‘HEROES FOR THE HELPLESS’: 
HOW NATIONAL PRINT MEDIA REINFORCE SETTLER DOMINANCE THROUGH THEIR PORTRAYAL OF FOOD INSECURITY IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

by

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Abstract

The Inuit have experienced significant cultural changes since initial contact with European settlers and explorers in the 17th Century, changes that accelerated in the mid-20th century. Basing their relationships to the Inuit in imperialism (the policy and practice of empire expansion), Europeans used political, economic and cultural tactics to swiftly establish a cultural hierarchy and solidify the Inuit’s position as ‘The Other’ – an ‘out-group’ viewed as inherently inferior to the ‘in-group’. The Arctic has remained hierarchized because of implicit settler colonial processes that permeate political and cultural relations and underpin modern policy development. An examination of the nutrition transition – the shift away from traditional foods to commercialized market options – brings these implicit settler colonial processes into focus. The transition to a Western diet has accompanied chronic poverty and provoked high levels of food insecurity, resulting in numerous negative health outcomes among Inuit. Current health promotion initiatives employ an ineffective downstream approach to reduce Nunavut food insecurity – which is approximately three times greater than the Canadian average – when the issue is a result of rampant poverty. Disproportionately high rates of food insecurity are a manifestation of settler colonialism and fuel a covertly racist national attitude toward the Inuit, maintaining their marginalized position. This study examines national coverage of Nunavut food insecurity as presented in two of Canada’s most widely read newspapers: The Globe and Mail and National Post. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed to analyze 24 articles, 19 from The Globe and Mail and 5 from National Post. Analysis suggests national print media propagates the Inuit’s
position as The Other by selectively reporting on social issues such as hunger, poverty and income. Terms such as “Northerners” and “Southerners” are frequently used to categorically separate Nunavut from the rest of Canada and Inuit-driven efforts to resolve their own issues are widely ignored. This effectively portrays the Inuit as helpless and the territory as a failure, and allows Canadians to maintain colonialist views of Inuit inferiority and erroneously assume Federal initiatives effectively address Northern food insecurity.

Key words: Nunavut, food security, settler colonialism, Canadian print media discourse
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Preface

As originally conceived, my research project took Nunavut food insecurity to be an issue that could be alleviated through individual behavior change. Under the guidance of my thesis advisory committee, I followed a traditional health promotion approach and attempted to design an initiative that would improve individual budgeting skills – an (apparently) modifiable behavior – to lessen Nunavut food insecurity. However, as I grew closer to the material, my perspective on the issue changed and individual behavior modification no longer seemed to be the appropriate approach to the problem. Rather, I began to view Nunavut food insecurity as a product of the social inequalities that plague northern Canada such as poverty, high unemployment and low education, and that are a result of settler colonialism. At this point I no longer considered a behavioral intervention a realistic solution to the problem since I viewed it as being socially embedded in Canadian norms.

Conflicted over how to progress with my research I met with my supervisor, Dr. Elaine Power, and she urged me to follow my true research interests and to not be bound by the previously determined structure. That conversation was a pivotal moment in my thesis research. With Dr. Power’s help we dissolved the original advisory committee and assembled a new committee to support my new research directions. I felt that I was able
to conduct research that would answer my curiosity behind food security’s social nature and produce the document you have before you.

1.2 Overview

The Inuit have experienced significant cultural changes since initial contact with European settlers and explorers in the 17th Century, changes that accelerated in the mid-20th century (Bonesteel, 2006). Basing their relationships to the Inuit in imperialism\(^1\), Europeans used political, economic and cultural tactics to swiftly establish a cultural hierarchy (Said, 1994; Smith, 1999) and solidify the Inuit’s position as ‘The Other’ – an ‘out-group’ viewed as inherently inferior to the ‘in-group’ (Staszak, 2009). The Arctic has remained hierarchized because of implicit settler colonial processes that permeate political and cultural relations (Veracini, 2011) and underpin modern policy development. An examination of the nutrition transition – the shift away from traditional foods to commercialized market options – brings these implicit settler colonial processes into focus.

The transition to a Western diet has resulted in chronic poverty and high levels of food insecurity (Huet, Rosol, & Egeland, 2012), resulting in numerous negative health outcomes among Inuit (Hayek, Egeland, & Weiler, 2010; Kuhnlein & Receveur, 2007). Current health promotion initiatives employ a downstream approach to reduce Nunavut food insecurity – which currently sits at approximately three times the Canadian average (Tarasuk, Mitchell, & Dachner, 2013) – when the issue is indicative of institutionalized

\(^{1}\) A term used to describe the policy and practice of empire expansion to include new societies, which can be accomplished by creating political, economic, societal and/or cultural dependence on the dominative state (Said, 1994).
problems that create high rates of poverty (Power, 2005). Such disproportionately high rates of food insecurity are a manifestation of settler colonialism and fuel a covertly racist national attitude toward the Inuit, which maintains their marginalized position.

1.3 Research Purpose & Questions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the national discourse surrounding Nunavut food insecurity as a function of socially constructed neoracist ideologies, which are reproduced and maintained by Canadian mass media. In doing so, a critical discourse analysis was used to address Canadian national media’s contribution to institutionalized Othering and the maintenance of a racially apathetic settler colonial state. This study will add to existing literature on aboriginal representations in Canadian print media (Anderson & Robertson, 2011), and to my knowledge will provide the first media discourse analysis of Nunavut’s public health concerns. To accomplish my purpose, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How has Nunavut food insecurity been portrayed in Canadian national newspapers; and

2. To what degree are colonialism and neoracism present in the Nunavut food insecurity discourse?
Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework

The Inuit-Settler dyad has been laden with imperialist tendencies since the 17th Century, allowing Europeans to establish economic, political and cultural dominance over the Inuit (Said, 1994; Smith, 1999). Throughout the 18th to 20th Centuries, Europeans strengthened their superiority and maintained a cultural hierarchy in the Arctic by enacting colonialist\(^2\) (Said, 1994) and settler colonialist\(^3\) (Veracini, 2011) regimes which sought to dominate the Inuit. Despite recent claims stating otherwise (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2008), these ideologies persist in modern culture and have led to the current state of Inuit affairs: worse employment, educational attainment and income when compared to their white settler counterparts (Wotherspoon, 2007). These social inequalities lead to higher rates of poverty and subsequent food insecurity, and have become institutionalized through the development of a neoracist\(^4\) and racially apathetic\(^5\) nation.

\(^2\) Colonialism seeks to dominate and exploit the colonized for economic gain (Said, 1994). It maintains a permanent separation between the colonized and the colonizer in which the colonized will never be afforded certain rights. Furthermore, it makes a concerted effort to distinguish the difference between the home state – in this case Britain – and the colonies (Veracini, 2011).

\(^3\) Like colonialism, settler colonialism seeks to dominate the colonized for economic gain; however, it does so by assimilating the colonized and eliminating any distinction between the home state – in this case Britain – and the colonies (Veracini, 2011).

\(^4\) Neoracism is founded in cultural discrimination (for example, Catholics against Muslims), opposed to biological and phenotypic discrimination (for example, “Blacks” against “Whites”) (Garner, 2010).

\(^5\) Constructed from ‘whiteness’, racial apathy produces social ignorance toward racial inequality (Garner, 2010).
2.1 Brief History of Inuit-Settler Relations

Over the past 300 years, contact with European explorers and settlers has permanently and irrevocably changed Inuit culture. As newcomers to the Arctic, Europeans embodied Imperialism and its ultimate goal of Western culture’s expansion into, and domination of, the ‘new world’. European Arctic explorers’ initial contact with Inuit in the 17th century revealed a semi-nomadic people that lived as one with the land. They believed all aspects of nature were interconnected and, therefore, relied on subsistence hunting and gathering to collect only what was necessary for survival (Healey & Meadows, 2007; Wenzel, 1999). Conflicting worldviews between Inuit and explorers led to numerous violent encounters and treaty agreements throughout the 17th and 18th centuries as the two civilizations learned to live with each other. By the middle of the 18th century the whaling industry began to thrive, which prompted the establishment of year-round settler camps in the Arctic to limit the industry’s seasonality (Creery, 1993). Constant contact between Inuit and whalers helped form new economic relationships; Inuit hunters were paid small wages for their navigational expertise, and Inuit-settler trade began (Western tools and food for traditionally procured items such as ivory, skins and meat). The Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) accompanied the northward expansion of the whaling industry in order to maintain lawfulness and order, and most importantly to protect the settlers responsible for expanding Her Majesty’s empire. Simultaneously, missionaries moved into the Arctic and introduced – or rather imposed – Christianity; they also began to teach Inuit how to communicate in French and English so they could comprehend Christian literature.
As whaling subsided in the late 19th century, Inuit were brought into the fold of a burgeoning fur trade controlled by the Hudson Bay Company (HBC). White fox fur quickly became highly valued by HBC due to its high demand in Europe. Inuit hunters’ introduction and attraction to Western goods led many to forfeit traditional hunting techniques in lieu of white fox trapping methods (Bonesteel, 2006). In this way Inuit subsistence became increasingly tied to European economic success. When overhunting and shifting European market demands decimated the fur trade in the 1930s, the Inuit were left destitute, abandoned between their traditional subsistence lifestyle and a market capitalist settler State that had exploited them for economic gains, with little consideration of their future.

Following the fur trade’s collapse and the subsequent vacuum of economic opportunities from the North, some Inuit – especially those more integrated into Inuit-settler trade – became dependent on the State for support. The Canadian government became a major player in Inuit affairs for the first time since the 1870s, when Inuit youth were mandated to attend residential schools (Bonesteel, 2006; Nagy & Sehdev, 2012). Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Canadian government provided aid to Inuit communities in the Arctic and urged them to maintain a subsistence lifestyle; however, creation of military defense outposts during World War II and the Cold War provided the Canadian government a means to demonstrate its allegiance to the United States. American military personnel perceived Canada’s relationship with the Inuit to be unacceptable as they felt the Inuit were granted too much freedom and were not under enough surveillance (Bonesteel, 2006). Consequently in 1953, disdain from American
military personnel stationed in the north caused a shift in the Canadian government’s opinion. Inuit were forcefully relocated to permanent settlements where they could be monitored and encouraged to attain wage-based employment, medical care and education (Bonesteel, 2006; Healey & Meadows, 2007). Thus, Inuit traditional lifestyle was permanently shaped by prolonged interactions with European explorers, settlers and Western culture, which can ultimately be traced to the fulfillment of an Imperialist ideal focused on exerting cultural dominance over a ‘lesser’ civilization.

2.2 Imperialist Domination

Imperialist ideologies have been, and continue to be, a dominant and ubiquitous force behind colonization of the Canadian Arctic. They represent a quest for power through economic growth, political expansion into foreign territory and cultural subjugation of a perceived inferior population (Said, 1994; Smith, 1999). Since the 17th century, imperialism has had a substantial role in shaping the Inuit-settler dyad by directing almost every major interaction between the two, thus providing an exemplary opportunity to examine the lasting effects of imperial domination on an Indigenous society and culture.

2.2.1 Economic Growth

Imperialist economic ventures are driven in part by the acquisition of raw materials and cheap foreign labour (Said, 1994). In the north, three instances encapsulate such resource extraction: the whaling industry, the fur trade steered by the HBC, and the introduction of wage-based employment at military bases. The whaling industry
introduced the Inuit to mercantilism⁶, providing settlers with a vessel to erode traditional Inuit lifestyles. It produced an unequal relationship in which whalers capitalized on Inuit incomprehension of Western forms of trade and economics by unfairly dictating the worth of goods (Bonesteel, 2006; Creery, 1993). Subsequently, this juncture in the Inuit-settler dyad spawned the popularity of the modern Western diet’s staples – particularly flour, tea and sugar (Bonesteel, 2006). Attraction to new goods offered by settlers helped keep the Inuit invested in trade, allowing mercantilism (and ultimately Western economics) to become embedded in Inuit culture (Said, 1994). The allure of Western goods was crucial to secure the Inuit’s participation in the fur trade.

Shifting European markets sparked the growth of the North American fur trade and increased demand for white fox fur as a fashion commodity, causing it to become the prized resource in the Arctic (Bonesteel, 2006). Inuit hunters’ abandonment of traditional hunting techniques demonstrated the extent to which market capitalism altered their culture. The growing popularity of Western market foods meant hunting was no longer conducted strictly for sustenance (Bonesteel, 2006), and it came to be viewed by some as a means to an end (Said, 1994). Hunters left their homes to live near trading posts to reduce travel costs and improve profit margins, while modern weaponry improved hunting efficiency; however, improved efficiency contributed to overhunting of the Arctic fox and other game species traditionally only hunted for food (Creery, 1993). In this fashion, cultural stability clashed with the desire to remain competitive and efficient

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⁶ An early form of trade-based economics which afforded the government and select organizations control of industry through monopolization (Mcdermott, 1999).
in a ‘foreign’ economic system (Said, 1994; Smith, 1999), resulting in the irrevocable commodification of traditional practices and alterations to Inuit diet and culture. Exploitative HBC-Inuit trade relations left the Inuit destitute when the industry collapsed, and government subsidies through the 1930s and 40s (Bonesteel, 2006) failed to provide any lasting reprieve from hardships caused by the sudden absence of viable Western economic opportunities.

The Government’s forced movement of Inuit to military settlements during the 1950s was intended to provide a solution to an ailing population: provide employment while encouraging Western medical care and education (Healey & Meadows, 2007). Doing so brought Inuit into modern wage-based economics with many becoming subject to a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty and internalized racism. Employment opportunities were selectively offered to Inuit deemed to have a discernible skillset that could benefit operation of the base; those not offered employment remained as State-dependents with little opportunity for meaningful labour market participation (Bonesteel, 2006). Such categorization of Inuit based on individual merit was an effective method to fragment the population and create internalized racism; there were now fewer commonalities shared between all members of the population, leading to a sense of entitlement in those favoured by the settlers (Smith, 1999). Therefore, while people involved in whaling and in the fur trade sought to impose outright economic superiority over the Inuit, their inclusion in wage-based labour during the 1950s harnessed a subtler ‘divide to conquer’ strategy by turning the Inuit upon themselves.
2.2.2 Political Expansion

In order to ensure prolonged economic fortune in a distant land, Imperialist nations needed to politicize ethnocentrism and impart these beliefs into their settlers (Said, 1994). Such beliefs hinged upon notions of ‘ordered’ versus ‘disordered’ and proliferation of Othering\(^7\) (Smith, 1999). In a Canadian settler-Inuit context, Othering was fostered by the introduction of Western law enforcement, geographical categorization of Inuit lands and forced Inuit relocation to military settlements. The NWMP’s primary role in the Arctic was to protect the Crown’s economic investment in the whaling industry. They were pivotal in establishing political domination and order via Western law enforcement techniques. Inuit tools required for hunting were, quite literally, destroyed in front of them; NWMP officers were noted to kill Inuit sled dogs as they represented a public safety threat (Bonesteel, 2006). Perceived ‘unlawfulness’ provided settlers with criteria to cast ‘Inuit as Other’ and solidify their preconceived superiority (Smith, 1999). Furthermore, NWMP actions nullified traditional Inuit subsistence and forced adoption of mercantilism, eventually leading to fur trade involvement as the most viable means for economic success.

Development of trading posts and movement of Inuit hunters towards them allowed settlers and HBC authorities to instill a Western sense of spatial organization upon the Arctic. Focal areas for economic activity, such as trading posts and settlements,

\(^7\) Process of using a characteristic difference between two groups to support the domination of a perceived inferior ‘out-group’ population by the superior ‘in-group’ (Staszak, 2009). New settlers and explorers had presupposed their cultural superiority before they made contact with the Inuit; such blind beliefs were crucial assets for imperialist domination over the Inuit (Said, 1994).
became associated with order while all other lands – and their inhabitants – were considered unorganized and wild (Smith, 1999). This propagated the imperial image of indigenous populations and their homelands as undesirable or uninhabitable (Said, 1994) and contributed to notions of ‘Inuit as Other’. Furthermore, imposed spatial organization provided settlers an opportunity to name Arctic territories; Inuit wishing to participate in trade were expected to learn the new Western names for their lands (Bonesteel, 2006). Politicizing geography in such a manner forced Inuit to reconstruct their traditional views of space (Goehring & Stager, 1991) compounding the fur trade’s erosive effects on Inuit cultural health.

