010)</i>

Figure 3.2 Summary of the main social and environmental factors that support the community wellness of Igloolik and Grise Fiord. The literature that details each point is referenced within the figure.

Whilst this mirrors the general descriptions of community wellness within the Qikiqtani region, Igloolik is unique in that it is located on an island and depends on sea ice for nearly all travel. As it has been inhabited in its current location for decades, it benefits from strong kinship groups and is a community that had many years' worth of traditional knowledge of the surrounding environment. Grise Fiord has a much different context as it was created through relocations, a process of welfare colonialism, in the 1950s and all traditional knowledge that has been passed down to families there comes from their original communities which are much further south. As Grise Fiord also experiences much more extreme climates, the utilisation of skills in hunting and travel are of heightened relevance and importance to the community.

Now, with as detailed an understanding of community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord as is possible through consulting literature, a foundation exists upon which the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism can be understood. The following chapter will give reference to these interconnected factors of community wellness as it attempts to answer the second research question and describe what the ongoing impact of welfare colonialism is in these two Qikiqtani communities.

4 The Legacies of Welfare Colonialism

Having established an understanding of what factors are necessary for community wellness among Inuit in the Qikiqtani region, this study can now begin to consider what the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism are in the Canadian Arctic and how they have impacted community wellness in Igloodik and Grise Fiord. Through understanding what levels of community wellness are experienced in contemporary Inuit society, it can be understood how able Inuit are to respond to new challenges and to what extent welfare colonialism has predisposed communities to the adverse impacts of issues like climate change. Welfare colonialism refers to the ill-advised state interventions in the Canadian Arctic from 1950 onwards that aimed to fix social problems but created unequal centre-periphery power dynamics and caused state-dependencies. To gain information on the impacts of welfare colonialism, a series of reports will be consulted, alongside academic literature, that report on the colonisation of Inuit by the Canadian state, and these include the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC). This analysis hopes to initially answer the first research question, which asks, what are the impacts of the legacies of welfare colonialism on contemporary Inuit society? Towards the end of this chapter, through discussions of the literature that discusses welfare colonialism and community wellness, an answer will be given for the second research question, which asks: How and why do the legacies of welfare colonialism affect community wellness in Igloodik and Grise Fiord?

The aim of this chapter is to bring the historical continuum of welfare colonialism into this study and discuss how this affects community wellness. The primary impacts of welfare colonialism will firstly be presented and include resettlement, education, medical treatment, policing and the dominance of non-Inuit. Following this, secondary impacts of substance misuse and mental health problems will be discussed. For each factor, a general overview of the issue will be given, followed by case studies of Igloodik and Grise Fiord and, finally, a summary of how this issue impacts community wellness. The chapter will close with a summary of the impacts of welfare colonialism on the community wellness of Igloodik and Grise Fiord and draw conclusions on how able these communities are to respond to future challenges.

4.1 Primary Impacts

The interventions of the Canadian state that aimed to improve the living conditions of Inuit in Qikiqtani and assimilate Inuit with southern Canada are seen in this study as aspects of welfare colonialism and

caused widespread social problems for Inuit. The primary impacts of these interventions refer to the ways in which community wellness was affected directly because of government programmes.

In the 1950s, the Canadian state viewed Inuit communities in the North as being underdeveloped and disconnected from each other and the rest of the country and their aim was to economically, politically and socially integrate them with the values and networks of central Canada (QIA, 2014f). The QTC, (QIA, 2014f), reports that the people making the decisions were all non-Inuit and Inuit communities were never consulted about how best to achieve their goals. Their actions included moving Inuit into new homes in new locations and enforcing southern education systems and medical treatment (QIA, 2014b).

To investigate the impacts of this state intervention on contemporary community wellness in Igloolik and Grise Fiord, it is hoped to discuss the primary impacts of resettlement, education, medical treatment and policing.

4.1.1 Resettlement

Relocation refers to the Canadian Government's efforts to move groups of Inuit from the area surrounding Hudson Bay to new settlements in the High Arctic, over two thousand kilometres to the north, due to worries of overcrowding, dropping numbers of wildlife needed for hunting and trapping and inability to successfully provide all families with adequate food (Damas, 2002). During the 1950s and 1960s, Inuit were also moved from numerous seasonal camps to fixed settlements in the Baffin Island region (RCAP, 1994b). Inukjuak, in Quebec, was the main community in Hudson Bay from which people were removed during these relocations, due to what the government argued were unsustainable conditions (RCAP, 1994a). In 1953, seven Inuit extended families from Inukjuak boarded the C.D. Howe boat and were taken north, picking up families from other communities on the way, until they reached Elsmere Island (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994). However, Tester and Kulchyski continue to discuss how, on arrival at Elsmere Island, families were split up as some disembarked and other people continued on to Resolute Bay. From here, these groups of segregated family units faced challenges in creating new communities, building adequate housing and settling into these new environments (QIA, 2014b). The route of this relocations, is shown in Figure 4.1.

For Inuit in Grise Fiord, the journey to the new settlement caused severe trauma. The QTC (QIA, 2014d) reports that, due to the confusion of being forcibly removed from family members and their living environment, as well as the violent treatment they received from non-Inuit on the journey, Inuit were subjected to high levels of stress during relocation. This was particularly severe for young people and

Martha Flaherty, an Inuit from Inukjuak who was five years old when relocated to Grise Fiord, stated that, because of the lasting impacts of this trauma:

‘The Inuit that were relocated had their lives ruined.’ (1993; cited in RCAP, 1994b, 76)

Furthermore, once Inuit eventually arrived at the settlement of Grise Fiord, they found that despite being promised adequate shelter, they were only provided with summer tents, leaving them isolated and unequipped for the cold temperatures of the High Arctic (Gunther, 1993). The RCAP reports:

‘They saw the ship sailing away and they were just dumped in a place where there was absolutely nothing.’ (RCAP, 1994b, 60)

Although the relocated Inuit worked to create a sense of community and living conditions gradually improved in Grise Fiord, the whole process caused a damaging divide between the young and old generations which can still be felt (QIA, 2014d). The RCAP (1994b) describes how, whilst older generations disliked the conditions of Grise Fiord and wanted to return to Inukjuak, younger generations who were born in Grise Fiord felt at home there and were uncomfortable with the idea of moving elsewhere. This meant that families did not share the same sense of home and made it much harder to identify with a shared culture within the community.

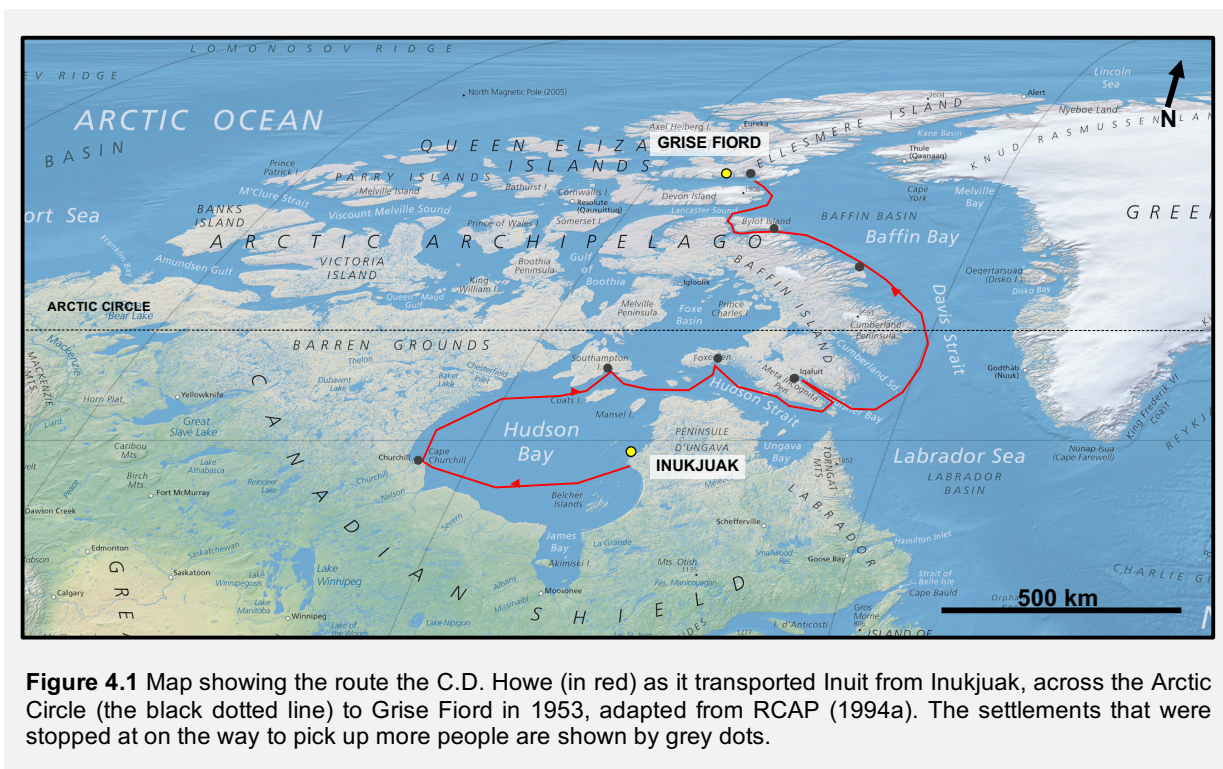


Figure 4.1 Map showing the route the C.D. Howe (in red) as it transported Inuit from Inukjuak, across the Arctic Circle (the black dotted line) to Grise Fiord in 1953, adapted from RCAP (1994a). The settlements that were stopped at on the way to pick up more people are shown by grey dots.

Meanwhile, in Igloolik, the government were investing in building roughly twenty matchbox-style homes a year in the mid-1960s in order to increase Inuit standards of living, based on southern housing models (QIA, 2014c). Government officials simultaneously encouraged Inuit living in camps nearby Igloolik to resettle into homes there for a better standard of life. Yet, when Inuit arrived, they discovered that these homes also came with southern Canadian customs of rent, power and maintenance bills which did not fit their economic or cultural practices (QIA, 2014c). Allen (2000) discusses how this influx of people moving from traditional Inuit camps into houses designed by non-Inuit disrupted the sense of community. Rachel Qitsualik describes how:

‘...the communities seem like artificial constructs, as if Inuit are being made to play Qallunaaq.’ (1998; cited in Allen, 2000, 138)

Through the high number of families resettling in Igloolik and a greater state influence forcing Inuit into a southern way of living, cultural practices and cultural identity became much harder to maintain and, despite attempts to reduce overcrowding through relocation, issues related to overcrowding actually caused many reports of health problems and respiratory conditions (Orr, 2007).

Reflecting on literature that details resettlement, it is possible to discuss how factors of community wellness have been impacted. Firstly, through resettlement, kinship groups suffered through losing parts of their extended family and their ability to pass down traditional knowledge. Although Grise Fiord residents gradually built a new community after they settled there (RCAP, 1994a), they will have never been able to replace their original relatives and traditional knowledge. Any traditional knowledge they could maintain from Inukjuak will likely have had little use over two thousand kilometres away in Grise Fiord, leaving Inuit without their source of cultural identity which is fundamental for instilling a sense of community. Also, in these state-designed settlements, Inuit lost their mobility as they were confined into matchbox houses in a fixed town, as opposed to being able to move freely throughout their community-owned natural landscape to hunt and visit other areas (Aporta, 2004). Overall, resettlement had adverse impacts on every aspect of community wellness presented in the previous chapter and this will have compromised the cohesion needed in a community to be able to effectively respond to challenges.

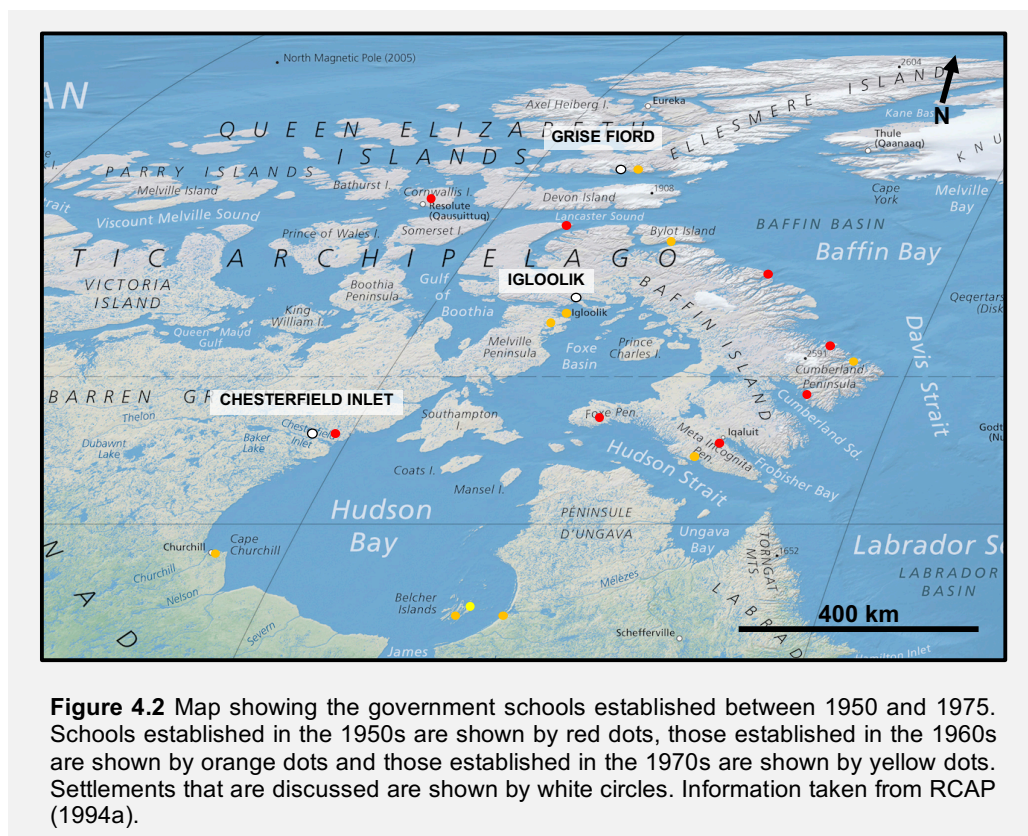
4.1.2 Education

During the 1950s, the Canadian Government began to design new schools and education systems which aimed to teach Inuit Canadian values to enable them to participate in the wage economy and interact with southern Canadian citizens (QIA, 2014g). State-controlled schools were created

throughout Qikiqtani, as can be seen in Figure 4.2, and Inuit children would either remain in their settlement or travel huge distances across Qikiqtani to go to school. Until this point in Qikiqtani, education occurred mainly within extended families through young people following older generations as they worked (Harder and Wenzel, 2012).