Mandatory Inuit relocation to military encampments combined the early efforts set forth by NWMP and HBC officials into a single front to establish complete political dominance over the north. As Morgensen (2011) describes, closely incorporating the Inuit into settler culture is the most effective way to enact Western law. The presence of a major military force aided rapid expansion of the Imperial regime (Said, 1994), while a larger and more permanent police force in the form of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Bonesteel, 2006) enabled closer surveillance of Inuit to ensure their compliance with the law. Improvements to infrastructure made differences between ‘civilization’ and ‘wilderness’ established during the fur trade more pronounced (Smith, 1999). Coupled with selective employment opportunities previously mentioned, these settlements were a prime location to further ‘Inuit as Other’ ideologies in settlers, with some Inuit adopting the perspective as well. Therefore, political maneuvers designed to dominate the Inuit’s
space proved an effective method of creating cultural rifts between settlers and Inuit, and contributed to Inuit self-recognition as ‘The Other’.

**2.2.3 Cultural Subjugation**

When European explorers made first contact, they viewed the Inuit as ‘primitive’ since they lacked – according to European standards – a sophisticated form of communication or religion. Attempts to acculturate the Inuit hinged on the philosophy that ‘the modern man’ could be defined, a central tenet of imperialist ideologies during The Enlightenment (Smith, 1999). In the Arctic, settlers have exerted cultural dominance (Smith, 1999) since first contact, with three instances highlighting this movement: imposing Christianity, taking Inuit wives, and forcing Inuit children to attend residential schools. Missionaries’ introduction of Christianity (and its associated languages) to the Arctic threatened traditional Inuit culture by overriding their Inuktitut language. Traditional Inuit knowledge, culture and language are interconnected (Battiste, 1998); therefore, supplanting Inuktitut initiated the deterioration of Inuit culture (Wenzel, 1999) and fulfilled a cultural imperialist ideal of forcing Inuit into a ‘modern society’ (Tomlinson, 1991). Furthermore, new languages placed Inuit at a disadvantage during treaty and trade negotiations (Smith, 1999) due to their unfamiliarity with English and French. Inuit disadvantage stretched further than language and treaty negotiations, which was realized when whalers and fur traders utilized their ‘authority’ to interrupt Inuit bloodlines and create cultural identity crises in Inuit communities.

Through continued relations with Inuit, European whalers and traders exerted their dominance to exploit women for the imperialist goal of cultural domination. During
long hunts or whaling expeditions they often took Inuit wives without their consent (Creery, 1993); this tactic was used to eliminate Inuit solidarity against imperial expansion. Being unable to claim a purely Inuit or white ancestry, the children of these ‘marriages’ were born racially ambiguous and were considered by both settlers and Inuit to be outside of humanity (Morgensen, 2011). Neither their peers nor settlers considered these children their kin, leaving them to be viewed as The Other by both civilizations, greatly affecting their cultural health and identity. The ability to label a group as ‘outside of humanity’ was a powerful method of assimilation (Morgensen, 2011), and was implemented again with the institutionalization of residential schools in the Arctic.

Established in the 1870s, residential schools provided a powerful tool to assimilate Inuit into Western culture by removing children from their families and immersing them in an anti-Indigenous environment. Based heavily on colonial forms of education, the schools strictly taught Western forms of knowledge while simultaneously discounting Inuit epistemologies and eroding their culture (Nagy & Sehdev, 2012; Wenzel, 1999). The concept of ‘the individual’ as central to understanding society and organization was imparted to children by teaching subjects separately. This forced children to view culture as a composition of multiple fragments that can be individually learned and studied (Smith, 1999), and directly contradicted traditional holistic Inuit beliefs (Healey & Meadows, 2007). Forcing children to view society this way represented

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8 The schools’ locations in settlements served as an indirect assimilation mechanism. In a similar fashion to hunters during the fur trade, some Inuit families moved away from their traditional homes on the land to camps near settlements to be closer to their children at residential schools (Creery, 1999).

9 English and French languages, and Christian cultural belief models.
a colonization of the mind (Smith, 1999): it juxtaposed traditional naturalist Inuit beliefs which posit all aspects of nature, humans included, are interconnected (Wenzel, 1999), and provided an effective method of solidifying Western culture’s dominance over the Inuit by creating a generational divide.

Residential schools’ reach surpassed the cultural corruption of children forced to attend and created cultural rifts among families. Children returned to their families conflicted over whether to return to their Inuit heritage or maintain Western cultural values that were beaten into them by residential school officials (Bonesteel, 2006); this created a sense of cultural ambiguity similar to children born of racially different parents. Deciding which culture they belonged to was a major source of distress that often left children alienated from their families (Nagy & Sehdev, 2012). Choosing a cultural path contributed to internalized Othering within communities. Individuals who retained their Inuit culture were viewed as inferior by those who adopted Western culture (Smith, 1999). Similar to the effect of selectively employing Inuit in military installations, Othering was amplified in individuals identified as ‘exceptional’ by school officials. These students were often convinced to advance their learning at a university, where they were heavily immersed (and easily assimilated) into Western culture (Smith, 1999). Therefore, residential schools were one of the most powerful tools for cultural subjugation of the Inuit. They applied multiple techniques of cultural domination to influence the cultural wellbeing of the children attending them, their families and society as a whole for generations.
2.3 Colonialism & Settler Colonialism

Establishment of permanent European settlements in the North were paramount for imperialist governments to guide colonialist practices and the resultant cultural subjugation of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic (Said, 1994). Frequent imposition of a perceived white superiority instilled by foreign rule resulted in displacement and unequal power dynamics between Inuit and settlers (Veracini, 2011). These colonialist trademarks fostered differentialist racism by proliferating an ‘Us versus Them’ mentality among settlers; in this manner, European culture was preserved through maintenance of a cultural gap (Veracini, 2011). Settlers primarily controlled this cultural gap and settler-Inuit interactions as they dictated most economic partnerships. Doing so affected all aspects of Inuit culture (as previously described) and divided the Inuit based on selective and disproportionate opportunities given to some individuals. Despite these chances to work closely with European markets, the settlers would never see the chosen few as anything more than The Other (Memmi, 2003). While colonization depended on the outright acquisition of Inuit labour to exert its influence, another set of ideologies, settler colonialism, worked subversively to simultaneously ensure European cultural succession and Inuit subordination.

Settler colonialism focused on a structural elimination of Inuit in the North and their assimilation into European settler culture (Wolfe, 2006). Successful settler colonization will “‘tame’ a variety of wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity... [It] covers its tracks and operates towards self-suppression”
The last characteristic of settler colonialism is what truly distinguishes its efforts from colonialism. Colonialism aims to preserve itself and the colonizer’s position of racial and cultural superiority over the colonized until all viable labour opportunities have been exhausted, at which point it uproots itself and moves on (Said, 1994; Veracini, 2011). Conversely, settler colonialism establishes its permanence and aims to destroy itself along with any cultural differences between the settler colonizers and settler colonized through a process labeled ‘the logic of elimination’ (Veracini, 2011; Wolfe, 2006). Despite their opposition these processes operate concurrently and have done so in the Arctic since contact was made between explorers and Inuit.

During their early relations, colonialism dominated the Inuit-settler dyad while settler colonialism operated slowly in the background. The majority of interactions revolved around economic activities in some form, which allowed colonial economics to implant itself in the Arctic (Said, 1994). The whaling industry imposed a colonial-style marketplace onto the Inuit, while the fur trade drew families and hunters away from their homelands in hope of economic prosperity. With selective and disproportionate economic opportunities provided to some Inuit, a ‘haves versus have-nots’ mentality developed, fuelling internalized Othering and kin infighting. However, despite more opportunities for economic success, colonial powers ensured the chosen Inuit would always be viewed as The Other (Memmi, 2003) and would never attain equality (Veracini, 2011). Such institutionalized racism characterized the Inuit-settler dyad, even once both populations lived in close contact with each other in military settlements where there were more
opportunities for Inuit advancement. Additionally, military settlements – and trading posts before them – helped colonists maintain a cultural dissonance from the Inuit and their homelands by imposing spatial organization as previously detailed. This not only supported their perception of Inuit as Other, but it helped seed this idea within the minds of Inuit hunters who interacted frequently with colonists. These blatant colonialist attempts to dominate the Inuit by establishing a clear separation between cultures were accompanied by less visible settler colonial activities to create a powerful attack against Inuit culture.

Whalers who chose to take Inuit wives (as previously described) undertook the first major settler colonial action against Inuit. Despite being a quieter method to erode Inuit culture than mercantilism and Western economics, settler-Inuit marriages had a deeper impact on the culture’s longevity. Western economics had an undeniably large impact on Inuit way of life, yet it did not interrupt bloodlines or the cultural health of future generations. The marriages on the other hand, were a perfect manifestation of the logic of elimination as they proliferated the Inuit population while they simultaneously sought to destroy Inuit culture (Morgensen, 2011). Residential schools also embodied Wolfe’s logic of elimination in a massive front against Inuit culture. Their goal of “killing the Indian inside the child and assimilating [them] into white settler society” (Nagy & Sehdev, 2012) perfectly represented settler colonialism’s ideals. The supplemental impacts they had on Inuit families and communities when children returned home is unparalleled by any colonial actions. Internalized Othering and cultural self-
destruction caused by residential schools have lasted generations and the effects are still felt in today’s youth.

Perhaps the most pivotal settler colonial method to assimilate Inuit into Western culture was the forceful relocation to military encampments. Doing so rapidly removed Inuit from their lifestyle and pushed them to confront all aspects of Western culture at once. Unlike residential schools, there was no summer reprieve from the constant bombardment of Western values in the military settlements, allowing faster and more effective assimilation. Settlements were also breeding grounds for self-Othering, internalized racism and impedance of Inuit bloodlines due to Inuit-White interbreeding, which allowed settler colonizers to take a ‘hands off’ approach to cultural subjugation and let the Inuit cannibalize their own culture. Therefore, forced relocation symbolized a changing of the guard in terms of Imperialist-influenced ideologies. Settler colonialism became the guiding force behind the Inuit-Settler dyad and remains so in the 21st Century as public policy changes that appear subservient accumulate to have a substantial effect on Inuit culture.

2.4 Settler Colonialism and Modern Policy Development

Since the end of World War II, Canadian public policy has adopted a multicultural foundation; however, racism remains embedded in policy formation and allows settler colonialism to maintain its assimilationist directive. Multicultural policies created to end institutionalized racism ostensibly decolonized the state (Warburton, 2007), and in doing so they actively buried the settler colonial agenda from public scrutiny, allowing it to work effectively in the background. Additionally, such policies
provided a space for neoracist ideologies (Garner, 2010) to grow in the collective mind of the populace. Neoracism, which embodies the colonial ideal of preserving a differentialist state, ignores discrimination based on biological differences and focuses on cultural differences present within a society (Garner, 2010). It is driven by policies forcing cross-cultural interaction as they cause the ‘superior’ race to feel threatened by the encroachment of a ‘lesser’ race. Consider the 1985 Employment Equity Act (EEA) for example: mandating visible minorities’ equal rights and special accommodations in the workplace allowed the Canadian government to overtly establish an anti-racist approach to labour market participation. According to Warburton (2007) The EEA did little to advance minority workplace integration through 1991; however, it effectively bred subversive racism among the white settler society as the populace perceived the Act to be a forceful injection of the Other into the Canadian workplace (Warburton, 2007). In such fashion, multicultural polices cover the overt racism of the institution by fostering societal neoracism to maintain cultural hierarchies under a unitary national culture (Patel, 2007), a practice which was employed when establishing Nunavut’s legal territorial status.

Nunavut became legally recognized as an Inuit land-claim territory when the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act (1993) was drafted in response to calls for increased Inuit self-determination. It was followed by the Nunavut Act (1999), which established the land-claim as a legal Territory of Canada and finally granted the Inuit jurisdiction over land they have lived on for centuries. Similar to the EEA, the Nunavut Act (1999) is embedded with settler colonial ideals. It permits the Canadian government
to claim a decolonizing stance on Inuit relations (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2008) while cultural hierarchies are maintained in the North (Wotherspoon, 2007). Additionally, implementing Inuit self-governance can improve social development and psychological health through self-determination (Dalton, 2007; Ryan & Deci, 2000), which allows the Federal Government to claim support for Inuit wellbeing. Improved self-determination should lead to higher educational and workplace achievement due to improved intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000); however, when compared to their white settler counterparts Inuit are less likely to have a completed high school or to attain a university degree, have higher unemployment rates, are less likely to maintain fulltime employment, are more likely to hold low-paying jobs (Wotherspoon, 2007). To compensate for these discrepancies the Canadian government has begun to help build Inuit human capital in the North (National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2006); the belief that Inuit need help boosting human capital to survive in a global economy fosters state dependence, which in turn proliferates education and labour inequities. Therefore, the interplay between mandated government structure and human capital inequity (and support to ostensibly erase it) highlights the nature of settler colonialism in modern public policy in the North. While settler colonialism’s assimilationist roots operate covertly in the above description, the following section will outline how assimilation into a Western society has blatantly destroyed Inuit diets, causing a shift away from traditional food sources in lieu of commercial alternatives.
Chapter 3

Inuit Nutrition in a Settler Colonial Nation

3.1 History of the Inuit Diet

The systemic destruction of traditional Inuit diets since first contact with European explorers in the 17th century embodies the settler colonial ideal to erase any cultural differences between the settler colonizers and settler colonized. Pre-colonial Inuit relied on local animals such as caribou, walrus and seal for nutrition; due to limited plant availability most animal food sources, including fat and skin, were eaten raw to preserve their essential vitamins and minerals necessary for survival in the north (Huteson, 2010). For the Inuit, these animals transcended basic nutrition with parts being used for cultural ceremonies and construction of hunting vehicles, tools and clothing (Huteson, 2010). Traditional foods continued to dominate Inuit diets after whalers introduced Western staples such as flour, tea and sugar (Bonesteel, 2006); crucially however, this juncture exposed the Inuit to treating food as a one-dimensional commodity. Thus, the whalers’ arrival and subsequent trade with the Inuit marked the beginning of settler colonialism’s influence on the north and deterioration of traditional Inuit diets.

Inuit diet continued to center primarily on traditional foods until the fur trade and HBC dominated northern economic activities. The fur trade led many Inuit hunters to abandon subsistence-based hunting in favour of fur- and wealth-driven endeavors, which ultimately forced Inuit families and communities to rely on HBC trading posts to supplement their diets (Bonesteel, 2006; Creery, 1993) and allowed the previously
established ‘food as a one-dimensional commodity’ concept to flourish. Inuit reliance on Western sources for food intensified upon the fur trade’s collapse and resultant economic void in the north, and lasted until the 1950s when they were forced to relocate to permanent settlements. During this time decreased consumption of meat-based traditional food and increased consumption of simple carbohydrates led to widespread malnourishment and famine (Bonesteel, 2006). Despite claims from the Canadian government that relocation would improve Inuit health, dietary inadequacies persisted through the 1970s and were manifested in rising rates of obesity and diabetes – a condition new to the Inuit (Bonesteel, 2006). As modern Inuit diets continue to evolve without eliminating calorie rich and nutrient poor dietary habits forcefully established during the 20th century, rates of chronic health problems among the Inuit will rise. These health trends demonstrate how subtly introduced concepts such as ‘food as a one-dimensional commodity’ can effectively erode a culture from within, and exemplify the settler colonial logic of elimination.

### 3.2 Evolution of the Modern Inuit Diet

When the Inuit began interacting with European settlers in the 17th Century, their diet underwent slight alterations but remained largely based on traditional food sources such as arctic char, caribou and seal. However, prolonged contact with settlers and increased assimilation into Western culture has caused many Inuit to reduce their consumption of traditional foods in lieu of commercialized market foods; a well documented phenomenon known as the nutrition transition (Egeland, Johnson-Down, Cao, Sheikh, & Weiler, 2011; Huet et al., 2012; Kuhnlein, Receveur, Soueida, &
Youth are particularly sensitive to developing a dependence on market foods: they are less likely than any other age group to consume traditional foods, and are most likely to purchase convenience foods high in fat, sodium and sugar (Chan et al., 2006; Egeland et al., 2011; Kuhnlein & Receveur, 2007). Despite having the strongest effect on the youngest generations, Western culture’s dietary influence is evident in every age group.