Through attending federal schools, children were often sent away from their communities to receive an education and, as parents were dependent on government subsidies at this point, few felt able to protest against this (QIA, 2014g). The TRCC (2015b) states that, because of this, Inuit children would either lose connection with their kinship groups for many years, or their families would be forced to leave their homes to accompany children to school and live in hostels. It is also suggested by the TRCC that there were wider motives of cultural genocide amongst Canadian government officials as they implemented this centralised schooling system. This came through a widespread ban on speaking or writing in Inuktitut in these centralised schools and all classes were taught in English (TRCC, 2015a). Many reports from within these schools demonstrate how strongly this Inuktitut-ban was enforced and Julie Papatsie, a former pupil of the federal school in Kimmirut, recounted the punishment given to children who repeatedly spoke Inuktitut:

‘... [they] were forced to eat a bar of soap. They would throw up for two to three days. They were told that it was because they spoke an evil language.’ (Papatsie, 2008; cited in QIA, 2014g, 45)



For children in Igloolik in the 1950s, their only option for the state-run schooling that was being enforced was to travel eight hundred kilometres south to the Chesterfield Inlet Indian Residential School, which was Roman Catholic, on the western shore of Hudson Bay (QIA, 2014c; QIA, 2014g). The TRCC (2015b) reports that students who attended this school were subjected to severe physical and sexual assaults perpetrated by the non-Inuit staff. From reports presented in the TRCC, given by students many years after this experience, they stated that their experience of the Chesterfield Inlet school was characterised by fear and an inability to speak out against their abusers. In the settlement of Igloolik itself, Dorais (1988) suggests that, following the return of children from residential schooling, they favoured speaking in English and the levels of Inuktitut spoken in families and the community significantly dropped.

In 1960 and 1962 state-run day schools were established in Igloolik and Grise Fiord respectively (RCAP, 1994b), and in both cases, this brought an influx of new families from elsewhere who wanted to be with their children whilst they were in school. The QTC (QIA, 2014g) suggests that this influx of people loitering whilst their children were in school disrupted family and community practices.

In considering how these issues of state-enforced schooling in the Qikiqtani region in the 1950s and 1960s impacted community wellness, three main themes of trauma, loss of language and kinship disruption can be seen. The issue of trauma can adversely impact the mental health of an individual and ultimately affect their ability to participate in kinship and community practices (Kral et al. 2014a). Also, through losing the ability and preference of speaking Inuktitut during state-controlled education systems, Inuit communities would lose their shared understandings of culture and also the passing down of knowledge spoken in Inuktitut within kinship groups would also lose its effectiveness. Finally, as with resettlement, the disruption of kinship which occurred through children leaving settlements, as well as more families from other locations entering, meant that extended families were no longer able to support each other as effectively as the younger generations had less intent to stay within family circles.

4.1.3 Medical Treatment

Another instance of welfare colonialism comes through the government's implementation of health care in the Canadian Arctic, as is particularly relevant in relation to the tuberculosis epidemic which lasted from the 1940s until the 1960s (Stevenson, 2014). Grygier (1994) describes how one third of Inuit had contracted tuberculosis by 1945 and, during the state interventions of the 1950s and 1960s, one out of every seven Inuit were taken to specialist tuberculosis hospitals in southern Canada. The QTC reports how the C.D. Howe boat would screen people for tuberculosis and take those with the disease away

from their homes for treatments in the south, often giving Inuit little notice and tracking down with helicopters those who did not comply (QIA, 2014h). Inuit would be taken out of their traditional way of life for several years, subjected to non-Inuit cultures and discouraged from speaking Inuktitut whilst in hospital, which was especially problematic for Inuit youth who would miss years of teaching of traditional knowledge (Stevenson, 2014). Stevenson (2012) suggests one of the main problems with this health care strategy was the lack of understanding the Canadian state had for Inuit cultural perspectives of life and health. When Inuit children returned home, they had lost their cultural identities and, as Stevenson argues, for this reason some children were not recognised by their families due to their loss of embodiment of Inuit culture and, as a result, became isolated in the communities they had once been an active part of.

In Igloolik, high cases of tuberculosis were reportedly a result of overcrowding in poorly ventilated homes, as discussed with reference to the matchbox homes of resettlements and the influx of people moving to Igloolik for education, which facilitated the transmission of the disease (RCAP, 1994a; Covesi et al., 2007). In the mid-1950s, in attempts to eradicate the tuberculosis outbreak, infected Inuit were sent to hospitals in the south (QIA, 2014c). Here a report by Tester et al. (2001) indicates that, as passive recipients of care from the state, Inuit in southern hospitals lost their self-esteem. This report also brings to light the severe disconnection Inuit felt from their families and culture. While in hospital one Inuit patient says:

‘My parents have not written for a long time. They forgot about me. No wonder they do not love me. They forgot!’ (Anonymous; cited in Tester et al., 2001, 131)

Therefore, during their time in the south, they had no connection to their traditional culture or language and could only interact with people who spoke English. This breakdown of communication went both ways. As Stevenson (2012) discusses, relatives in Qikiqtani never received any messages from their family members, nor did they receive any details of their deaths. This severely disrupted their extended families and caused issues of mental health on both sides.

Although limited information is available for Grise Fiord in relation to the tuberculosis epidemic, the QTC (QIA, 2014d) states that, during the 1950s, residents were greatly dependent on the state for health care and had little agency to treat each other in traditional ways.

When comparing these issues with factors of community wellness, it is clear that kinship groups, cultural identity and relationships with the land were most severely impacted. Not only were Inuit separated from their kinship groups for many years, but the relationships that they had with individual family members had also been lost, some even to the point of being unrecognisable once Inuit returned

home. Because of this, kinship groups in communities throughout Qikiqtani were disconnected and individuals were left feeling isolated along with growing mental health issues (Stevenson, 2014). As with residential schools, Inuit could not speak Inuktitut in hospitals, nor could they do anything that would connect them with their homeland. Therefore, during the many years Inuit spent in southern hospitals, they gradually lost their cultural identity, along with their ability to speak Inuktitut, and one resident of Qikiqtani said, reflecting on their return home after treatment:

‘I had to get to know my culture again.’ (Apak; cited in QIA, 2014a, 47)

Overall, this truncation of generational traditional teaching and reduced connection with the land is likely to have resulted in a loss of the shared sense of community identity that is so important to Inuit community wellness.