Since residential schools were introduced in the 1940s traditional food consumption has steadily declined and now accounts for 17-36% of Inuit nutrient intake (Kuhnlein et al., 2004). Inuit have replaced nutritious traditional food rich in vitamins A, D, E, B6 and B12, zinc, copper, magnesium, manganese, phosphorus, potassium, protein and unsaturated fatty acids with fatty, sodium- and sugar-filled alternatives (Hayek, Egeland, & Weiler, 2010; Holick, 2004; Kuhnlein, Barthet, et al., 2006; Kuhnlein & Receveur, 2007; Kuhnlein, Receveur, Soueida, & Berti, 2007; Kuhnlein et al., 2004; Nancarrow & Chan, 2010; Schaefer et al., 2011). Consequently, there is a high prevalence of Inuit reporting dietary intakes that contain insufficient levels of vitamin A, vitamin B6, vitamin D, vitamin E, fibre, zinc, magnesium, calcium, and folate (Boult, 2004; Egeland et al., 2011; Kuhnlein et al., 2007). A number of health concerns arise when this transition is combined with increasingly sedentary lifestyles adopted from Western culture (Kuhnlein & Receveur, 2007; Liu, Wade, Faught, & Hay, 2008).

Failure to meet required daily intake for the aforementioned essential vitamins and minerals has serious adverse health effects. For example, vitamin A deficiency is linked to reduced vision and impaired immune functioning. Additionally, when the
deficiency is experienced in utero, newborns will appear to have characteristics similar to fetal alcohol syndrome (Egeland, Berti, Soueida, Receveur, & Kuhnlein, 2004). Vitamin D deficiency impedes physical development during childhood preventing children from reaching full height and bone mass. It has also been shown to increase prevalence of hyperparathyroidism leading to early-onset osteoporosis; osteomalacia – a softening of bone tissue often misdiagnosed as fibromyalgia; rickets; and muscle weakness (Holick, 2004). Vitamin E deficiency is known to cause axonal damage resulting in ataxia, and reduce immune functioning (Traber & Stevens, 2011). Finally, folate deficiency has been shown to lead to fetal neural tube defects, and megaloblastic anemia (Borradale & Kimlin, 2012; Schaefer et al., 2011). These are a small sample of negative health effects caused by vitamin deficiencies, such as those present in Inuit diets.

While a focus on increasing consumption of nutrient-dense traditional foods could prevent aforementioned conditions from occurring, it would require widespread systemic changes. Traditional hunting methods are slowly fading due to Western culture’s appeal to Inuit youth to engage in wage-based employment in lieu of learning traditional means of economic sustainability (Ford & Beaumier, 2011). This cultural shift is a testament to settler colonialism’s ongoing impact on Inuit culture and contributes to the escalating issue of food insecurity in Nunavut.

3.3 Household Food Insecurity in Nunavut

Food security has been defined as existing “…when all people, at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agriculture
Organization of the United Nations, 2009). It has been recognized as a fundamental determinant of health (Canadian Institute for Health Information & Statistics Canada, 2009; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2009) which can be decomposed into four pillars – availability, access, utilization and stability – to assist in progressive policy development (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2006); a description of each pillar can be found in Appendix A.

In the 2011 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS), Health Canada (Tarasuk et al., 2013) collected self-reported household data regarding food access, availability and utilization.\(^\text{10}\) They operationalized ‘household food insecurity’ to occur when financial circumstances caused at least one member of a household to: eat less than their desired amount and type of food, worry about running out of food, or not have enough to eat at least once in the past year. The 2011 CCHS reported Nunavut’s household food insecurity rate to be 36.4%, approximately three times the national average of 12.3% (Tarasuk et al., 2013) (refer to Table 1). There are a number of factors that contribute to Nunavut’s remarkably high incidence of food insecurity.

\(^{10}\) Data was collected using the Household Food Security Survey Module (Health Canada, 2007a).
Table 1. Current Population Statistics for Nunavut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Characteristics</th>
<th>Nunavut</th>
<th>Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population¹</td>
<td>33,697</td>
<td>34,880,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males (%)</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females (%)</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age (years)</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 0 to 14 (%)</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 15 to 64 (%)</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 65 and over (%)</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal (%)²</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth (years)³</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>81.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude birth rate (per 1,000 population)⁴</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)⁵</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-adjusted mortality rate (per 100,000 population)⁶</td>
<td>1165.0</td>
<td>515.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-adjusted suicide rate (per 100,000 population)⁶</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Numeracy (% level 3 or above)⁷</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult English literacy (% level 3 or above)⁸</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Indicators⁹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily smoker (%)</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High blood pressure (%)</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overweight or obese (BMI ≥ 25) (%)</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit and vegetable consumption * (%)</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure households (%)¹⁰</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median income (CAD $)¹¹</td>
<td>27,840</td>
<td>29,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate (%)¹²,¹³</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (%)¹³,¹⁴</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. Level 3 is considered to be the minimum level to function well in Canadian society
2. Five or more times per day regardless of quantity

Sources:
2. Statistics Canada. (2012). Table 109-0300 - Census indicator profile, Canada,
provinces, territories, health regions (2011 boundaries) and peer groups, every 5 years, CANSIM (database). Accessed November 1, 2012.


Due to their remoteness Nunavut communities rely heavily on air transport to import food year-round, causing food prices to be higher than most other parts of Canada. For example, in 2008 a nutritious food basket in Nunavut cost $551, over twice as much as it did in Quebec ($238) (Ford & Beaumier, 2011). Since 2008, food prices have reached record highs prompting social unrest and protests among Nunavummiut\(^\text{11}\) as they struggle to feed their families (Weber, 2012). These issues are exacerbated by socioeconomic factors such as Nunavut’s low median income and high unemployment rate (refer to Table 1); both of which have been linked to elevated risk of food insecurity (Ledrou & Gervais, 2005). Living in a food insecure household increases the risk of developing chronic health conditions such as hypertension (Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2010) and Type II Diabetes (Seligman, Bindman, Vittinghoff, Kanaya, & Kushel, 2007).

Households in Nunavut cope with food shortages by increasing traditional food consumption – usually obtained through family sharing networks – to make up for the absence of market foods. However, traditional food supplementation is becoming a less viable option to manage food insecurity because of loss of traditional hunting and fishing skills and lack of time due to paid employment; the impact of climate change on the availability and accessibility of traditional food; environmental contamination of traditional food supplies; the high cost of harvesting traditional food; and disincentives to harvesting that are features of social assistance programs (Power, 1996).

\(^{11}\)Nunavut citizens
3.3.1 Climate Change Reduces Traditional Food Availability

There is growing consensus that global warming has already caused irreversible climate change and societies must learn to adapt if they wish to survive (Furgal & Seguin, 2006; Parry, Palutikof, Hanson, & Lowe, 2008). Nunavut communities are especially sensitive to climate change due to their reliance on the environment for sustenance (Ford, Berrang-Ford, King, & Furgal, 2010). Their sensitivity to climate change is amplified when their location around the North pole is considered; this area has, and will continue to change more rapidly than anywhere else in the world (Nancarrow & Chan, 2010). For example, rising temperatures in the Arctic Ocean in recent years have caused sea ice to become thinner and less expansive, and increasing land temperatures have caused rivers to begin to dry (Lenton, 2012). Rising land and water temperatures are creating an economic burden for traditional food suppliers. During the summer months local fisheries must find a way to overcome changing marine habitats and drying rivers to maintain a consistent product yield (Nancarrow & Chan, 2010). Winter storms are more severe and frequent, resulting in altered migratory habits of traditional game species. Hunters must now travel farther and hunt for longer to cover rising overhead costs associated with equipment maintenance, gas, and hunting supplies, all of which contribute to inflation in the traditional food market (Beaumier & Ford, 2010; Ford & Beaumier, 2011).

Furthermore, the animals being caught are exhibiting signs of deteriorated health. Inuit elders have noticed more physical deformities, decreased size, increased contamination from pollutants, and odd tasting and smelling meat (Lambden, Receveur, Marshall, & Kuhnlein, 2006; Nancarrow & Chan, 2010; Rosol et al., 2011).
Humans are also susceptible to negative health effects from climate change. Increased summer temperatures will lead to a rise in respiratory ailments in elderly due to more airborne dust (Furgal & Seguin, 2006). Rates of infectious disease such as Salmonella and Escherichia coli will rise as safe food handling practices are redefined (Ford et al., 2010; Patz, Campbell-Lendrum, Holloway, & Foley, 2005). Higher frequency and intensity of severe weather events will disrupt traditional ecosystems and restrict harvest seasons, possibly increasing the already poor nutritional status of people in the north (Costello et al., 2009). Additionally, there is growing concern that contaminants – such as organic pollutants, heavy metals, and radio nuclides – carried north on wind and ocean currents could be reaching toxic levels in fatty marine tissue (Healey & Meadows, 2007), thus, eliminating them as a viable source of nutrition.

3.4 Current Initiatives Support National Neoracism

The decline of traditional food has caused Nunavummiut to rely heavily on market foods – a difficult task for those with low income. The recent shift to Western economics has left a number of Nunavummiut families without proper knowledge or skills to effectively create and follow a budget while shopping for market foods (Beaumier & Ford, 2010; Ford & Beaumier, 2011). Inuit families represent the majority of those who struggle with budgeting skills due to low literacy rates (refer to Table 1), making the knowledge gap a testament to education inequities maintained by settler colonial policies. Attempts to improve dietary behaviors of Nunavummiut have centered
initiatives on market foods – specifically, increased fruit and vegetable consumption\textsuperscript{12} – as a major source of dietary intake. For example, \textit{Canada’s Food Guide: First Nations, Inuit and Métis} was developed by Health Canada (2007a) to educate Canadian Indigenous peoples on healthy market foods that can be used to substitute for traditional foods when they are not available. \textit{Healthy Foods North} (Sharma, 2010) aimed to address high rates of chronic disease by using a labeling system within supermarkets to indicate healthy foods. Finally, the \textit{Nunavut Food Guide} (Government of Nunavut, 2011) was redeveloped with community input in an attempt to create culturally relevant educational resources that address knowledge gaps surrounding market food.

The above initiatives are manifestations of settler colonial economic and political activities. Each program attempts to help Nunavummiut – particularly the Inuit – survive within a system that has spawned food insecurity and poverty through institutionalized employment and educational inequities. Initiatives such as these exacerbate neoracism within the Anglo-Canadian population by instilling racial apathy, which is the:

\begin{quote}
... socially produced ignorance or ‘mis-cognition’ that allows people to claim they are nice and have good values, while actively dis-engaging or de-racing their lives to make their physical and mental surroundings into white places that at best maintain the status quo of racial inequality, and at worst exacerbate it. (Garner, 2010, p. 140)
\end{quote}

Racial apathy naturalizes residential segregation and enables the white-settler society to attribute racial inequalities to location and the Inuit’s desire to live with their people in their homeland (Garner, 2010). Racial naturalization reinforces Othering and the “North versus South” mindset, especially when the above initiatives are publicized alongside

\textsuperscript{12} Only 1 in 5 Nunavummiut consume adequate amounts of fruits and vegetables daily (refer to Table 1).
reports of Inuit strife over high food prices (Weber, 2012). Therefore, the media’s role in naturalizing racial apathy must not be overlooked due to their position as information propagators.

3.5 National Media Sets the Agenda

The majority of Canadians rely on national media outlets for information regarding Nunavut affairs, effectively granting media outlets the power to determine what views of the Arctic, Nunavut and the Inuit the populace receives. This relationship exemplifies McCombs and Shaw's (1972) ‘agenda-setting’ theory which contends public mass media does not necessarily tell people what to think, rather, they influence what people think about by selectively reporting social events. By selectively reporting events journalists systematically determine what events are socially important (Hjarvard, 2012), thereby breeding a societal outlook based largely on subjective news values (Palmer, 2000).

Journalists utilize three components of agenda-setting theory – agenda, framing and priming – to influence their audience’s perception of an issue. The agenda is a selection of hierarchized issues usually influenced by the media’s biases and news values that have been historically embedded (Hjarvard, 2012); for example, choosing to report Nunavut food insecurity as a function of high food costs shifts the focus from systemic issues linked to poverty and places the blame on corporations responsible for setting the prices. Framing, commonly referred to as ‘spin’, refers to selectively reporting aspects of an issue to promote a specific definition, interpretation or moral evaluation of the issue (Weiss, 2009); for example, reporting Nunavut food insecurity issues while ignoring
local initiatives frames Nunavummiut as helpless and unable to solve their own problems. Finally, priming involves repeatedly presenting an issue in the same frame to instill a desired attitude in the audience (Weiss, 2009); for example, consistently framing the Inuit as helpless will foster neoracism and racial apathy, and allow Southern Canadians to cognitively distance themselves from the situation by reinforcing colonialist cultural boundaries. Since news is a social construction of reality, examining Canadian national media coverage of Nunavut food insecurity can help explain how neoracism has caused racial apathy toward Nunavut health concerns in a ‘decolonized’ Canadian society.

### 3.6 Purpose

The purpose of this study was to analyze the national discourse surrounding Nunavut food insecurity as a function of socially constructed neoracist ideologies. In doing so, a critical discourse analysis was used to address Canadian national media’s contribution to institutionalized Othering and the maintenance of a racially apathetic settler colonial state.
Chapter 4

Methodology & Design

This chapter discusses this study’s methodological background and design. I briefly conceptualize how I understood discourse during my research, and outline Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the theoretical framework that I used to examine Nunavut food insecurity discourse; my research plan described in terms of CDA is also included. Once my research plan is established, I describe my study’s design that highlights my sampling strategy and resultant discursive themes.

4.1 Methodology: Discourse Analysis

4.1.1 Defining ‘discourse’

The construct of ‘discourse’ has been used in a variety of sociological frameworks, each with a slightly different perspective regarding how language and its uses should be categorized. However, despite their differences, most are centered around Michel Foucault’s explanation of discourse (Schrøder, 2012) as a group of statements that can be ordered with an observable sense of linearity and hierarchy (Foucault, 1972). Collectively known as a discursive formation, included statements are not required to be grammatically correct; rather they must link a subject to its referent, coexist with other statements in an “associated field”, possess a means of expression and participate in challenge and struggle. Each discursive formation is bound by its own “rules of formation” that determine which, if any, discourse they contribute to (Foucault, 1972). These rules can be based on a statement’s topic, context, theme or concept, and form the
necessary divisions between discourses. While formative rules are required to establish separate discourses, Foucault (1972) ultimately argues a discourse is not merely a group of signs, but a practice that creates the social realities it is situated in.

Control of these discursive realities is often viewed as a function of social power and dominance, and media text has emerged as a crucial site of struggle for its control (Fairclough, 1995; Schroder, 2012; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). According to van Dijk (1993), social elites (that is, those with economic and political clout) are able to maintain dominance due to their control over media access. They are able to manipulate and persuade their audience by applying their own discursive strategies and social representations of the subjugated, which ultimately allows the elite to maintain social hierarchy. For van Dijk (1993), such discursive control is a manifestation of modern power, which uses text to manage others’ thoughts in order to serve the dominant group’s own interests. Therefore, since media text has emerged as an active site of discursive negotiation and social struggle (Fairclough, 1995), it must be included in a discourse analysis model used to dissect social structure and power distribution as a means of maintaining social hierarchies.

4.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Any given discourse can be analyzed using one of a variety of methodologies, with each designed to lend a slightly different perspective to the issue. However, dissimilarities aside, Wodak and Meyer (2009) suggest all discourse analysis techniques share seven basic characteristics:

1. They study natural forms of language as spoken by its users;
2. They are concerned with larger units such as full text and conversations instead of individual words or sentences;
3. They go beyond basic grammar to examine interactions within dialogue;
4. They include non-verbal interactions (such as film and pictures);
5. They focus on dynamic strategies for dialogical interaction;
6. They study the functions of language use context;
7. They analyze text and language use phenomena (such as tone, argumentation, and rhetoric).

In addition to the above criteria Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) adopts a problem-oriented and multidisciplinary approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This aspect of CDA defines the methodology as a form of discourse analysis primarily concerned with complex social phenomena embedded in text. It is not concerned with statements as individual linguistic units, but rather how they interact with each other to form social contexts that impact society on a daily basis.

Similar to the Foucauldian belief that discourses create their own social realities, CDA contends discursive events produce and reproduce the social structures to which they belong (Schröder, 2012). It considers discourse to be a social practice that contributes to and maintains the status quo. These social structures produce and reproduce power inequalities and dominative practices, and control access to discursive participation (van Dijk, 1993). To demonstrate this, consider the social elite’s control of traditional media access: by controlling media access (an institutionalized social structure) the social elite are able to impose their own social representations of the
subjugated groups (a dominative practice) and determine whose voices are heard (discursive participation), which ultimately reinforces the elites’ position atop the social hierarchy (reproduces power). For example as Anderson & Robertson (2011) demonstrate, Canadian elite used newspapers as a vessel to propagate racist stereotypes of Aboriginals throughout the 20th century. Doing so primed their readers to inherit colonial presuppositions of indigenous Otherness and inferiority, which ultimately allowed Canadians to justify inequitable treaties and Indian residential schools as necessary steps for the betterment of the nation (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). The above example demonstrates CDA’s congruence with Foucauldian discourse as it applies to this study’s stated purpose of analyzing the Nunavut food insecurity discourse; however, in order to effectively apply CDA to texts, media discourse must first be broken down into its components.

Fairclough (1995) decomposed CDA to two main focuses: the order of discourse and communicative events. For Fairclough, order of discourse is concerned with how media is structured by its various genres13 and discourses, and how various orders interact to form stable discourses. Communicative events focus on media use and are categorized as either text, discourse practice or sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). First, a text is a are written or oral use of language such as an article, radio broadcast or speech, and is analyzed structurally to reveal information regarding textual meanings and forms. Second, discourse practices involve the processes of text production and

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13 Language use as part of a specific cultural practice such as an interview (Fairclough, 1995).
consumption, and are analyzed intertextually to uncover influential genres and discourses. Finally, sociocultural practices refer to the situation the event is a part of, and analysis considers immediate social context, institutional structure and sociocultural contexts. In this study I have focused analysis on text as communicative events (Fairclough, 1995) and, following to Wodak & Meyer's (2009) definition of CDA, have offered my interpretation of how the texts interact to create social phenomena.

4.1.3 Research Plan Based on Critical Discourse Analysis

The following is an outline of CDA as it pertains to this study. It will provide rationale for the research problem, questions, material choice and analysis.

4.1.3.1 Research problem

This study focuses on the national perception of Nunavut food insecurity as a by-product of socially constructed neoracist ideologies, which Canadian mass media reproduces and maintains.

4.1.3.2 Research question

Due to CDA’s view of language as a social practice which contributes to, and is influenced by its environment’s social structure (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), language use was the focus of the study. Specifically, I was interested in the ways which discursive practices regarding Nunavut food insecurity reflect and reproduce dominant discourse. I hoped to show how discourse surrounding Nunavut food insecurity is socially embedded. Therefore, it follows that my research questions are:
1. How has Nunavut food insecurity been portrayed in Canadian national newspapers; and
2. To what capacity are colonialism and neoracism present in the Nunavut food insecurity discourse?

4.1.3.3 Research material

As stated above, I consider Canadian mass media to be a key social actor in the Nunavut food insecurity discourse: their control over discursive participation grants Canadian media outlets extensive ‘modern’ power (van Dijk, 1993), which thereby allows them to influence discursive practices and social representations presented to Canadians. Thus, I have chosen to review Canadian print media to address my research questions. I chose print rather than television media since it can reach those without access to televisions or computers. As I previously outlined, the social elite hold disproportionate discursive power and often determine a discourse’s direction; therefore, I focused primarily on newspaper articles published in two of Canada’s most widespread news outlets that cater to the relatively high-educated (social elite): The Globe & Mail and National Post. Both sources were readily accessible through Factiva, a news-based database available through Queen’s University Libraries with articles dating to 1977.
4.1.3.4 Text analysis

Analysis of The Globe & Mail and National Post newspaper articles focused on the text as a communicative event (Fairclough, 1995), and I adopted van Dijk's (1993) perspective in order to address both research problems. This view holds that social phenomena are semantically constructed, therefore, the following textual components of statements were considered:

1. Argumentation – is the evaluation based in fact;
2. Lexical style – how the word choice frames the evaluation;
3. Rhetoric – use of hyperbole to enhance position of ‘The Other’;
4. Narrative use – providing plausible details as being personally experienced;
5. Structural components – properties of text that emphasize an emotion or stance; and

4.2 Study Design

For my study I utilized a CDA approach to address the Canadian national print media’s portrayal of Nunavut food insecurity, and the extent to which colonialism and neoracism are present in the discourse. I employed a purposive sampling strategy (Palys, 2008) to select 24 newspaper articles containing information relevant to the research problem (refer to section 5.1.3.1). The articles were then subjected to a detailed analysis and the following questions were put to the text to address van Dijk’s (1993) previously outlined criteria:
1. How does the text rationalize its evaluation of Nunavut food insecurity?

2. What does the word choice imply about the article subject’s, writer’s and audience’s social positions?

3. How are literary devices such as metaphors, euphemisms and hyperboles used to present – or manufacture – Nunavut food insecurity for its readers? How does this social representation influence the Nunavut discourse?

4. How are narratives used to provide or hide details of Nunavut food insecurity and its related social conditions?

5. How do the story’s structural orders influence social representations of Nunavummiut and Nunavut food insecurity?

6. Why are specific sources used where they are? Why were they granted access to discursive participation? And how do they contribute to the Nunavut food insecurity discourse?

These questions were used to develop a deeper understanding of the text so I could accurately group the text into base codes, which were subsequently used to identify themes present in the text. The themes allowed me to iterate an explanation behind the national media’s representation of Nunavut food insecurity, and how it is embedded in a legacy of colonialism and more recently neoracism.
4.2.1 Data Source

As previously described (refer to section 5.1.3.3), Canadian national media are core discursive participants due to their role as gatekeepers to discursive participation. Therefore, I have focused my study on newspaper articles published by two of Canada’s most popular publications: The Globe & Mail and National Post. Articles were accessed using Factiva – an online news-based archive accessible through Queen’s University Libraries – and filtered using the criteria outlined below to arrive at a reasonable study sample.

4.2.2 Sampling

I selected the articles for the study sample by applying three rounds of exclusion criteria to the data. The first round selected articles based on their publication date and source. I included articles if they contained the word ‘Nunavut’ in any context and were published by either The Globe & Mail or National Post between April 1, 1999\(^{14}\) and September 1, 2013. The second round applied two additional content criteria to narrow the sample. I included articles if they contained one of two sets of terms: ‘food’ and ‘security’/‘insecurity’\(^{15}\); or ‘health’ and ‘nutrition’\(^{16}\). Finally, the third round excluded any remaining article without a focus on Nunavut. The application of these exclusion criteria will be explained in detail below.

\(^{14}\) Recognized as the first official date of Nunavut’s separation from the Northwest Territories.
\(^{15}\) Food security and food insecurity are often used interchangeably in the literature; therefore, both terms were included to ensure no pertinent information was missed.
\(^{16}\) Poor health and nutrition are adverse effects of food insecurity; therefore, coverage of these issues could add valuable insight to the Nunavut food insecurity discourse.
4.2.2.1 The primary sample

The primary sample included all articles published between April 1, 1999 and September 1, 2013 by The Globe & Mail and National Post containing the term ‘Nunavut’ in any capacity throughout the entire article; I chose not to restrict the search to headlines or opening paragraphs since an item’s position within the body of text contributes to its discursive meaning. This first sample contained 4,478 articles – 2,804 from The Globe & Mail and 1,674 from National Post – with more articles published per year toward the end of the sample period (refer to Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Globe & Mail and National Post articles containing "Nunavut" published between April 1999 and September 2013.
4.2.2.2 The secondary sample

To narrow the sample field from 4,478 articles, I added two separate sets of search terms to the original inclusion criteria used in the primary sample. Since my main goal was to formulate a discursive analysis surrounding Nunavut food insecurity, the initial set of search terms listed articles with any combination of ‘Nunavut’, ‘food’ and either ‘security’ or ‘insecurity’. This set of articles was supplemented by a separate search for articles containing ‘Nunavut’, ‘health’ and ‘nutrition’. The initial set of search terms yielded 30 unique articles – 19 from The Globe and Mail and 11 from National Post – while the supplemental search yielded 19 unique articles – 16 from The Globe and Mail and 3 from National Post – for a total of 49 unique articles with no articles appearing under both sets of search terms. Similar to the primary sample, article publication increased in the latter half of the sample period (refer to Figure 2).
Figure 2. *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post* articles containing either set of search terms published between April 1999 and September 2013.

These 49 articles comprising the secondary sample were given superficial codes to gather structural information about the text including: the set of search terms it falls under, date, headline, author, word count, section it was published in, does the article focus on Nunavut, is there reference to hunger or poverty, is there reference to an existing Nunavut health promotion policy/initiative, and are individuals interviewed and if so, what position do they hold that makes them an authority on the article’s subject matter (for detailed information regarding the articles’ superficial coding refer to Appendix B).
4.2.2.3 The study sample

Once the secondary sample was appropriately coded any article without a primary focus on Nunavut was removed from the sample. The resultant study sample contained 24 articles – 19 published in *The Globe and Mail* and 5 in *National Post* – with majority of the articles published in the latter half of the sample period (refer to Figure 3).

![Figure 3. The Globe & Mail and National Post articles containing either set of search terms and a primary focus on Nunavut published between April 1999 and September 2013.](image)

The remaining 24 articles (herein referred to as ‘the study sample’) were subjected to in-depth analysis to uncover textual themes. First, I created a broad order to the discursive statements by labeling each with a descriptive code to summarize its meaning. For
example, the statement, “A head of cabbage for $20. Fifteen bucks for a small bag of apples,” (Weber, 2012) was given the descriptive code “food prices”; I repeated this process until each statement was represented by a descriptive code. Once each statement had been coded, I used the codes to sort the discursive statements into 6 themes, which were subsequently grouped into two thematic clusters. The clusters and corresponding themes are as follows:

1. Federal Involvement in the Arctic
   i. Global warming
   ii. Canadian ownership of the north
   iii. Northern development
   iv. Federal government’s role in Nunavut affairs

2. Social inequities
   i. Social determinants of health
   ii. Food insecurity

Further analysis revealed these two clusters could be categorized under “South versus North” and “blame” discourses, which will be explained in detail with explicit textual evidence in the following chapter.
Chapter 5

Results & Analysis

Analysis revealed Federal involvement in the Arctic and social inequities as two overarching themes present in the text. Both themes appeared to have a common segregationist subtext to reinforce the distinct differences between Southern Canada (the 10 provinces) and Nunavut. For example, when discussing the Canadian government’s involvement in the Arctic, writers often present the Government’s position as necessary intervention to support a floundering civil State. Social inequalities are often presented as population health statistics followed by an iteration of the phrase, ‘worse than anywhere else in Canada’; furthermore, such information is rarely supplemented with current public health efforts to address the issue. Finally, the media’s inconsistent portrayal of the Inuit effectively creates a vague depiction of their culture, while simultaneously casting white-settlers as a ‘hero to the North’. However, regardless of their focus all authors used a combination of argumentation, style, rhetoric, narratives, structural components and credible support (van Dijk, 1993) to construct their stories and frame Arctic issues in a manner that best suits their needs.

5.1 Federal Involvement in the Arctic

Discourse including the Canadian government’s involvement in the Arctic can be grouped into four categories: global warming, Canadian ownership of the North, Northern development and Federal involvement in Nunavut’s territorial affairs. While these articles do not directly discuss Nunavut food insecurity, they provide subtly discuss
Inuit socioeconomic status and food access, and begin to construct two cultural motifs – ‘Inuit as helpless’ and ‘Government as hero’ – that explicit food insecurity discussions rely on.

5.1.1 Global Warming

In this sample of articles from National Post and The Globe & Mail, global warming was constructed as an issue primarily associated with rising sea levels which affects animal life, human safety and economic activity in the Arctic. Discussion of environmental changes were laden with statistics to stress the issue’s magnitude and allow the audience to make a meaningful evaluation of the content (Randolph & Edmondson, 2005) As Hirst et al. (2007) explain, “Snow cover has declined about 10 per cent over the past 30 years,” while, “Arctic precipitation has increased by about 8% on average over the past century.” Additionally Arctic sea ice is noted to have “decreased by 15 to 20 per cent in the past 30 years” (Hirst et al., 2007). These changes to the Arctic watershed are negatively impacting native marine species as “the iconic polar bears, seals, walruses and some marine birds are likely to decline, with some facing extinction” (Hirst et al., 2007).

As previously described, the Inuit rely on traditional animal species to supplement their diet, however, “access to these species is likely to be seriously impeded by climate warming. Health concerns include an increased accident rate because of environmental changes” (Hirst et al., 2007). As Weber (2012) describes, access to traditional food is compounded when hunting costs are considered, “‘country food’ ... is there for the taking,
but only if people can afford the snowmobiles, gas, rifles, ammunition and gear needed to travel safely”.

Climate change’s impact on Arctic life and Inuit subsistence is often overshadowed by the looming threat of international trade disputes and how Canada’s Northern presence (or lack thereof) will be affected, “The warming of the Far North raises security and sovereignty concerns, along with an opening of the Northwest Passage” (Hirst et al., 2007). Such discussions actively downplay climate change’s impact on Nunavummiut and frame climate change as a global economic issue, opposed to one of Canadian public health. Writers position scientific research as a main priority moving forward:

When the warming trend in the Western Arctic opens a viable summer shipping route through the Arctic archipelago... international marine law says this route will be an international strait, linking two oceans and thus owned by no country. Without a significant research presence or scientific understanding of the region, experts say Canada’s desire to make the rules for passing ships will be ignored. (Brean, 2003)

Brean ignores the impacts on Nunavummiut and scoffs at their living conditions when he describes eating “a bad, deep-fried meal in a Nunavut restaurant [that] costs $25” (2003). This comment captures the elitist Southern attitude prevalent throughout the Nunavut discourse: it demeans Northern living conditions, fails to explain how a shipping route will affect Nunavummiut wellbeing and frames Northern issues as primarily concerned with a changing global economic landscape and its impact on Southern economic interests. Media correspondents expand this sentiment when they discuss measures required to ensure Canadian Arctic sovereignty in the near future.
5.1.2 Canadian Arctic Sovereignty

Articles in *National Post* and *The Globe & Mail* discuss Inuit involvement in Arctic sovereignty by establishing their role in Canada’s scientific and military Northern expansion. Writers in these newspapers frame the Canadian Arctic as an individual entity and acknowledge “Canada’s greatest claim to sovereignty in the North is the presence of the Inuit...” (Stackhouse, 2011) and that, “Only 1% of the population lives [in the high Arctic], some of whom have been strategically placed for sovereignty purposes” (Brean, 2003). Brean’s statement frames the modern Inuit-Settler dyad by positioning the Inuit as a tool to retaining Arctic sovereignty opposed to a collaborative partner. Mary Simon, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), argues against this perception of the Inuit and emphasizes the need for collaboration on Northern ventures, “We take pride in being both Inuit and Canadians, and believe that the federal government should try to work in close partnership with us, not around us” (Diemert & Simon, 2007). Collaborative efforts to maintain Canadian Arctic sovereignty – such as those called for by Ms. Simon – are most reported alongside stories of scientific expansion and restoration.