4.1.4 Dominance of Non-Inuit

A major factor of welfare colonialism was the mixing of social groups that occurred in Inuit communities as non-Inuit government officials, police officers and teachers were stationed in Qikiqtani from the 1950s onwards. The influence of these dominant non-Inuit personnel gradually caused shifts in the cultural and social practices of a community which saw southern Canadian values take precedent over traditional Inuit values. The work of Paine (1977c) gives insight to how the presence of non-Inuit reinforced this shift:

‘...‘individuals who conform to Euro-Canadian cultural standards and values’ are rewarded; and where there is deviation from what ‘[non-Inuit] ... deem appropriate’, support is withdrawn.’ (Honigman, 1965; cited in Paine, 1977c, 78)

Here it is suggested that, as non-Inuit took positions of leadership in Qikiqtani communities, they gradually eroded Inuit culture by conditioning Inuit to conform to Canadian values in attempts to assimilate Inuit with southern Canada. A clear example of this comes from the differing perspectives on animal-human relationships between Inuit and non-Inuit.

As described in the previous chapter, Inuit traditionally keep sled dogs which facilitate travel, hunting and culture. Each new generation of Inuit inherit traditional knowledge which teaches them how to respect these dogs as part of the family in a way that allows them to interact with each other safely as they roam freely around the settlement (Bennet and Rowley, 2004). These interactions between Inuit and dogs is also a process through which they can demonstrate their cultural identity (QIA, 2014e).

However, as increased numbers of non-Inuit moved to these communities who did not possess knowledge of how to respect and interact with these dogs, attacks on people began to occur (McHugh, 2013).

As the non-Inuit had a different relationship with animals, one that was much more distant, they felt the need to control them. As noted by McHugh (2013), non-Inuit soon forced Inuit to chain their dogs up. When attacks did occur, likely reasons were that non-Inuit did not approach dogs correctly or that they abused them (QIA, 2014a). The QTC (QIA, 2014e) reports that, in response to attacks on non-Inuit, police officers were permitted to shoot loose dogs. On several occasions, the entire dog teams of Inuit hunters were shot at once (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994; RCAP, 1996). The QTC reports of one such incident in Igloolik as a hunter arrived in the settlement:

“He arrived at the community of Igloolik by dog team, when he got his dogs off the harnesses they went all over the community. Without hesitation the [police] shot them all with a rifle.”
(Uttak, 2004; cited in QIA, 2014e, 32)

When this did occur, hunters immediately lost their means of travel and hunting and were therefore unable to provide for their families. Another Igloolik resident who lost his dogs recalls:

“Since I had grown up hunting with a dog team and I so enjoyed hunting, a major part of my livelihood was taken away from me, my identity and means of providing for my family.”
(Kublu, 2009; cited in McHugh, 2013, 168)

As is illustrated by this quotation, the killing of sled dogs had an impact on community wellness. Not only did it mean that families would completely lose their means of mobility and subsistence, but it also meant Inuit were stripped of part of their culture. As Kublu’s account demonstrates, the loss of sled dogs made it much harder for Inuit to connect with their cultural identity. Without sled dogs, there would be no way for younger generations to learn traditional hunting techniques from their elders.

The QTC also suggests that these killings also had the motive of intimidating Inuit in order to make them follow the orders of non-Inuit (QIA, 2014e). Through losing sled dogs and having to adopt other transport methods such as snowmobiles (QIA, 2014a), Inuit would be forced to conform with Euro-Canadian perspectives on relation to animals and means of travel. This strongly supports Paine’s (1977c) argument that the presence and dominance non-Inuit in Qikiqtani reinforces the centre-periphery relationship of the state and Inuit as well as cultural shifts towards that of southern Canada. Just as the TRCC (2015a) suggests elements of cultural genocide were at play in the Canadian state’s forcible schooling of Inuit children, it is possible that this was also an outcome of the dominance of

non-Inuit in the Arctic. Although the attitudes of non-Inuit towards sled dogs were just a factor of their southern ways of live, their presence and illegitimate power in Inuit communities enforced their values as the cultural norm. Because of this, the shared view of Inuit culture amongst communities was lost.

4.2 Secondary Impacts

The primary impacts of welfare colonialism previously discussed in this chapter refer to the direct actions taken by the Canadian Government in the 1950s and 60s which attempted to increase the standard of living in Qikiqtani and assimilate Inuit with southern Canada. There are also secondary impacts that are important to discuss in order to understand fully how welfare colonialism has affected contemporary Inuit society. Secondary impacts refer to the problems that subsequently occurred because of factors of Inuit community wellness being compromised by primary impacts of welfare colonialism.

Before considering secondary impacts, a brief summary of the aspects of community wellness affected by welfare colonialism will be given. Kinship groups were severely disrupted through the split up of families through resettlement, education and medical treatment. Through the intervention of the state in the practice of community building, there was a reduction in the shared sense of community in Qikiqtani as well as a loss of sharing networks. Inuit culture, formed through language and intergenerational relationships (Damas, 1963; Dorais, 1988), has been diminished through the increase in English and break up of kinship groups. Due to the partial loss of sled dogs and resettlement, mobility has greatly decreased (RCAP, 1996; Aporta, 2009). Finally, the ability of Inuit to practice subsistence has suffered as welfare colonialism damaged the knowledge sharing structures and access to the land that was necessary to hunt (Laidler et al., 2009; QIA, 2014e).

In this section, it will be discussed how the effects welfare colonialism had on community wellness have caused secondary impacts of mental health issues and substance misuse.

4.2.1 Mental Health

Mental health issues are common in the Canadian Arctic, with suicide linked to cases of depression and anxiety being the most severe and, although suicide has always been present in Nunavut (Hicks et al., 2013), it has been increasing since the 1980s (Kral, 2012). Inuit in Nunavut now have one of the world's highest suicide rates which is ten times higher than the national average in Canada (Kral et al., 2014a), and, as shown in the work of Michael Kral, colonialism is a significant contributing factor to this (Kral

et al., 2011; Kral, 2012). Through considering the theorised causes of suicide in Qikiqtani, alongside the previously stated impacts of welfare colonialism on community wellness, a strong connection can be seen which supports the claim that colonialism has caused suicide rates to increase by taking away coping mechanisms.

In order to identify factors that influence these suicide rates, the factors necessary for good mental health in Nunavut will be discussed. MacDonald et al. (2013) suggest that suicide can be prevented by having the ability to hold strong traditional knowledge of the surrounding environment as well as feeling valued within a community. It is stated that holding traditional knowledge is connected to being able to identify with Inuit culture and having the ability to eat country foods and spend time in the natural landscape practicing subsistence activities (Flora, 2000). Feeling valued and integrated in a community is also important and this is facilitated by having tight relationships with other community members and feeling encouraged and cared for by them. Kral et al. (2011) show that, in their study of mental wellbeing in Igloolik, kinship and family relationships were the most important factor in demonstrating healthy relationships and preventing mental health issues and suicide. This was supported by spending time with extended families, eating country foods together and travelling through the surrounding land together.