Writers recognize cooperation with the Inuit as a key component to successfully restore Canada’s Northern research presence and effectively utilize tone to construct an image of a quasi-equal relationship between the Settlers and Inuit. Arctic researchers rely on the Inuit’s help to cope with high operating costs and reduced federal research budgets, therefore, “The new ideal [is to] use locals as observers and repositories of information and for researchers to live and work in the Arctic in collaboration with the Inuit” (Brean, 2003). The resultant partnerships are depicted as being mutually beneficial
as researchers are able to conduct their investigations while Inuit research assistants, “not only learned about their past, but they also learned other necessities to advance their education: math, mapping, etc.” (Brean, 2003). Such collaborations simultaneously build Inuit human capital and contribute to Canada’s Arctic research presence, which NSERC and SSHRC state is “an essential assertion of our sovereignty” (cited in Brean, 2003). This representation of the modern Inuit-Settler dyad exemplifies Veracini's (2011) assertion that colonizer-colonized relationships in a settler colonial society will never be equal. The most privileged Inuit will always be viewed as the colonized people and have certain rights refused to them. Despite strengthening Inuit education and research capacity, writers ignore the Inuit’s intellectual capabilities by limiting reports on Inuit-led research, which reinforces their supposed inferiority and constructs an image of a state-dependent population. Writers continue to construct Inuit inferiority during discussions of Canada’s Arctic military advancement.

Writers discuss Canada’s Arctic military expansion with a tone of arrogance and superiority. Opposed to scientific efforts reliant on intercultural collaboration, Canadian military expansion retains its colonial background and progresses with limited input from the Inuit; however, the Canadian government has veiled this behind training opportunities for Inuit with the Canadian Rangers. As Wingrove (2013) explains, Prime Minister Harper’s northern rhetoric originally “revolved around the Canadian Forces, with talk of off-shore patrol ships, ice breakers, a new port and defending Canadian skies,” but the discourse has recently began to include training opportunities for the Inuit, and plans to, “expand the operations of the Canadian Rangers, Canada’s Arctic reserve force, and a
new training centre is set to open in Nunavut this year” (Wingrove, 2013). Writers originally described the Rangers as “a motley band of Inuit reservists, who last year made a patrol to the magnetic North Pole... planted a flag, had a celebratory satellite phone conversation with the Prime Minister, then left” (Brean, 2003). Such use of Inuit as a gimmick to generate public relations opportunities demeans their role in fortifying Canada’s claim to the Arctic. However, national media has begun to change its depiction of the Arctic Rangers; writers now acknowledge their importance for Arctic sovereignty and claim, “Any effort to assert Arctic sovereignty and security, including over the Northwest Passage, has to begin with a recognition of the critical role aboriginal people, and the Canadian Rangers, have played” (Stackhouse, 2011).

This discourse omits whether the Inuit’s increased role with the Canadian Rangers will address the challenges facing their culture such as adapting to climate change and restoration of traditional food supplies. Specifically, it is unclear if such training opportunities highlighted by Wingrove will address Ms. Simon’s call for the Rangers “to be expanded so as to give the program more overt sustainable development functions as well as a core military one... functions such as environmental monitoring, support for hunters, and bringing country food back to communities...” (Diemert & Simon, 2007). Without evidence of culturally appropriate training for the Canadian Rangers, the Inuit remain cast as a tool – rather than an active partner – manipulated by the Government to achieve Canadian Arctic sovereignty. This relationship between the federal government and the Inuit is similar to the 1940s, when Inuit were forcefully relocated and selectively employed at military encampments in an effort to protect the North during the Cold War.
Similar colonial undertones remain when contemporary writers discuss the development of Canada’s Arctic territory in the 21st century.

5.1.3 Northern Economic Development

As The Globe & Mail and National Post writers discuss Canada’s Arctic development it is apparent that economic expansion is a primary objective – much like it was during whaling and the fur trade throughout the 18th to early 20th centuries (as described in Chapter 3). Writers frame climate change as a “resource bonanza” and explain that reduced ice coverage will allow, “marine access to some natural resources including offshore oil and gas and minerals to increase” (Hirst et al., 2007). However, “under its current territorial jurisdiction, Nunavut has little control over resources sitting under Crown land” (White, 2011). Similar to colonial-era interactions, the modern dyad is influenced by a perceived international race to Northern economic opportunities with limited financial returns granted to the Inuit.

Authors reinforce the Inuit’s position as state-dependent by comparing Inuit-based ventures to foreign and federal investments. Inuit are cast as incapable and unskilled and their endeavors are arrogant posed as, “great community projects, but not at all economically sustainable” (Paperny, 2012). Paperny (2012) further develops the impression of Inuit ineptitude by quoting Nunavut officials saying they, “can’t picture a local greenhouse paying for itself,” and that a similar project, “has sat idle for the past 20 years... it’s used for cold storage if at all.” In contrast, foreign investors are portrayed as saviors, “There was another kind of hope to be found... staff from the French nuclear-power giant Areva had held a community meeting to tell the locals about the benefits of a
uranium development” (White, 2011); and the Canadian government is cast as dutiful, “the government created the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor). The push was coming from the top” (Wingrove, 2013). Unlike The Globe & Mail and National Post writers who criticize current strategies and omit a potential solution, ITK President Mary Simon proposes how a single ‘push from the top’ can be multi-purposed:

An Arctic based commercial fishing fleet, with appropriate port and harbor infrastructure, could bolster Canadian use of Arctic waters while creating stronger communities and badly needed jobs for Inuit... [additionally it] would both enhance sovereignty at a practical level and show good faith in honouring land claims rights. (Diemert & Simon, 2007)

Undoubtedly, Simon’s integrated solution would simultaneously strengthen economic infrastructure, Canadian sovereignty claims and Inuit-Government relations –all of which have been identified as pressing Arctic issues. However, the current discourse appears determined to undermine Inuit-proposed grassroots solutions – such as northern greenhouses – in favour of the top-down Federal approach that has existed for centuries.

5.1.4 Federal Involvement in Nunavut Affairs

The Canadian government’s role in Nunavut affairs is primarily framed in fiscal terms with some attention given to the Government’s legal responsibility to care for Nunavut. The Globe & Mail and National Post writers use monetary figures in an attempt to illustrate Nunavut, and by extension the Inuit, as a financial liability. For example, Patrick White (2011) explains, “90 per cent of the territorial budget comes from Ottawa, which works out to about $32,000 for every Nunavummiuq.” Additionally White (2011) states, “Ottawa pledged $4.2 million over two years to hire judges and prosecutors”;

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“Nunavut... generates 7 per cent of its revenue internally. The rest – $1.1-billion or roughly $33,000 per capita – comes from Ottawa”. He also wrote, “Already owing $140-billion, the territory has little room to borrow or sell bonds to erase the shortfall, especially with an ever-growing list of badly needed infrastructure projects it can’t afford.” Furthermore, writers include costs associated with federally designed and implemented policies aimed at improving Nunavut health, “$60-million per year for Nutrition North... new time frame could add as much as $1-million per month to the program’s cost” (Windeyer, 2011), and, “Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq insisted that the Conservatives had committed $285-million over two years toward improving aboriginal health...” (White, 2010a). These figures construct the Inuit as state-dependents who fail to efficiently manage their own finances – most of which comes from Canadian tax dollars – and incur additional costs to tax payers due to improperly planned federal programing.

The Canadian government’s role in Nunavut territorial affairs extends beyond that of a financial safeguard and includes a legal obligation to provide basic services; which allows discourse to begin to shift away from the ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif to highlight the federal government’s failure to adequately address Nunavut’s current issues. For example, John Stackhouse (2011) explicitly states Canada has a responsibility “to ensure a minimum standard of self-governance exists, and that residents of the North can experience a quality of life that is at least comparable to that in the South,” yet paradoxically, “The government does provide northern living allowances, but only to those who are employed” (Stackhouse, 2011). Despite responsibility to adhere to its
treaties, ITK President Mary Simon claims the Canadian government refuses to honour mandated funding agreements that would boost economic infrastructure, “The Inuit of Nunavut negotiated the creation of a Nunavut Marine Council in Article 15 of the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; unfortunately the federal government refuses to fund the council” (Diemert & Simon, 2007). Furthermore, Patrick White (2010) highlights the 2010 G8 Summit where “Prime Minister Stephen Harper has spoken passionately about his desire to improve the lot of women and children in poor nations, but critics say there is a desperate maternal plight right here, in his own country [in the North].” White supports the critics as he immediately cites Shirley Tagalik, a member of a Nunavut health committee, “ ‘I don’t deny that other countries need help, but don’t they know what’s going on up here in their own backyard? We can’t take care of our mothers and we need help’ ” (White, 2010a).

These scenarios do not abolish the image of Inuit as state-dependent, rather they begin to contextualize why they remain reliant on the government for assistance.

Selectively funding only the employed is reminiscent of selective-employment at military encampments (as described in Section 3.1) used to provoke Inuit self-Othering: it deepens the divide between upper and lower class in the North and punishes individuals for being unable to find employment. Despite claiming, “We also have no history of colonialism” (Harper cited in Ljunggren, 2009), Prime Minister Harper’s prioritization of foreign health issues and refusal to honour Inuit treaties has segregated the North, reinforced the cultural hierarchy established during colonization and reduced the North to a recoverable economic resource. Compartmentalizing the nation and maintaining archaic
hierarchies founded on racist imperial ideologies can contribute to the current social inequalities described in *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post*.

### 5.2 Social Inequalities

Discourse pertaining to social inequalities experienced by Nunavummiut can be categorized into three groups: a broad depiction of Nunavut’s social determinants of health, a specified outline of territorial food insecurity and public health interventions designed to address Nunavummiut health behaviours.

#### 5.2.1 Social Determinants of Health

In this sample from *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post*, writers rely heavily on statistics to discuss Nunavut’s social determinants of health in terms of population demographics, income and education levels, chronic illness rates, housing issues, and violence and crime rates. As previously stated, statistics can be used to stress the issue’s magnitude and allow the audience to make a meaningful evaluation of the content (Randolph & Edmondson, 2005). Nunavut’s population is described as being, “80 per cent Inuit…” (White, 2011) whose “life expectancy… is 10 years less than the national average” (Picard, 2008). With regards to Inuit income, writers report: “The median income is below $20,000” (White, 2011); “ITK says half of Inuit adults earn less than $20,000 a year” (Weber, 2012); and, “half of the residents qualify for social assistance” (White, 2010b). Nunavut’s educational attainment is described as, “abysmal high-school graduation rates” (Stackhouse, 2011); “…dropout rates sit at 75 per cent. Those who do graduate receive an education that falls well short of standards in the South. Thanks to an
unofficial policy of ‘social promotion’… graduates can possess both a high-school diploma and functional illiteracy” (White, 2011).

In Nunavut, “half of the territory's population is under 25, with a birth rate that leads the nation…” (White, 2011), “the rate of teenaged pregnancy is five times greater than the national average” (Wente, 2012) and Arviat, a town on the western shore of Hudson Bay, is “home to Canada's highest birth rate (roughly 35 per 1,000 people, compared to a national average of 10.3) has no permanent doctor, no hospital, no midwife, no public health nurse” (White, 2010a). To accompany Canada’s highest birth rate, White (2010a) reports, “The infant mortality rate in Nunavut is the highest in the country, at 15.1 deaths for every 1,000 live births, compared with a national average of 5.1,” which means, “An Inuit baby is 3½ times more likely to die before its first birthday than a non-Inuit newborn” (White, 2010a). Andre Picard (2008) reports Nunavut’s infant mortality rate as, “four times the Canadian average,” and claims the discrepancy, “is a testament to Canada’s shameful neglect of aboriginal peoples.”

To compound Canada’s highest birth and infant mortality rates, writers report high morbidity rates for a variety of chronic conditions. According to Patrick White, “Around 40 per cent [of Inuit children] report chronic illness,” (2010a) and citing a recent study Jill Mahoney (2001) explains: “Canadian Inuit babies have among the world’s highest rate of lung infections… nearly one in two infants under six months of age required hospital admission for respiratory illness on Baffin Island, Nunavut. Of those, 12 per cent had to be placed on life support systems.” Anna Banerji (in Mahoney, 2001), the cited study’s lead author, explains such hospitalization rates are, “comparable to a rate
that you would expect in the developing world, not in Canada,” and calculated an infant’s risk of being hospitalized due to a lung infection to be “484 in 1,000 infants, which is significantly higher than the rate for the average general population: about 10 in 1,000” (Mahoney, 2001). Articles indicate rickets has resurfaced as, “Thirty-one new cases of rickets were discovered in the first five years of Nunavut’s creation” (Minogue, 2007). As Minogue (2007) explains, increased incidence rates are linked to the recent nutrition transition:

…the Inuit got a healthy dose from traditional foods that happen to be rich in vitamin D: the skin of Arctic char; seal liver; the yolks of bird and fish eggs; and seal, walrus and whale blubber. But as the Arctic has changed, so have eating habits. While seal and char are still staples in Nunavut's isolated communities, walrus and whale consumption have been in decline for 30 years.

Tuberculosis, preventable with modern remedies, is reported to be on the rise: “Nunavut recorded its 98th case of tuberculosis in 2010, the most logged in the territory’s 11-year history… Nunavut’s infection rate is now 62 times the national average, adding to the territory’s standing as one of the world’s worst places for respiratory health” (White, 2010b); and “Nunavut is experiencing its worst TB outbreak in a decade, with at least 100 new active cases last year, a population rate 62 times the Canadian average” (Stackhouse, 2011). Health officials attribute the resurgence of tuberculosis in Nunavut to, “abysmal living conditions,” (White, 2010b) and, “overcrowded houses with poor ventilation,” (Stackhouse, 2011) a territorial problem that has been well documented in the national media.

*The Globe & Mail* and *National Post* writers typify Nunavut’s housing as dilapidated and overcrowded, often resulting in domestic violence. According to Patrick
White, “half of all homes are overcrowded or in serious need of repair,” (2010b) and there is, “a never-ending shortage of shelter in the area” (White, 2011). In Iqaluit, “Nunavut’s bridge to modern Canada, one in five houses is overcrowded and one in 10 families use their living room as a bedroom. Hundreds of homes need major repairs” (White, 2011). As White describes, overcrowding creates problems that compound the aforementioned chronic health concerns. According to a study investigating the human impacts of overcrowding, “One in four [households] brought up anger. About one in five [households] said depression and violence” (White, 2011). Nunavut households are reported to have a, “rate of child sex abuse 10 times the national average.” (Wente, 2012), and an RCMP officer stationed in Iqaluit believes children are, “Safer to be on the street than at home” (Shane Pottie in White, 2011). High rates of domestic violence reflect a territorial issue that ranks Nunavut amongst Canada’s most violent jurisdiction.

Writers often concomitantly discuss Nunavut’s territorial crime rate and alcohol abuse problems. For example, “The rates of suicide and murder are also more than 10 times higher than in the south. Thirty per cent of people over 12 are heavy drinkers” (Wente, 2012); and, “…the [suicide] rate for 15- to 24-year old men is 28 times higher than the national one” (Stackhouse, 2011). Additionally, in Nunavut, “The rate of violent crime per capita is seven times what it is in the rest of Canada. The homicide rate is around 1,000 per cent of the Canadian average. And the number of crimes reported to the police have more than doubled in the dozen years since the territory was formed” (White, 2011). Patrick White frequently uses narratives such as the following to depict scenes of violence: “Someone had plunged his knuckles through the hallway drywall again and
again and again, from the kitchen all the way down to the bedrooms. The blood had been washed away, but the tale of murder, outlined in felt-pen evidence markings, swirled beneath Ms. Qaumagiaq's snow boots” (2011). His narratives link Nunavut’s violence to alcohol abuse issues while respectively framing Inuit and police as the archetypical villains and heroes, as in the following excerpt from his article *The trials of Nunavut: Lament for an Arctic nation*:

Constable Pottie fishtailed around a corner and headed down an alley until his brake lights burst red against the snow. Thirty metres ahead, barely visible at the edge of his high beams, someone in socked feet leaned unsteadily against a house. Constable Pottie drove close, jumped out and drew the nine-millimetre gun from his holster.

Another squad truck charged in from the opposite direction. Two Mounties jumped out, nine-millimetres up. The young man was cornered.