These studies clearly demonstrate that the factors that are crucial to preventing suicide among Canadian Inuit, by offering coping mechanisms, have almost total overlap with the factors of community wellness that were severely damaged through the government's welfare colonialism activities in the 1950s. The damage done to kinship groups through resettlement and the breakup of families, as well as the loss of traditional knowledge caused by banning Inuktitut in schools and hospitals, can therefore be seen as factors that influence this high suicide rate (Kral, 2016).

This issue is shown in the example of a fifteen-year-old girl called Carla from Igloolik. Kral et al. (2014b) discuss how she told during interview of how she was adopted by her grandparents when she was five as she was not close to her mother and did not know her father. She did not even feel she could speak to her grandparents and was bullied by other pupils in school. Because of the resultant feelings of loneliness and isolation, she stated how she had once attempted to commit suicide. In this example, it can be seen that the deterioration of a supportive community that led to bullying and the loss of strong kinship bonds meant that she had no coping mechanisms, and this is part of what led to her suicide attempt.

Elders and men were also affected through not being able to feel useful or valued in the new settlements which also led to mental health issues. The QTC reports that:

“... some elders recalled feeling “useless” when they arrived in a settlement and women said that their husbands and sons, in particular, were unable to reconcile their cultural beliefs and values with their desire to provide for their families with settlement life.” (QIA, 2014a, 29)

It has been widely noted that there is a particularly high suicide rate for men because of the fact they are no longer able to hunt and utilise their land skills (Hicks et al., 2013; Bunce et al., 2016). However, aspects of gender, whilst valuable discussion points, fall out of the remit of this study.

This presence of the issue of suicide in Inuit communities was partly influenced by loss of community wellness and also, in turn, further damaged factors of community wellness. As the suicide rate continues to rise today, it can be argued that the impact welfare colonialism had on removing coping mechanisms and increasing mental health problems can still be felt in contemporary Inuit society. Suicide can therefore be seen, in part, as an ongoing impact of colonialism. It is also strongly connected with the next ongoing impact of welfare colonialism to be discussed in this chapter: substance misuse.

4.2.2 Substance Misuse

Noted as a contributing factor to high suicide rates, drug and alcohol misuse has been reported throughout Qikiqtani (Sider, 2014; Kral, 2016), particularly in Igloolik (Kral et al., 2011). As Inuit moved into permanent settlements including Igloolik and Grise Fiord, losing their mobility through doing so, their lifestyle became much more sedentary (Rode and Shephard, 1994). At the same time as Inuit became distressed and unhappy in these new environments, where they were no longer able to hunt or travel like they were used to, they also gained access to alcohol and drugs (QIA, 2014a). The QTC continues to state that drinking and using drugs provided an escape from the boredom of settlement life for Inuit. However, as there were no mechanisms for dealing with alcohol or drug use in traditional culture, many Inuit soon became addicted and, by the 1970s:

“... many families were experiencing first-hand the devastating consequences of substance abuse, including alcoholism, addiction, physical and sexual abuse, neglect of children, poverty and death.” (QIA, 2014a, 31)

Whilst there has been little written that details Igloolik and Grise Fiord here, Sider (2014) offers some helpful insight to the wider Qikiqtani region. Sider suggests that a root cause for substance abuse was the need to escape from their current situation and also to relinquish themselves from the pain of their bottled-up feelings. Reflecting back on the community wellness factors presented in the previous chapter, it was shown that kinship groups and community provided a useful platform to talk about

emotional worries and receive support. As the primary impacts of welfare colonialism severely disrupted these platforms, it argued here that this was a significant contributing factor to substance abuse in Qikiqtani.

Substance abuse and suicide are not separate issues and, as demonstrated by Kral et al. (2011), drug abuse and associated domestic violence can further contribute to deteriorating mental health among Inuit.

4.3 Historical Trauma and Contemporary Inuit Society

This chapter has attempted to show what the ongoing legacies of welfare colonialism in the Qikiqtani are and how they have impacted the community wellness of Inuit settlements, Igloodik and Grise Fiord. Whilst the generations that lived between 1950 and 1975 are the only ones who experienced the traumas of the primary impacts of welfare colonialism first hand, they experienced the effects for the rest of their lives (TRCC, 2015a). Also, the generations that followed grew up in the wake of disrupted kinship and culture and struggled with the secondary impacts of mental health issues and substance abuse.

Today, the adverse impacts of the resettlements have been acknowledged (RCAP, 2016), hospitals and residential schools closed (QIA, 2014a), and Inuit have gained greater autonomy (Hough, 2013). However, the impacts of welfare colonialism still live on in contemporary Inuit society. Turning to literature, many authors help contextualise these legacies. Historical violence, explains Sider (2014), is a way to understand how past instances of abuse and domination of Inuit are fundamental in creating the conditions of the present. Crawford (2014) takes this forward to discuss the idea of historical trauma, which considers how collective memories of past trauma and posttraumatic stress and low self-esteem of a community live on and are passed on to new generations. Finally, the RCAP (1996) stresses the importance of healing and that, in many Inuit communities, many elders have not had the opportunity to heal themselves so trauma still exists within them and therefore manifests within communities.

This chapter aimed to address the second and third research questions. In relation to the second question which focuses on the legacies of colonialism, it can be seen that welfare colonialism has impacted contemporary Inuit society through historical trauma. In the mid-twentieth century, the Canadian government's actions caused resettlement of Inuit, residential schooling, distant medical treatments and, through stationing government officials in Qikiqtani communities, created a dominant presence of non-Inuit in the Igloodik and Grise Fiord. The trauma of these events has lived on and caused issues of mental health and substance abuse in Inuit communities today.

Considering the third research question, these processes, as a whole, have had a detrimental impact on community wellness. To summarise the state of community wellness today and consider the ability of communities to tackle future challenges, literature suggests that kinship groups are more segregated (Damas, 2002), with individuals feeling more disconnected and less able to engage with cross-generational learning practices (Allen, 2000). Communities have lost aspects of their sharing networks and are not as focused on shared goals (QIA, 2014a). Traditional cultural practices have been changed, particularly through loss of prevalence of Inuktitut and connections with the land (Dorais, 1988). Because of fixed settlements and loss of sled dogs, mobility has also been greatly reduced (Aporta, 2009; QIA, 2014e). As subsistence relies on mobility, kinship and community, it has also become less established as a factor of community wellness (Ford et al., 2015). The impacts of welfare colonialism on community wellness can be seen in Figure 4.3.