“Get down on the ground!” one of the other officers yelled. “Drop the knife and get down now.”

The guy's eyes darted about until three blurry gun barrels came into focus. He couldn't have been more than 15.

He glanced down at his two-inch blade and then at his socks. For a moment, he seemed to think he would test his knife-at-a-gunfight odds, and lunged forward.

The three Mounties raised their guns. In the midst of his lunge, the kid lost his footing, stumbled and, finally, fell, belly against snow. One young Mountie leaned his knee against the man's back. There were convulsions, then vomit – the rage all gone.

The officers took turns comforting him, patting the back of a teenager who had threatened them with a knife moments earlier. (White, 2011)

While violence and alcoholism are common in Nunavut, reporting them in this fashion reinforces cultural hierarchies established during colonization. The Mounties are portrayed as dominant protective figures and, therefore, their violence is justifiable. In
contrast, Inuit are depicted as submissive and disorganized alcoholics who terrorize the town, making them appear malicious to the reader. These colonial undertones have been present during much of the discourse; however, a settler colonial subtext begins to dominate when Nunavut food insecurity becomes the discursive focal point.

5.2.2 Food Insecurity

In this article sample from *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post* food insecurity is commonly discussed in terms of household hunger caused by exorbitant food prices, and accompanied by the role Northern retailers, Canadian government and Nunavummiut play in the situation. Paradoxically, despite discussing causes and effects of food insecurity there are few attempts to define it; however, Canadian news conglomerate Canwest News Service (2010) cites Grace Egeland’s definition of food insecurity as, “a shortage of food that is safe, nutritious and meets the requirements for a healthy and active life.” Other articles attempt to define food insecurity by explicitly quantifying it: “Among Inuit families with children aged 3 to 5, household food insecurity is 70 per cent,” (Wente, 2012); “[A report by Nunavut territorial nutritionist Jennifer Wakegijig] found nearly three-quarters of Inuit preschoolers live in food-insecure homes. Half of youths 11 to 15 years old sometimes go to bed hungry. Two-thirds of Inuit parents also told a McGill University survey that they sometimes ran out of food and couldn’t afford more” (Weber, 2012); and, “Seven in 10 preschoolers in Nunavut live in homes where there isn’t enough food to eat, with some obliged to skip meals or even go a whole day without food…” (Canwest News Service, 2010). While other authors do not explicitly describe food insecurity rates and subsequent hunger as the examples above attempt to,
they do implicitly outline the severity of the problem by describing widespread hunger throughout the territory. For example: “70 per cent of kindergarten pupils go to school hungry; half of the residents qualify for some form of social assistance…” (White, 2010b); and, “Seven in 10 preschoolers grow up in houses without adequate food” (White, 2011). As a result, Inuit are growing, “concerned over widespread hunger in their communities,” (Weber, 2012) and as Leesee Papatsie (in Weber, 2012) explains, “Every Inuit in Nunavut knows someone in their family or in their community that is hungry that day.” The discourse includes the intertwined nature of hunger and food insecurity and points to food cost as a significant contributor: “The roots of the problem are deep and tangled. Cost is one of them” (Weber, 2012).

Food insecurity’s discursive arena is flooded with reports of high food prices from across Nunavut to stress both the severity and breadth of the situation to southern Canadians, and as Bob Weber (2012) describes, Northern markets have, “food prices that would shock southerners.” Nunavut food prices are often compared to those in the south to make the issue relatable for readers in the south: “…in Pond Inlet on the northern tip of Baffin Island sells two-litre jugs of milk for $7.39… when the boats come in, the price of soda pop drops from $3.50 a can to $2 – cheap by northern standards and for some, tastier than healthy foods” (Minogue, 2007); “Common foodstuffs often cost twice what they would in a grocery store in a city in southern Canada” (Canwest News Service, 2010); “…Arctic Bay – a standard jug of cranberry cocktail sells there for $38.99, eight times more than it would in Southern Canada… $28.99 for Cheez Whiz, $27.79 for a tub of margarine, $19.49 for a brick of cheese” (Wingrove, 2011a); “Healthy food is also
already far more expensive in the North. A head of lettuce costs $6.75 in Arctic Bay, while a small bag of baby carrots costs $8.89, both about triple the rate paid in major Canadian cities” (Wingrove, 2011a); “The high cost of food is also a problem… Ocean Spray cranberry juice on sale for $38.99, a tub of margarine for $27.79 and a block of cheese for $19.49” (Stackhouse, 2011); “Brought in by plane, the food carried staggering prices – $27.79 for margarine, $8.29 for four tomatoes, $38.99 for Cranberry cocktail juice and $19.49 for Cracker Barrel cheese” (Wingrove, 2011b); “$13 bag of spaghetti, a $29 jar of Cheez Whiz, a $77 bag of breaded chicken and a $38 bottle of cranberry juice…” (Windeyer, 2011); “A head of cabbage for $20. Fifteen bucks for a small bag of apples. A case of ginger ale: $82” (Weber, 2012); and “Heads of cabbage for $28 aren't going to cut it any more” (Paperny, 2012). Writers create perspective for the readers by comparing Northern and Southern Canadian food prices, enabling the readers to develop sympathy for the Inuit’s plight. Writers continue to develop their readers’ response by describing how the interplay between Northern retailers and federal programming impacts Nunavut’s food prices.

In an attempt to rationalize Nunavut’s exorbitant food prices, The Globe & Mail and National Post writers highlight food shipping costs, and how Northern retailers and the federal subsidies such as Food Mail (later to be re-launched as Nutrition North) can impact in-store prices. As John Stackhouse (2011) explains, shipping costs can account for over half the food costs: “Shipping $200 worth of groceries cost $500.” These fees can be avoided when stores enrolled in Food Mail since it, “… allowed a long list of eligible foods and hygiene products to be shipped at 80 cents per kilogram. The
unsubsidized price is now $13 per kilogram to ship to Arctic Bay…” (Wingrove, 2011a). According The Northern Store, however, “air freight price has gone up sixfold [sic] in some cases,” (Wingrove, 2011a) which causes fluctuation in prices beyond the store’s control.

In April 2011, the Canadian government launched Nutrition North – a re-designed Food Mail program focused on healthy foods – in an effort to promote healthy eating. However, The Globe & Mail and National Post writers were skeptical that it would meet Nunavut’s needs, and used the program to introduce federal and corporate blame to the discourse. For example, Nunavut’s food prices were often framed as resulting from a poorly implemented federal initiative: “…the new program would lead to price drops of 5 to 7 per cent in healthy foods, significant though likely not enough to offset increases elsewhere” (Wingrove, 2011a); “Ottawa has a new northern food subsidy program, designed to encourage people to eat healthier foods. Why then does a head of lettuce cost $6.75?” (Stackhouse, 2011); “…personal care items, such as diapers, feminine hygiene products, toothpaste and toilet paper, for which the subsidy had been cancelled… subsidizes the air freight for priority items, such as fresh meat, eggs and fruit, by about 90 per cent, down to 80 cents per kilogram. The subsidized cost is still double the unsubsidized rate of barge shipping” (Wingrove, 2011b). Furthermore, Nutrition North’s introduction is causing some retailers who had previously been involved with the Food Mail program to, “simply stop participating due to excessive cost and administration work” (Wingrove, 2011b), while others, “are worried that Nutrition North, which allows retailers to negotiate costs directly with southern suppliers, will favour larger companies
that can negotiate their own lower prices” (Windeyer, 2011). Additionally, a store’s participation in Nutrition North does not guarantee food will remain affordable, “…officials with the North West Co. acknowledged the high prices weren’t cause by Nutrition North. Instead, they said prices spiked when the Arctic Bay store ran out of items shipped on last year’s sealift and had to bring in fresh supplies by air” (Windeyer, 2011). Claims such as the previous statement prompted Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq to defend Nutrition North and support an Inuit call for action against high food prices.

Nunavummiut have recognized a failure in the northern food delivery system and, as The Globe & Mail and National Post report, have taken to public protests against retailers to effect change: “Faced with a public outcry over recent spikes in the price of food in remote northern communities, the federal government is blaming retailers and backing off on planned changes to its northern food subsidy system” (Wingrove, 2011b); “That site [Feed My Family] is now the nucleus of an unprecedented protest across Nunavut… Ms. Papatsie wants Inuit in every community in Nunavut to stand together outside their local grocery store Saturday afternoon. A similar event is being organized in Ottawa” (Weber, 2012). Ms. Aglukkaq is positioned as the Inuit’s voice in office and sympathetic to their territory-wide protests. She accused retailers for the spike in prices stating, “If retailers planned accordingly on sea lift, we would not be seeing those outrageous prices in our stores” (Wingrove, 2011b); additionally, “She insisted her government ‘listened to northerners’ in deciding to delay the new program and ‘is committed to bringing fresh, healthy food to northern homes’” (Wingrove, 2011b). However, due to the Inuit’s nutrition transition (described in Chapter 4), simply providing
an opportunity to purchase affordable fresh food does not guarantee its consumption. As Jennifer Wakegijig explains, “There’s just been a whole shift in the food supply for people that are now living in communities. And that shift in food supply didn’t necessarily bring with it knowledge about or how to prepare southern types of food. Even if that cabbage cost $2, there’s no guarantee the Inuit mother would buy it” (in Weber, 2012).

The blame discourse developed by *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post* regarding Nunavut’s food insecurity largely ignores the Inuit as the Federal Government and corporations attempt to avoid fault for the issue. Amidst reports of government and corporate efforts to ineffectively alleviate Nunavut food insecurity, writers highlight territory-wide protests as the Inuit’s primary approach to solving to the problem. This depicts the Inuit as:

- intellectually inferior – according to the media they cannot create an initiative as ‘integrated’ as Nutrition North;
- helpless – they must rely on government assistance if they wish to participate in a Canadian market (which they were forced into); and
- ungrateful and rebellious – despite supposed efforts from the Canadian government and retailers to keep food affordable, Inuit protest at each organization’s doorstep.

The Inuit and Nunavut have, however, taken a multi-faceted approach to alleviating food insecurity through the development of culturally appropriate nutrition-centric public
health initiatives designed to target all aspects of society that may contribute to food insecurity.

Nunavut’s public health strategy targets all aspects of population health and acknowledges colonialism’s lasting impact on the Inuit. For example, to treat early Inuit encounters with tuberculosis the Canadian government, “…snatched one in every seven Inuit from their homes and placed them in southern sanitoriums, where it was thought a combination of rest, good nutrition and good hygiene would cure the illness. Many never returned. Their families rarely found out how they died” (White, 2010b). As a result, “There remains a lot of residual negativity against the health-care system because of that. There was a lot of grief and trauma associated with the disease” (Isaac Sobol, Nunavut Chief Medical Officer cited in White, 2010b). The colonial legacy could undoubtedly cripple Nunavut’s healthcare delivery and public health initiatives, which is what majority of Nunavut’s food insecurity discourse persuades the reader to believe. However Andre Picard (2008) provides an alternative perspective that seeks to erode such a stance and acknowledge the capabilities of Nunavut and the Inuit to effectively provide for themselves:

Nunavut's public health goals explicitly acknowledge the important role that poverty, education and [sic] family and community supports play in health. The social problems that plague the territory – alcoholism, sexual abuse, astronomical rates of traumatic injury, babies born with fetal alcohol syndrome and birth defects caused by poor nutrition – all have their roots in the breakdown of social structures, and rebuilding those links is also stressed. Finally, Nunavut's public health goals speak of the ‘prerequisites for success,’ including the need to build more public health capacity at the local level and to reconfigure organizational structures so that public health, sickness care and social services can work together.
One program that is designed to build Inuit capacity is Nunavut’s adaptation of Canada’s Prenatal Nutrition Program which provides, “vitamin D supplements to all pregnant and nursing mothers, babies and children under 2” (Minogue, 2007). In Nunavut, the program not only focuses on increasing dietary intake of vitamin D, but also acknowledges barriers new mothers may face and develops skills to structure a well-balanced diet: “… health representatives lead lessons in cooking healthy food, emphasizing basic nutrition and using traditional recipes for foods such as bannock, seal stew and fish soup. New mothers also get lessons in thrifty shopping at the local grocery store” (Minogue, 2007).

For other community members, “Free vitamin D supplements in table form are available… [with] pamphlets describing different vitamins and their uses… translated into Inuktitut” (Minogue, 2007). Apart from vitamin D supplementation discourse only includes one other Nunavut-led initiative targeting food insecurity: a food security coalition described by a paltry two lines at the end of an article describing Inuit-led protests, “Poverty and food security are now at the centre of the territorial government's agenda. A food security coalition has been formed with representatives of six different government departments, as well as Inuit organizations” (Weber, 2012). Seemingly included as a side note, this quote describing Nunavut’s Food Security Coalition epitomizes the Nunavut food insecurity discourse. It highlights Inuit-led efforts only after paying due diligence to the hyper-dominant ‘Government as the hero’\(^{17}\) and ‘Inuit as helpless’\(^{18}\) cultural motifs. By choosing to stress themes in this order, \textit{The Globe & Mail}

\(^{17}\) Via Ms. Aglukkaq lending a sympathetic ear to the Inuit’s troubles.  
\(^{18}\) Apparently the only way the Inuit can affect change is through protestation.
and National Post writers reinforce colonial hierarchies to southern Canadians, which can contribute to national racial apathy, neoracism and the maintenance of a settler colonial Canada. The following discussion will describe how the two discursive themes outlined above – Federal involvement in the Arctic and social inequalities – coalesce to solidify the ‘Government as the hero’ and ‘Inuit as helpless’ cultural motifs.
Chapter 6

Discussion

Chapters Three and Four of this thesis introduce three concepts integral to the Canadian discourse on Nunavut food insecurity: settler colonialism has supplanted colonialism as the primary segregative force in Canada, which has proliferated racial apathy and neoracist ideologies throughout the nation; the Inuit’s recent nutrition transition has contributed to market food knowledge gaps, which in turn increases morbidity of diet-related ailments; and, Canadian national print media occupy a pivotal role in setting the public agenda by choosing how Nunavut food insecurity is framed to the nation. The following chapter will describe how The Globe & Mail and National Post integrate these concepts into stories about Nunavut food insecurity, and how the topic ultimately provides an arena for them to interact and construct an Othering discourse that proliferates the ‘Government as the hero’ and ‘Inuit as helpless’ cultural motifs. This chapter will also discuss Nunavut food insecurity as a disguised national neoracist issue rooted in geography to allow conceptual Othering to be easily visualized by Canadians by translating the traditional “Us versus Them” to “South versus North”. Therefore, this chapter sets out to describe how the Nunavut food insecurity discourse operates under a broader Canadian Othering discourse and contributes to the maintenance of cultural hierarchies in Canada’s North.
6.1 Heroes for the Helpless: Inuit Othering in a Settler Colonial Canada

In this sample of articles from The Globe & Mail and National Post, the media consistently uses stories not focused on food insecurity to implicitly frame the Inuit as inferior and the Government as ‘Heroes for the Helpless’. During climate change discussions, geographic changes that have and will continue to occur in the Arctic, and the political and economic ramifications that accompany them such as international rights to an Arctic shipping passage dominate the discourse. Inuit hunting challenges and declines in traditional foods are briefly mentioned along side a quip about “a bad, deep-fried meal in a Nunavut restaurant.” Despite providing insight into Inuit diet, this quote mocks Inuit food and cooking, and provides no substance to the article’s discussion of Arctic research and climate change. It does, however, contribute to the ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif by establishing Southern superiority and depicting ineptitude at a stereotypically menial skill (deep-fry cooking). As such, failure to wholly report the human aspect of Arctic climate change contributes to a national racial apathy since it actively misrepresents social conditions in order to maintain the status quo of cultural inequality.