Before moving to the following chapter, two notes should be made about the content of the current chapter. Firstly, this chapter does not provide an overall review of life in Qikiqtani from the 1950s onwards. Instead, it focuses on some of the severe impacts of welfare colonialism, in order to be able to draw links between this and the human dimensions of climate change. Secondly, whilst it would be preferable to have given more detail to the case studies of Igloodik and Grise Fiord, there was not always extensive literature available for these specific communities so more general information, relating to the wider region of Qikiqtani, had to be drawn on for some instances instead. With all three of the research questions of this study now answered, it is now possible to take the discussion to a broader level and consider how welfare colonialism and historical trauma interact with the human dimensions of climate change in Qikiqtani.

Factor of Welfare Colonialism	Impact on Community Wellness	References
Primary Impacts		
Resettlement	Disrupted kinship groups by segregating families from each other. Damaged traditional land-based knowledge by leaving land. Creation of cramped immobile living conditions in settlements.	<i>RCAP (1994b)</i> <i>Damas (2002)</i> <i>QIA (2014c)</i>
Education	Disrupted kinship groups by segregating children from parents. Loss of Inuktitut language through strict rules and in schools. Loss of land based skills and intergenerational education.	<i>Harder et al. (2001)</i> <i>TRCC (2015a; b)</i> <i>QIA (2014g)</i>
Medical Treatment	Severe tuberculosis cases caused by cramped living conditions. Disrupted kinship groups by segregating people from families. Loss of self-esteem and sense of cultural identity amongst Inuit.	<i>RCAP (1996a)</i> <i>Stevenson (2014)</i> <i>Tester et al. (1994)</i>
Non-Inuit Dominance	Enforced norm of Euro-Canadian values of loss of Inuit values. Killing of dog teams, which were crucial for mobility, by police. Disruption of sense of community and loss of sharing practices.	<i>Paine (1977c)</i> <i>QIA (2014e)</i> <i>McHugh (2013)</i>
Secondary Impacts		
Mental Health	High suicide rates influenced by loss of kinship bonds, identity and feeling of value in the community. In men, affected by feeling useless without hunting. In women, affected by loss of gathering.	<i>Kral et al. (2011; '14)</i> <i>Hicks et al. (2013)</i> <i>Bunce et al. (2016)</i>
Substance Misuse	Abuse of drugs and alcohol triggered by moving into sedentary settlements, increased availability of substances and lack of awareness of this within traditional Inuit knowledge systems.	<i>Sider (2015)</i> <i>QIA (2014a)</i> <i>Rode et al. (1994)</i>

Figure 4.3 Summary of the main factors of welfare colonialism noted within literature and the impacts and links they share with factors of community wellness. The literature that details each point is referenced within the figure.

5 The Human Dimensions of Qikiqtani

‘In spite of the important contributions made by [climate change vulnerability studies in the Canadian Arctic], they share a remarkable oversight: they do not mention, let alone contend with, the importance of colonialism in shaping their research objects, subjects, findings and research relations.’ (Cameron, 2012, 104)

The arguments of Cameron (2012; 2015b), which suggest that research detailing the human dimensions of climate change in the Arctic should grow to encompass colonialism, have heavily inspired and influenced the direction of this study. Although vulnerability studies have since effectively stated how the colonialism and marginalisation of Inuit are some of the underlying causes of vulnerability (Ford et al., 2014; Ford et al., 2015), there is still an opportunity for colonial legacies to be discussed in greater detail, with reference to a case study. This is what the content of this study hopes to achieve. Having discussed how the legacies of welfare colonialism have affected the community wellness of Qikiqtani settlements, it is now possible to consider how these colonial legacies influence the ability of Inuit to respond to the impacts of climate change in Igloodik and Grise Fiord. This chapter aims to firstly make an attempt to assess how the ongoing impacts of colonialism have affected the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change in the study area before thinking more broadly about considerations that should be made when researching climate change in indigenous communities.

5.1 Colonialism and Climate Change Vulnerability

Through comparing the current status of community wellness in Qikiqtani presented in this study, which has been clearly influenced by colonialism, to the body of literature that investigates the human dimensions of climate change in this area, it is hoped to identify common ground that could tie the two together.

Many studies that focus on vulnerability to climate change in the Canadian Arctic discuss factors that constrain the ability of communities to adapt (Laidler et al., 2009; Ford et al., 2014). These are referenced as social issues that inhibit the ability of Inuit communities to increase their adaptive capacities and reduce their vulnerability in response to factors of climate change such as sea ice loss or coastal erosion (Ford, 2009; Pearce et al, 2009). Through analysing studies that detail climate change vulnerability in Igloodik and Nunavut in general, three main themes can be identified which are noted to increase vulnerability: loss of traditional knowledge systems (Ford et al., 2013; QIA, 2014a), loss of community sharing networks (Allen, 2000) and the general low health of a community (Kral et al,

2014b). It should be noted that, due to no climate vulnerability literature detailing Grise Fiord specifically, it is not possible to bring it into discussion here.

5.1.1 Loss of Traditional Knowledge Systems

Loss of traditional knowledge systems was the most widely discussed issue of non-climatic vulnerability amongst these studies (Laidler et al., 2009; Ford et al. 2015). Ford et al. (2006; 2010) discuss how Inuit rely on detailed knowledge of sea ice formations, as well as their skills in travelling, in order to maintain hunting practices as climate change causes sea ice cover to drop. To share this knowledge of how to travel safely across changing sea ice, Laidler et al. (2009) state how Inuit rely on elders passing knowledge down to new generations as well as hunters sharing knowledge with each other. Vulnerability to climate change in relation to loss of knowledge systems is therefore noted to have increased in Igloodik due to intergenerational segregation and reduced use of the Inuktitut language (Ford, 2006; Laidler et al., 2009).

Intergenerational segregation can be linked back to welfare colonialism through the breakup of families that occurred through resettlement and from people being taken away from Igloodik for education and medical treatment (RCAP, 1994a; TRCC, 2015a). Ill-advised government intervention, referred to in this study as welfare colonialism, was the cause of relocation and also forced Inuit into southern education systems and severely damaged community wellness (QIA, 2014a). Losing strong family units meant that the platform for young and old generations to interact was lost (Damas, 1963) and, through young people returning from years of southern education not being able to reintegrate (TRCC, 2015a), this made it harder for different generations to find ways to connect. Also, as young Inuit were severely punished for speaking Inuktitut in southern Canadian schools, many had lost their proficiency in the language by the time they had returned (Pearce et al., 2009). This was also influenced by the dominant non-Inuit officials in Inuit communities who swayed cultural norms towards speaking English (Paine, 1977c, QIA, 2014a).

5.1.2 Loss of Community Sharing Networks

Inuit reportedly rely on community sharing networks as a way to decrease vulnerability to climate change as they allow country food and resources to be shared equally amongst all community members at times when some families have struggled to hunt on the increasingly instable sea ice (Ford, 2009). The loss of flexibility to move around the landscape in order to hunt in new locations further increases the need for these sharing networks (Laidler et al., 2009; Ford et al., 2013).

Allen (2000) reports that, in Igloodik, these community sharing networks are facilitated through having a strong sense of community and through all residents trusting each other. However, because of the presence of non-Inuit governmental officials in Qikiqtani communities, they took charge of the distribution of resources and also caused a sense of distrust amongst Inuit (Paine, 1977b). Furthermore, the loss of flexibility was caused by the static nature of communities created through resettlement and the reduction in mobility caused by losing sled dogs (QIA, 2014c; 2014d). Having a sense of community was a fundamental aspect of community wellness but was also significantly impacted by welfare colonialism. As this is also an essential factor of climate vulnerability reduction in Qikiqtani, it can be seen here that welfare colonialism also impacts the human dimensions of climate change through the loss of community sharing networks.

5.1.3 *Health*

The secondary impacts of welfare colonialism directly relate to health. A particular dimension of the high suicide rates in the Canadian Arctic can be attributed to social disruption caused by ill-advised state intervention and subsequent losses of cultural identity and intergenerational relationships (Kral et al., 2014a). Similarly, issues of substance abuse have been connected with the introduction of unfamiliar drugs and alcohol to Inuit communities (QIA, 2014a). Therefore, as these issues are connected to the loss of factors of community wellness caused by welfare colonialism (Kral, 2012), and as community wellness significantly impacts the ability of a community to effectively respond to new challenges, it can be argued that problems of suicide and substance abuse increase the vulnerability of communities to climate change.

However, there has been limited reference to these factors of health in the vulnerability literature. For example, Ford et al. (2014) acknowledge how losing the ability to hunt is increasing the occurrence of mental health conditions in Nunavut. Durkalec et al. (2015) also state that relationships with the land, cultural identity and traditional knowledge are important for the physical and mental health of Inuit. Whilst these studies have made valuable contributions to academic understandings of the human dimensions of climate change in the Canadian Arctic, they do not bring into discussion the high suicide rates that pose large challenges for these communities. Given that Kral and Idlout (2009) state that these suicide rates have a negative impact on the ability of communities to function and move forward as a collective group, it is possible that efforts to enhance the mental health of a settlement could increase community wellness and therefore decrease climate change vulnerability in Qikiqtani.

Given the limited literature written on this, it goes beyond the scope of this study to make any further comments on the causes and effects of Inuit suicide rates. This sections simply aims to note point out the lack of inclusion of suicide rates and mental health issues to discussions of climate change vulnerability.

5.1.4 Reducing Vulnerability/Strengthening Community Wellness

Through summarising the impacts of welfare colonialism on community wellness and linking this literature to that of climate change vulnerability, it can be seen that legacies of welfare colonialism have increased vulnerability in Qikiqtani. The factors of community wellness that have been affected by state interventions in Arctic communities are the same issues that vulnerability literature identifies as decreasing the ability of communities to respond to climate change. Therefore, this study suggests that the human dimensions of climate change in the Canadian Arctic encompass the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism.

It is important to make this connection because, as argued by Kral and Idlout (2009) and Cameron (2012), acknowledging the colonial origins of contemporary social problems is crucial in order to find solutions. So, in order to reduce climate vulnerability, or to strengthen community wellness as it has been framed in this study, it is possible that addressing the legacies of welfare colonialism, alongside current adaptation efforts, might offer the best way to move forwards with climate change in the Arctic. Ford et al. (2015) state that:

‘... adaptation needs to enhance generic capacities to manage change and stress, which involves addressing underlying causes of vulnerability that are rooted in marginalization, disempowerment and colonization.’ (Ford et al., 2015, 1051)

Based on the findings presented in this study, the ideas of Ford et al. (2015) could act as a good approach to mitigating the adverse impacts of the legacies of welfare colonialism. With the main impacts of colonialism contributing to breakups within the structure of extended families (QIA, 2014a), the loss of traditional knowledge frameworks (RCAP, 1994a; Stevenson, 2014), the loss of Inuit language and culture (Allen, 2000; McHugh, 2013), and health problems in communities (Kral et al., 2014a), addressing these issues should be seen as a pre-requisite to climate change adaptation. If communities in Qikiqtani can find support to re-connect families within community networks, re-establish intergenerational transfer of land-based knowledge and address health problems such as the high suicide rates, then their ability to respond effectively to climate change is likely to increase significantly.

5.2 Centre-Periphery Relationships in Climate Change Research

All previous discussions within this study have referred solely to ideas presented within published literature in English detailing the Canadian Arctic. However, when standing back and looking critically at the presence and influence this body of literature has in the Arctic as a whole, interesting dynamics can be observed. Paine (1977a) notes how the driving factor behind welfare colonialism is the centre-periphery relationship that exists between the central Canadian state and the peripheral Inuit communities. This becomes problematic when power and knowledge are produced and held by the central communities, leaving the peripheral communities unrepresented and with little agency over their own affairs (Rienert, 2006). Most recently published literature acknowledges that understanding the Canadian Arctic requires an understanding of this central-periphery relationship (Cameron, 2012; 2015b; Ford et al., 2015; Sider, 2014). However, is it possible that climate change research that focuses on peripheral Arctic Inuit communities, when conducted by non-Inuit researchers, could also embody elements of welfare colonialism itself?

One of the regions in which the impacts of climate change will be felt the strongest are glaciated areas (McDowell et al., 2014). Furthermore, the communities currently being affected most severely are arguably those whose livelihoods, cultures and subsistence depend on an intimate relationship with the land (Salick and Byg, 2007), as well as those in less economically developed areas (Davis, 2010). The communities that fit this description are often indigenous and are at risk of losing crucial aspects of their traditional homeland due to environmental changes, with Inuit communities being a prime example of this (Williams, 2012). Ultimately, it is these peripheral indigenous subsistence communities in remote regions that are identified as being most at risk by academic and scientific literature (Dasgupta et al., 2014).

Because of this, as academic organisations make attempts to conduct fieldwork in indigenous communities, an important border is crossed. Indigenous communities have been noted to have unique perspectives and understandings of the environment and climate change (Byg and Salick, 2009). Therefore, this border can be identified as the boundary between the scientific world of western science and the traditional knowledge of indigenous communities. As noted by Cameron et al. (2015b), problems arise when researchers cross this border without translating our terminologies and research frameworks as it can lead us into the trap of judging our research subjects by our own standards and perspectives.

This problem has been observed in the Canadian Arctic by many contemporary researchers. Bravo (2009b) argues that the climate change narratives written by non-Inuit risk masking the true Inuit voices. This consequently takes the power of representation and agency away from Inuit. Cameron (2012)

references the idea present within postcolonial studies, which states that the processes that produce knowledge about formerly colonised people are, in some ways, colonial processes themselves. In relation to the Arctic, Cameron suggests that there may be elements of colonialism and imperialism emulated within the response of central institutions to climate change. Ford et al. (2015) also discuss the issues connected to colonial aspects of research in the Arctic and acknowledge that participatory climate change research risks perpetuating elements of outside intervention that can create unequal power relations and shift control away from Inuit communities.