During discussions on Canadian Arctic security and sovereignty, The Globe & Mail and National Post writers frame the Inuit in multiple ways, creating a stark juxtaposition of the Inuit’s image based on their role in fulfilling different national priorities. Discourse stresses Arctic scientific development as “an essential assertion of our sovereignty” and acknowledges the Inuit’s collaboration in Canada’s Arctic research expansion. The Inuit help researchers by providing cultural knowledge of the Arctic, which reduces research costs and builds Inuit capacity by giving Inuit students
educational opportunities they may not have received otherwise. Such a mutually beneficial relationship challenges the ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif by portraying Inuit as competent and agreeable, two character traits that challenge the status quo of cultural inequality. However, the print media implicitly restores cultural inequality by omitting Inuit-led research endeavors from the discourse, which effectively denies Inuit their right to be viewed as proper researchers and permanently relegates them to the role of ‘research assistant’. Refusal to recognize Inuit capability and equate their efforts to those of Southern researchers embodies Veracini's (2011) assertion that in a settler colonial society even the most privileged of the colonized will never be seen as equal to the colonizers. Writers continue to inconsistently frame the Inuit’s presumed inferiority in Canadian Arctic sovereignty throughout discussions on Arctic military expansion.

Initially, writers used rhetoric to enforce Settler culture’s superiority and frame the Inuit’s role as insignificant. Discourse focused on developing the military for national defense, and ignored Inuit calls for collaboration. When the Inuit were eventually included in early military discussions their role was reduced to a trip to the magnetic North Pole in what appears to be a public relations opportunity planned to appease Inuit calls for collaboration. Describing the team as a “motley band of Inuit reservists” categorizes the Inuit as unorganized and unworthy of conducting meaningful military operations, and demeans their role in fortifying Canada’s vast northern border. However, the media’s position has recently shifted as writers begin to frame the Inuit as an invaluable human resource for effective military expansion. There has begun to be an explicit call to recognize “the critical role aboriginal people, and the Canadian Rangers,
have played” in securing the Canadian Arctic. Furthermore, Inuit solutions to Northern military issues such as the expansion of the Canadian Rangers are being publicized, which works to disprove the ‘Inuit as helpless’ cultural motif by displaying Inuit ingenuity and foresight. These traits challenge the settler colonial and neoracist norms of cultural inequality and seek to disrupt the racial apathy that has developed through years of the media’s misrepresentation of aboriginals (Anderson & Robertson, 2011).

Concurrent examination of the Inuit’s representation in Arctic research and military expansion provides a unique perspective into discursive evolution. As with any discourse, discursive participation is a location of struggle as it represents power to change the discursive direction and social understanding of the phenomenon. The research agenda appears to realize its praise for the culturally inferior and thus quickly reverts to cultural inequality. Conversely however, the military agenda maintains both its praise of the Inuit and its trajectory toward a discourse dominated by cultural equality. By recently affording the Inuit voice greater participation, the media has allowed the Inuit to gain discursive power and slowly begin to control some aspects of their own discourse. This creates a nucleation point for the Inuit to begin to abolish their presumed inferiority and challenge the ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif. Therefore, Arctic sovereignty serves as a site to observe active discursive change as the media maintains its traditional ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif while simultaneously transferring more discursive power to the Inuit so they may begin to challenge the Canadian neoracist beliefs.

*The Globe & Mail* and *National Post* writers incorporate both the ‘Inuit as helpless’ and ‘Government as heroes’ motifs into Arctic economic development.
discussions. They frame climate change as a “resource bonanza” and foreign investors as beacons of hope for the territory. This is not to argue foreign investments hinder Inuit capacity, rather the problem lies in how Inuit-based economic ventures are positioned alongside them. Foreign investments are crucial for alleviating Nunavut food insecurity as they stimulate the Inuit economy via new employment opportunities, which can help overcome some of the cost barriers associated with Northern foods. While the media frames such investments as metaphorically ‘saving’ the Inuit, especially when compared to failed Inuit-led investments such as northern greenhouses, they do not completely ignore the Inuit voice. Media includes potential Inuit-based solutions that are financially responsible and would create multi-faceted economic development to address a variety of Nunavut’s social issues. However, the Inuit are yet to gain the discursive power they have in the Arctic sovereignty discussions, and their opinions remain relegated to the background. As such, the media efficiently proliferates racial apathy by misrepresenting the Inuit’s social situation, which reinforces the neoracist ‘Inuit as helpless’ and ‘Government as heroes’ motifs, and maintains a hierarchized settler colonial state.

The Canadian government’s role as ‘Hero for the Helpless’ is solidified when the media frames them as Nunavut’s chief revenue source. Writers express the magnitude of Nunavut’s financial dependence by bombarding their readers with financial transfers, percent revenue and Nunavut funding per capita. The discourse also outlines the costs of federally funded programs – Food Mail and Nutrition North – designed to combat Nunavut’s food insecurity, and includes a statement from Health Minister Aglukkaq regarding funds dedicated to Nunavut’s health budget. These details serve two purposes:
first, they reinforce ‘Inuit as helpless’ by casting them as state-dependents; and second, they prime the audience to perceive the Federal government as dedicated to alleviating Nunavut’s territorial hardships, a position the media relies on when constructing the food insecurity discourse.

Recently, some writers have sought to challenge the Government’s position as ‘hero’ by highlighting inadequate policies that contribute to a divided territory, and in doing so they uncover characteristics of a settler colonial nation within Canadian domestic policy. Writers describe the Federal government’s role to provide quality of life comparable to the rest of the country, yet only those employed in career-track or contracts receive subsidies to compensate for northern inflation; that is, those with part-time employment are do not receive subsidized northern living allowances. Similar to selective employment accomplished during the 1950s (refer to Section 3.3), showing favour to the skilled ostensibly reinforces income disparities and can contribute to internalized Othering within Nunavut – a core component of settler colonialism. Additionally, the media frame the cultural hierarchy between the Settler State and the Inuit: by denying funding for capacity-building endeavors the Canadian government maintains its superiority and ensures the Inuit remain state-dependent, which affords it the opportunity to act as ‘hero’ when the Inuit are in dire need. Therefore, the media’s challenge of the ‘Government as hero’ motif provides proof of government actions that seek to maintain settler colonialism and neoracist cultural inequalities. In each of the four discursive areas described above – Global warming, Canadian Arctic sovereignty and security, northern economic development and the Government’s role in Nunavut – food
insecurity is included as a secondary focus; however, its inclusion in these discussions primes the audience to easily accept ‘Inuit as helpless’ and ‘Government as hero’ when discussions focus on food insecurity and related socioeconomic issues.

As discourse turns to focus on social inequalities and Nunavut’s determinants of health, *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post* writers emphasize an ‘Us versus Them’ mentality and effectively compartmentalize Canada’s worst life expectancy, educational attainment, employment rates, teen pregnancy rates and morbidity rates for chronic conditions eradicated in the rest of the nation. Writers frequently use rhetoric such as “compared to the national average”, “highest rate in Canada”, and “worst in Canada” to position Nunavut as having the least desirable outcome for population health measures. These phrases enable readers from across to country to compare their own conditions to Nunavut’s and establish themselves as superior. Most of the population statistics were reported in articles that focus on risk factors and morbidity rates of a specific health condition or social issue, and fail to contextualize the Inuit’s efforts to alleviate their own problem; ultimately misrepresenting Nunavut and the Inuit as complacent to their own plight. Doing so has created a two-stage self-strengthening loop between neoracist Othering and racial apathy. First, depicting the Inuit as complacent to their social situation is a manifestation of national racial apathy as it grossly misrepresents reality and enables the settler population to naturalize Nunavut social inequalities to be a result of from the Inuit’s supposed helplessness (reinforces neoracist Othering). Second, this depiction of the Inuit perpetuates the neoracist ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif by implying they
cannot solve their own problems and compartmentalizes social inequalities to be a natural characteristic of Nunavut (reinforces racial apathetic naturalization).

In addition to statistics, writers describe Nunavut’s social determinants with narratives to depict Nunavut as a lawless territory. Patrick White implicitly reinforces the Government’s position as ‘Hero to the Helpless’ when he outlines a scene in which RCMP officers chase down a violent and intoxicated Inuit teen and comfort him after he is apprehended. He depicts the young Inuit boy as disruptive and unorganized, traits that align with the territory’s reported alcoholism abuse issues, and effectively vilifies the Inuit by contrasting him with the heroic RCMP officers who ‘save the day’. Positioning the officers and Inuit boy in this manner reinforces Nunavut’s cultural hierarchization as the RCMP – and by extension Settler Society – are seen as a necessity to maintain order in an otherwise chaotic state. The ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif remains at the forefront of discussions as discourse shifts to focus on Nunavut’s food insecurity.

Food insecurity focused stories are saturated with statistical proof of Nunavut’s deplorable social conditions as writers attempt to define it. Stories focus on childhood rates of food insecurity and its manifestation as childhood hunger. While they capture the problem’s endemic nature, reporters skim over food insecurity’s impact on adults. However, drawing attention to childhood hunger and food insecurity may elicit a strong emotional response from readers since children’s health is often viewed as a Canadian social priority. Therefore, framing food insecurity’s effects on children creates a moral dilemma and makes it difficult for readers cognitively distance Nunavut’s social inequalities, making them more likely to affected by reports of high food prices.
Admittedly included to “shock most Southerners”, writers saturate Nunavut food insecurity articles with reports of prices three to four times higher than most Canadians would experience. The media positively frames northern markets as they attribute such exorbitant food prices to high shipping costs, while the Inuit are framed as helpless to exact change. Similar to the Inuit’s relationship to HBC representatives during the fur trade, the modern Inuit-Settler dyad affords the Inuit little negotiating power to dictate the price of goods. Additionally, as writers describe Nunavut’s food insecurity and high food prices they effectively compartmentalize the issue using the 60th parallel – Nunavut’s southern border – as an imaginary line to contain the territory’s poverty and high food prices. Rhetoric such as “Northerners” and “Southerners” are frequently used to emphasize the hardships Nunavummiut face and sufficiently equate “North” with social disparity and “South” with prosperity. This stylistic choice to reduce Canada to two compartments allows majority of Canadians to distance themselves from the issue, and fuels racial apathy as it naturalizes high food prices as Nunavut’s cultural norm. Doing so diminishes the shock Southern readers may experience when writers compare food prices in “the North” and “South”.

The media ostensibly buries proof of Inuit-led endeavors in order to publicize Federal projects and ensure they are perceived as ‘the hero that tried’. The media frame the federal government’s Nutrition North program as a noble failure: it attempted to alleviate food prices for healthy food and cut costs by removing subsidies for other essential personal care products, however, it was implemented too quickly and failed to produce the desired results. By following reports of the failed Nutrition North program
with details of Inuit protests, the writers allowed the government to retain its ‘hero’ status, while proliferating the ‘Inuit as helpless’ motif through their portrayal as stereotypical angry natives – which has been a theme in Canadian newspapers since the country’s inception (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). Writers use the Inuit’s reaction to high food prices to distract from the government’s failed attempt, which if reported on its own would challenge the cultural hierarchy by portraying the Government’s efforts as a failure. Instead, just as they did during discussions of Canadian research expansion and northern economic development, the media frames the Inuit’s efforts as substandard while the Canadian government’s are portrayed as feasible and responsible.

Similar to discourse on Canada’s Arctic military expansion, food insecurity discourse has slowly begun to provide Inuit their due credit. Writers have begun to include details about effective Nunavut- and Inuit-based public health interventions that apply a multi-faceted approach to absolve nutrition deficiencies caused by food insecurity. However, they are only ever included after the ‘Hero to the Helpless’ theme appears to be exhausted. Therefore, since the main concepts for Nunavut’s food insecurity discourse are mainly constructed in articles focusing on other aspects of the territory, it is evident that the food insecurity is a small part of a broader Othering discourse that has become disguised in Canada’s post-colonial era.

6.2 Study Limitations

This study is not without its limitations. First, conducting a critical discourse analysis within the confines of a Master’s degree limited the material I could consult to archived editions of The Globe & Mail and National Post newspapers. As such, I only
examined the national discourse targeted to these newspapers’ audiences: relatively educated individuals from the middle class and higher. Another limitation is the frequency with which Patrick White is included in the discourse; his 2011 article was substantially longer than the rest at 7,730 words, however, its omission would have been irresponsible since a discursive element’s weight should not be decided by word count.

6.3 Conclusion

In this study, I used a critical discourse analysis to examine Nunavut’s food insecurity as a function of socially constructed neoracist ideologies and its representation in two of Canada’s largest print media sources: The Globe & Mail and National Post. In doing so, I found six discursive themes that could be categorized into two thematic clusters. The first cluster, Federal involvement in the Arctic, comprises of global warming, Canadian Arctic sovereignty, Northern economic development and Federal involvement in Nunavut affairs. The second cluster, social inequalities, contained social determinants of health and food insecurity. Within these discursive themes I identified two recurrent cultural motifs – ‘Inuit as helpless’ and ‘Government as hero’ – that indicate the maintenance of a culturally hierarchized North. It became apparent that these motifs represent neoracist ideologies embedded in Canadian national media.

Throughout the discourse the media establishes and reinforces the dominant position of the Canadian government and its representatives, and the submissive position of the Inuit in Nunavut. Stories consistently frame the Inuit as inept, incapable and helpless to their own cause as they attempt to join and function within a Canadian society. Social issues are often misrepresented and naturalized to either Inuit culture or
Northern locale to allow Canadians to cognitively distance themselves from social injustices that exist within our nation. Nunavut’s food insecurity discourse represents just a small part of a greater Othering discourse that has become disguised in a settler colonial Canada. Therefore, by choosing to frame Nunavut’s food insecurity in this manner it is evident The Globe & Mail and National Post propagate settler colonialism and are key actors in both the proliferation of national racial apathy toward the Inuit, and the institutionalization of neoracism.

6.4 Future Directions

Further research is needed to address concerns brought up in this study. Future studies must analyze additional newspaper outlets and other forms of news media to determine the full scope of neoracism’s institutionalization. Since different news outlets and sources target different audiences, such studies would provide insight into the true scope and depth of neoracism on Canadian society and how it manifests in different sources given the target audience.

Further studies should also seek to uncover different aspects of Nunavut’s Othering discourse, with the ultimate goal of uncovering how these discourses inform Federal and Territorial policy decisions. These studies should examine how discourses are taken up into policy and are produced policy. Certainly a daunting task, this research would more fully expose the cultural hierarchy that remains in Canada’s North, and would provide Canadians with a full picture of Nunavut’s relationship with Canada. It would act to dispel national racial apathy by exposing all counts of misrepresented social situations. I anticipate my research will illustrate how a public health issue such as food
insecurity can be dissected using discourse analysis to reveal deeply rooted segregative cultural norms and hierarchies.

6.5 Contributions

The current study is the first to examine Canadian national newspapers’ portrayal of Nunavut food insecurity. It contributes to previous research that examined Canadian newspapers’ portrayal of residential schools and treaty discussions between Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian government (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). Anderson & Roberston found that Canadian newspapers use colonial stereotypes to describe Aboriginals and prime their readers to accept a racist status quo of “Native” inferiority and unlawfulness. This study reinforces Anderson & Robertson’s findings as writers used the ‘Hero for the Helpless’ motif to prime their readers to understand the Inuit as peoples in need of help. Additionally, the present study established mutual connection was between neoracism and racial apathy that demonstrates their reciprocal nature – that is, a racially apathetic culture fuels neoracism and vice versa; to my knowledge such a link has not been explicitly defined in the literature.

6.6 Practical Implications

This study also has implications for public policy development, especially Federal policies tailored for Arctic issues. In our modern era where social movements for human rights and equality are becoming increasingly popular, framing the Inuit as ‘helpless’ will incite more Inuit protests and social calls to arms. It is unlikely that the Federal Government will be able to continue pointing to Nutrition North and increasing federal funding as their response to social inequality if Nunavut’s food insecurity predicament is
not improved. As discussed earlier, print media discourse is slowly beginning to change to account for the Inuit’s efforts to fix their own problems. The Federal Government has the opportunity to mend its relationship by capitalizing on the discursive evolution and devolving power to Nunavut to self-govern. Collaborating with the Inuit to create policies that aim to improve human capital and reduce poverty will allow the Inuit to maintain their own culture, more fully participate in Canadian society, manage their own affairs and imagine their own future.


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Wingrove, J. (2013, July 26). Harper’s focus for North shifts from sovereignty to development; Prime Minister’s military rhetoric has been replaced with talk of development. *The Globe and Mail*.