Despite being first written about over forty years ago, some elements of welfare colonialism can be seen in aspects of the response being taken by contemporary scientists to produce knowledge and support adaptation to climate change in Arctic Canada. The centre-periphery relationship, a fundamental part of welfare colonialism, is described by Paine (1977a) as the illegitimate power dynamic that arises between the central state and peripheral indigenous communities as the state makes attempts to intervene and increase the quality of life in the Arctic. Today, in reference to climate change, as knowledge is still produced and held by central institutions such as universities and the government, and as peripheral indigenous communities are still arguably being marginalised (Bravo, 2009b; Cameron, 2012; Sider, 2014), it could be argued that climate change research has not completely broken away from this centre-periphery power dynamic.

Ultimately, it is argued here that there are elements of welfare colonialism with the structures of the human dimensions of climate change research that takes place in the Canadian Arctic today. Whilst this is problematic, Cameron (2012) makes the important point that, given how urgent the issue of climate change is in the Arctic, immediate pragmatic action must be taken. Cameron also suggests that delaying taking action on climate change while attempts are made to remove aspects of colonialism from such research would be inefficient. However, such a delay might not even be necessary. As academics, we are currently sitting on a wealth of literature that details exactly how centre-periphery relationships and non-indigenous interventions into indigenous communities in the Arctic, and around the world, can be damaging (Fanon, 1963; Paine, 1977b; Sider, 1987; Beckett, 1988; Spivak, 1993; Reinert, 2006; Tomicic and Berardi, 2018). However, critiques of current approaches seem to arise from a lack of reference to such literature in the conception of climate change vulnerability studies. Therefore, there is no reason why immediate action cannot be taken to address climate change whilst simultaneously further educating ourselves from this colonialism literature. This could allow research projects, and ourselves as researchers, to become more self-aware of our positionality within these centre-periphery power dynamics and lead to more accurate and ethical knowledge of indigenous groups being produced.

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Through conducting this research project, two main themes have emerged. One demonstrates how the legacies of welfare colonialism have adversely affected the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change. The other considers literature more broadly and suggests that elements of centre-periphery relationships could be present within the structure of research in the Canadian Arctic today.

6.1 Research Findings

This study aimed to test Cameron's (2012) argument that the ongoing impacts of colonialism should be seen as part of the human dimensions of climate change. The term 'community wellness' was devised through re-framing the 'vulnerability' framework to create an open ended approach where the factors necessary for Inuit communities to respond to challenges effectively could be defined in their own terms. With this in mind, the study set out to investigate how the legacies of colonialism in Qikiqtani affect community wellness through consulting literature written in English detailing the study region.

Firstly, the main factors of community wellness were discovered to be: living in strong kinship groups, having a sense of community and cultural identity and being mobile enough to travel to other communities as well as to hunt (Damas, 1963; Allen, 2000; Aporta, 2009; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). This was underpinned by having access to stable and predictable sea ice (Laidler et al., 2010). Together these factors were very interconnected and were supported by fluency in the Inuktitut language (Dorais, 1988). They allowed intergenerational education, the establishing of community sharing networks, the ability to hunt safely and travel on the sea ice and, they ultimately empowered Inuit communities to face challenges together (Dorais, 1988; Nuttall, 1992, QIA, 2014a).

Secondly, it was found that aspects of welfare colonialism, such as resettlement, removal of Inuit to southern Canada for schooling and medical treatment as well as the dominant presence of non-Inuit in Qikiqtani disrupted all aspects of community wellness mentioned above (Paine, 1977c; RCAP, 1994a; QIA, 2014a; TRCC, 2015a). These issues had a lasting impact and have shaped the contemporary culture of Igloolik and Grise Fiord (Kral et al., 2009).

Through comparing literature that reported on the legacies of welfare colonialism (RCAP, 1996a; QIA, 2014a; Stevenson, 2014; Kral, 2016) with studies focused on climate vulnerability (Laidler et al., 2009; Ford et al., 2013; Ford et al., 2015), considerable overlap was found. As these issues had such a

significant impact on community wellness, and as community wellness defines the ability of a community to effectively face challenges, it is argued here that the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism have impacted the human dimensions of climate change in Qikiqtani through increasing vulnerability to the effects of environmental change.

Through reflecting on the findings of this research project, it is evident how important it is to have a pre-requisite understanding of the factors that contribute to community wellness when investigating the ability of Inuit to respond to climate change. Through acknowledging that the ongoing impacts of welfare colonialism have increased vulnerability to climate change in the Canadian Arctic, it might be possible to enhance the ability of Inuit to respond by widening the breadth of current adaptation work to encompass issues connected to colonialism such as kinship disruption, loss of Inuktitut fluency or the high suicide rates.

6.2 Ethical Considerations and Recommendations for Future Research

While drawing conclusions on this work, I feel that it is important to acknowledge ethical considerations and limitations that centre around the colonial nature of the work itself as well as to consider how best these ideas can be taken forward.

The centre-periphery relationship between the state and indigenous groups is described in this project as being a significant aspect of welfare colonialism as it illegitimately places agency over Inuit lands in the hands of the central state (Paine, 1977c). Although this has been discussed in relation to the research questions, it is also possible that research frameworks within the Arctic embody elements of this centre-periphery relationship themselves.

I and many of the authors referenced in this study are non-Inuit and connected to central Canadian and European universities (Paine, 1977a; Cameron, 2012; Sider, 2014; Ford et al., 2015). Because of this, as I set out to produce new work based on their ideas, I began to feel uncertain about how removed I was as a researcher from the aspects of welfare colonialism I critique in this study for damaging Inuit community wellness. In order to mitigate issues that arise surrounding my positionality as non-Inuit, it has been important to state that the conclusions drawn are based on themes within literature written in English that details the Arctic as well as to maintain awareness of my positionality throughout. To reduce this issue in future, participatory research frameworks could be utilised (Alexander et al., 2011).

There were three subjects encountered within this work that fell outwith the remit of this study but could provide opportunity for future projects. Gender influenced the extent to which many Inuit were

impacted by climate change and more work could be done on gender and community wellness in Qikiqtani. Also, as Cameron et al. (2015a) note the issues of translation between Inuktitut and western research, further work could explore effective methods of disseminating research findings back to Inuit and prompting wider engagement and discussion throughout Qikiqtani. Finally, this project has suggested that it could be very worthwhile to investigate further how state and international organisations researching and implementing climate change adaptation projects in the Arctic affect Inuit and how this process could be further decolonised. The development of a postcolonial risk assessment for research teams could be an effective output from such research.

Ultimately, in considering how best to take these ideas from this study forward, I argue that this research presents a valuable input to discussions regarding appropriate ways to respond to the impacts of climate change in the Canadian Arctic. However, to be most effective, these discussions must include and respect the opinions of the indigenous people they focus on. There is currently a rapidly growing body of literature detailing postcolonial theory (Tomicic and Berardi, 2018), with many particular references to the Arctic (Huggan, 2016). If, as researchers, we can move on to future research projects whilst educating ourselves from postcolonial literature, and make efforts to translate our findings back into language that can be understood and acted on by Inuit, we can surely aspire to produce more accurate knowledge of indigenous cultures and suggest more culturally sustainable ways to respond to climate change.

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