Appendix A

Four Pillars of Food Insecurity and Policies that Address Them

1) *Availability*: policies aim to ensure all individuals have sufficient amount and quality of food. Examples include food aid programs and investments into fisheries and hunting capital.

2) *Accessibility*: policies provide their constituents with resources to obtain foods required for a nutritious diet. Examples include nutrition intervention programs or a labor market stimulus packages.

3) *Utilization*: policies ensure non-dietary factors such as clean water and sanitation do not impinge upon an individual’s ability to obtain food required for physiological wellbeing. Examples include development of safe food practices and infrastructure improvements.

4) *Stability*: policies safeguard against reduced access to adequate food due to sudden or predictable events such as economic recessions, weather-related events, or seasonal food insecurity. Examples include establishment of food security monitoring systems and increasing access to financial systems.

(Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2006)
## Appendix B

Superficial Coding for Secondary Sample of Articles from *The Globe & Mail* and *National Post*

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<td>The Big, the Bad and the Smugly Surprising: General Motors again dominates the FP500, our exclusive annual ranking of Canada’s largest corporations</td>
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</table>
| 2013-07-01 | GM-S   | Balkissoon, Denise | The key to female longevity? It’s in the genes                             | Life    | No         | Yes  
|            |        |                |                                                                           |         | No         | Dr. Robert Cumming, University of Western Ontario; Dr. Michael Gordon, Baycrest Geriatric Health System |
| 2013-07-26 | GM     | Wingrove, Josh  | Harper’s focus for North shifts from sovereignty to development            | Other   | Yes        | Yes  
|            |        |                |                                                                           |         | No         | Eva Ariak, Premier; Chuck Strahl, CanNor cabinet; Rob Huebert, University of Calgary; Dennis Bevington, NWT MP |
| 2013-07-26 | NP     | Vanderkooy, Pat | A skewed measure of poverty                                               | Letters | Yes        | Yes  
|            |        |                |                                                                           |         | Yes        | No  

Notes:
1 The Globe and Mail (GM); National Post (NP); (-S) denotes supplemental search result
2 Elisapee Quamagiaq – Cape Dorset; Olayuk Akesuk, Senior Administrative Officer – Cape Dorset; Madeline Redfern, Mayor – Iqaluit; Jim Bell, Nunatsiaq News editor-in-chief; Peter Ningeosiak – Cape Dorset; Tagak Curley, Nunavut Health Minister; Keith Peterson, Nunavut Justice Minister and Finance Minister; Steve McVarnock, RCMP Chief Superintendent – Iqaluit; Shane Pottie, RCMP Constable – Iqaluit; Chris Pudlat, Alcohol Education Committee; Alex Benoit, RCMP Constable – Cape Dorset; J.P. Deroy, Baffin Correctional Centre Deputy Director – Iqaluit; “INUUKSTA”, Baffin Correctional Centre inmate; Steve Mapsalak, Senior Administrative Officer – Repulse Bay; Dr. Bruce Handley – Repulse Bay; John Hickes, Mayor – Rankin Inlet; Leo Nangmalik – Chesterfield Inlet
Claim to sovereignty in the North is the presence of Inuit
Asserting sovereignty needs to include role aboriginals and Canadian Rangers have played
Solidify claims to Arctic sovereignty
Increased military presence in Arctic
Geographical control
Improved military presence

1.3 Northern Development
Electronic communication required because of remoteness and large landmass to cover
Satellite-based communications automatically choose language and alphabet
Igloolik research station mostly abandoned
1999 Auditor-General’s report: no real strategy for Arctic research
Access to offshore oil and minerals will increase with less sea ice
Less ice means potential for more extraction of resources around High Arctic islands
Simon: Northern Development Program must be multi-focused
- Developing infrastructure could boost employment
- Implement NU Marine Council to enhance sovereignty and regulation of waters in Arctic
- Expand Arctic Rangers... more functionality... support hunters, environmental monitoring and country food collection
- Arctic policies need to be centred on Inuit communities
2006 Berger Report – education and training
Fishery development
Research investment
Desire to open Northern mining
Housing development
Economic development
French Power-generation and potential job opportunities
Highway development from MB
Greenhouses need to support themselves financially
Year-round operating and employing locals
Need to make it more than a government handout
Greenhouses need to employ local Inuit
Produce food where it normally wouldn’t grow
Examples of other successful greenhouses
Grassroots initiatives
Projects aren’t economically sustainable
Scepticism around idea because of past failures
Economic expansion
Decentralizing operations, but more expensive
Expanded operations of Canadian Rangers
Improved capacity and training development
Appendix C

Thematic Clusters & Coding Categories

1) FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE ARCTIC

1.1 Global Warming
Global warming will open northern shipping route
Climate-change increasing Arctic research’s popularity
Effects of global warming on water cycle
Arctic precipitation has increased 8% in 100y, most as rain
Arctic sea level risen 10-20cm in 100y
Increased river flow into Arctic Ocean
Arctic fish species in danger from rising water temps
Risk of increased accident rate due to environment change (thinning sea-ice)
More bird species in Arctic
Arctic to experience most dramatic warming in Canada
Animals at risk of extinction
Climate change adaptations
Writer: need to stop global warming
ITK: 42% of Inuit say hunting is too expensive

1.2 Canadian Ownership of the North
Jeopardized Arctic sovereignty
Reduced scientific presence in Arctic due to high operating costs
Political and economic control of Northwest Passage
Population in high Arctic has been strategically placed for sovereignty protection
NSERC/SSHRC: “Cdn research presence in the North is an essential assertion of sovereignty”
Climate change represents a challenge to Far North security and sovereignty
Harper: stake claim in Arctic via military expansion
Simon: Canada must have adequate military presence in Arctic
Writer: Canada should invest in Northern military
Writer: Arctic sovereignty
Writer: Arctic military presence
Writer: Canadian pride in ownership of Arctic
   - Natural resources
   - National defence
Writer: Military development
   Writer: Dispute over Arctic land?
Writer: Sea Law, how to tell which countries should lay claim to Arctic
Writer: Importance of Northwest Passage
   - Canadian ignorance to such a large landmass of “our country”
Developing the North socially and economically alongside aboriginal leaders will unlock an economic powerhouse

1.4 Federal Role in Territory
Little research about Cdn Inuit children
Federal funding for Arctic research cut in half
Canada being out-funded by countries with no Arctic land claim
Expeditions to NU have dropped 25% in 6 years
Simon: Federal government should work with Inuit
Simon: Modern treaties set out Inuit rights and interests
Writer/Simon: Arctic research improvement policies
- Research needs to be diverse
Simon: NU Marine Council
- NU Land Claims Agreement Act
- Federal government not providing required funding
Healthcare as “$172B/year repair shop”
Harper determined to improve conditions in poor nations but ignores the health issues in Cda
Ariak: blames Ottawa for the fault of birthing centres
- NU needs to be able to collect its own resource revenue
Aglukkaq: money has been allotted
Federal government scrapped Food Mail program
Food Mail subsidized most food and some hygiene products to remote communities
Ottawa must ensure a minimum standard of self-governance and quality of life comparable to the south
Only provides northern living allowances to those who are employed
Aglukkaq: new subsidy scheme will be extended to non-food items
Nutrition North was intended to limit government subsidies to fresh produce and meat and other nutritious foods
Nutrition North budget $60M/y
New time frame could add $1M per month to program costs
Court ruled Cda is responsible for welfare of aboriginals
90% of budget comes from Ottawa
$32,000 for every Nunavummiuq
$4.2M from Ottawa to hire judges and prosecutors
$1.1B comes from Ottawa
Federal government tried to get Inuit to live like them
NU’s history has left the people distrustful of change from above
NU overly state-dependent
Federal government dismissed UN report about food insecurity in NU
Federal ignorance over Northern food insecurity
Public demonstrations
NU pushing for devolution/province-like power
2) SOCIAL INEQUITIES

2.1 Social Determinants of Health

Inuit has world’s highest rate of infant lung infections – study
½ of infants admitted to hospital for respiratory illness
3/50 placed on life support
Hospitalization rate comparable to developing nations
Child’s risk factor increased by exposure to cigarette smoke, overcrowded and poorly ventilated homes, and poverty
All babies in study exposed to smoke in utero and 2nd-hand smoke in homes
Risk of admission for lower respiratory tract infection is 484 in 1,000 – significantly higher than national rate of 10 in 1,000
“The mean hospital stay was eight days a child”
Pre-schoolers’ lungs resemble those of chronic smokers
Increasing Vitamin D deficiency – manifests as Rickets
31 new cases of Rickets in NU in 1st 5 years after creation
No Vit-D deficiency linked to high cancer rates in northern countries
No national statistics to compare NU’s rate of Ricketts to
Most health measures are below Cdn averages
Life expectancy is 10 years less than average
Infant mortality four times average
Social problems in NU are rooted in broken social structures – stress on rebuilding them
Inuit families living on income support in overcrowded homes
Teen pregnancy
Highest birth rate in Canada
Miscarriages and premature births are common
Inuit baby 3.5x more likely to die in first year than non-Inuit baby
Highest infant mortality rate in Cda
Highest rate of hospitalization for lower respiratory tract infections in the world
Aboriginal children 50x more likely to contract pneumonia, 80x more likely to catch chicken pox, 7x more likely to have a teen mother
40% report chronic illness
Tuberculosis on the rise
NU 62x more TB infections than Cda
“One of the world’s worst places for respiratory health”
TB outbreak blamed on “abysmal living conditions”
Poor living conditions remain an issue
½ of homes are overcrowded or need serious repair
½ of residents qualify for social assistance
70% of Nunavummiut smoke
Governments must confront socioeconomic conditions
Eastern Arctic – low high school graduation rates, high unemployment, some of world’s worst health outcomes
NU experiencing TB outbreak, 100 new cases last year – a rate 62x the Cdn average
Overcrowded homes with poor ventilation
Suicide rates in 15-24 yo men are 28x higher than average
Exposure to violence, abuse and neglect
No mental health treatment centre in NU
Median income: $20,982
Homicide rate: 18.6 per 100,000
“Tale of murder...”
Domestic gun violence
Smoking to cope with stress
Never-ending shelter shortage
Rate of violent crime is 7x higher than Canada
Homicide rate is 1000% the Cdn average
Number of reported crimes more than doubled since NU was formed
Young males suicide rate 40x higher than Cdn average
Abuse 10x higher than Cdn average
50% of social worker positions are vacant
Nunavut is last in education, general health, substance abuse, employment, income and housing
Burgeoning youth population and social problems
80% Inuit
Social problems already pronounced
Housing conditions
Human toll of housing shortages/crowding
  Cleanliness
  Violence, anger, depression
1/5 houses overcrowded
High school dropout at 75%
Graduates have education well below Southern standards
Families move south for better education
½ territory U25
Safer on the street than at home
Hectic, violence, unsanitary conditions
Alcohol-induced violence
High-risk consumption behaviours
Alcohol abuse symptomatic of greater issues
Prison as factor in overcrowding, education and alcohol
Broken down facilities
Overcrowded facilities
Low median income (<$20k)
40% unemployment
Low education
Ariak: Overhaul the education system
Ambitious education plan
Young people are most endangered species in the North, not the bears
NU social indicators worst in the country
Highest rate of single-parent families
Lowest education levels
Teen pregnancy 5x national level
Child sex abuse 10x national level
Suicide and murder 10x higher than the south
30% of people over 12 are heavy drinkers
ITK: ½ of adults earn <$20k/year

2.2 Food (in)security
Restaurant food is too expensive and poorly cooked
Vitamin D through traditional foods
Teach how to shop on budget at grocery store
Vit-D rich market foods are expensive
2L milk costs $7.39 after subsidy
Subsidy works more in spring
7/10 Inuit preschoolers in NU live in homes without enough food
Skip meals or go full days without food
Study by McGill and NU Government, published in CMAJ
McGill Centre for Indigenous Peoples’ Nutrition and Environment
Food security definition
Food prices twice as high as in southern Cda
70% of kindergarteners go to school hungry
High grocery prices in Arctic Bay
Eight times more expensive than Southern Cda
$28.99 Cheez Whiz, $27.79 tub of margarine, $19.49 brick of cheese
Arctic bay (population 750) opens first food bank
MLA: prices are too high
Unemployment and social assistance make matters worse
Food mail shipping prices at $0.80/kg
Unsubsidized shipping prices at $13/kg to Arctic Bay
Northern Stores: air freight has increased 6-fold
Food Mail expected to drop healthy food prices 5-7%
Health food more expensive in the North
Head of lettuce $6.75, small bag of baby carrots $8.89
High cost of food a problem
Juice $38.99, margarine $27.79, cheese $19.49
New northern food subsidy program to encourage healthier eating, why then does lettuce cost $6.75
Ottawa must address these fundamental lifestyle issues
Public outcry over recent spikes in food prices in remote Northern communities
Federal government blaming retailers
Changes to northern food subsidy program
Retailers plan to stop participating in program due to cost and administration work

Nutrition North
Aglukkaq: declined to comment because of political implications
Aglukkaq: stores need to plan shipping better
Federal government has “fumbled” transition from Food Mail Program to Nutrition North
Make sure Northerners have access to nutritious affordable food
$27.79 for margarine, $8.29 for four tomatoes, $38.99 for juice, $19.49 for cheese
Elliot (MLA): praised changes after complaints
   - Example of how empowerment can happen
Subsidizes air freight on fresh meat, eggs and fruit by 90%
Non-perishable food will no longer be subsidized
$13 bag of spaghetti, $29 jar of Cheez Whiz, $77 bag of breaded chicken, $38 bottle of juice
North West Co. Officials acknowledged high prices weren’t caused by Nutrition North
Worry that Nutrition North will favour larger companies
7/10 preschoolers live in houses without enough food
Prisoners are fed
70% households with children 3 to 5 food insecure
Head of cabbage $15, bag of apples $15
Case of ginger ale $82
Social unrest over high food prices
Concern over widespread hunger
Food prices that would shock Southerners
Report published on Inuit security
¼ of preschoolers live in food insecure homes
½ of youths 11-15 go to bed hungry
2/3 of households run out of food and can’t afford more
McGill study
Widespread hunger
“Roots of problem are deep and tangled”
Food cost
Shipping costs drive prices
Whole shift in food supply for people
Shift didn’t bring knowledge of southern foods
Poverty and food insecurity at centre of agenda
Food security coalition
Cabbage head $28
Food is unaffordable so diet suffers
Healthy food still expensive in North

2.3 Public Health
NU government attempting to reduce smoking rates
Ann Roberts (CMO NU): study’s conclusions are not surprising
Roberts: need to address nutrition, housing, overcrowding, air quality and smoking
Isaac Sobol (CMO NU): not spoken much about Rickets in public health
Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program (federal) to get Vit-D supplements for pregnant
women, nursing mothers, and children under 2
Cooking/sewing classes for expectant mothers
Lessons led by nurses and community health reps
Free Vit-D pills available – not always used
Pamphlets outlining Vit-D available (translated into Inuktitut)
Inuit Action Plan – health, housing, environment
  Programs to support substance abuse recovery
  Focus on child/youth development
NU’s Public Health strategy: Developing Health Communities
Aglukkaq: Important to prevent people from getting sick
List of National public health goals are vague and pointless
NU public health goals have and edge and target
Provide real strategies for reaching real targets
NU goals explicitly acknowledge role of poverty, education and social support
Tagalik (health committee): Can’t take care of our mothers and we need help
$12,000 for low-risk births in birthing centres
Reviving birthing centres in NU would save costs
Boarding out women is a “bandage solution”
Distrust of public healthcare system
Outbreak alarmed health officials
Sobol (NU CMO): Residual negativity against the healthcare system
  - Grief and trauma associated with disease
New antibiotic regimens work, but are long
  - NU government is already resulting to free burger and fries as incentive to take TB
  medicine
New program: Nutrition North
  Only subsidizes what Ottawa considers “healthy foods”
  Excludes hygiene products
  More “cost effective”
Pockets suitable for social assistance, healthcare
Suicide-prevention program introduced years after problem was documented
Impossible to run rehab programs for prisoners