

# Relocation Redux

## Labrador Inuit Population Movements and Inequalities in the Land Claims Era

by Kirk Dombrowski, Patrick Habecker, G. Robin Gauthier,  
Bilal Khan, and Joshua Moses

Online enhancements: appendix.

The importance of community relocation experiences for aboriginal land claims movements is well documented; the role played by successful land claims in prompting ongoing out-migration is not. Data collected in 2011 on the lives of migrants are used to test three hypotheses:  $H_1$ , Inuit leaving the land claims area for a nearby nonaboriginal city show markedly different social outcomes based on the length of time since migration;  $H_2$ , these social outcomes map onto patterns of intergroup boundaries in their new communities; and  $H_3$ , both of these outcomes are better explained by migration patterns after the land claims than by the ethnic/racial exclusion that has been the focus of past research on inequality in the region. This analysis takes advantage of social network techniques used to study hard-to-reach populations, showing how these methods can be used to address broader questions of community structure and cohesion during rapid social change. Conclusions focus on the experiences of migrants on the margins of sending and receiving communities and what they can tell us about the role played by aboriginal land claims in the culture politics of industrial resource extraction.

Indigenous land claims are closely associated with individual and household relocation in Arctic ethnography but are rarely seen as operating in conjunction. Although the centrality of relocation experience to the land claims movements of many communities is well documented, the role played by successful land claims in prompting postclaims out-migration is seldom a subject of ethnographic notice. This paper uses data collected in 2011 to document the lives of migrants after leaving an indigenous land claims areas in eastern Canada. On virtually all measures, they are among the most marginal members of their new towns. Here we explore what this experience can tell us about the role played by land claims, as currently conceived

within the larger process of industrial resource extraction in the North, in the ongoing transformation of culture politics in the Arctic.

Earlier mid-twentieth-century relocations of entire Inuit communities in Canada were the source of well-known social dislocation and suffering. As documented by Marcus (1991, 1995), Tester and Kulchyski (1994), and, for Labrador, a host of more specific studies (Ben-Dor 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977, 1994; Burns 2006; Damas 2004; Kennedy 1977; Samson 2003; Sider 2006), the confused and often contradictory process of Inuit community relocations involved a hodgepodge of plans to lay claim to far northern regions, consolidate government services to dispersed settlements, and facilitate assimilation throughout the Arctic. Few of these aims were met, and the problems created for individuals and communities lingered for decades. In Labrador, the social inequalities and intra-community boundaries that resulted from the Hebron relocation not only remain well into the present but affect the descendants of relocatees as well—fostering intergenerational patterns of social marginality and isolation, such that many of the social problems suffered by relocatees are also felt by their children (Dombrowski et al. 2013c, 2014; for a discussion, see Whitbeck et al. 2004). Recognition of the short- and long-term damage done has prompted a number of apologies by various entities within the Canadian government—including federal-level apologies for the “High Arctic” relocations and apologies by the government of New-

**Kirk Dombrowski** is Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (711 Oldfather Hall, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502, USA [kdombrowski2@unl.edu]). **Patrick Habecker** is a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (711 Oldfather Hall, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502, USA). **G. Robin Gauthier** is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Reach Lab (Research, Evaluation, and Analysis for Community Health) at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (209 Benton Hall, Lincoln, Nebraska 68588-0623, USA). **Bilal Khan** is Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (728 Oldfather Hall, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502, USA). **Joshua Moses** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Haverford College (370 Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041, USA). This paper was submitted 23 VI 15, accepted 25 XI 15, and electronically published 3 XI 16.

- Prout, S. 2014. Interrogating the image of the "wandering nomad." In *Aboriginal populations: social, demographic and epidemiological perspectives*. F. Trovato and A. Romaniuk, eds. Pp. 381–414. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. [DA-B]
- Rebel, H. 1989. Cultural hegemony and class experience: a critical reading of recent ethnological-historical approaches (part one). *American Ethnologist* 16(1):117–136.
- Salganik, M. J., and D. Heckathorn. 2004. Sampling and estimation in hidden populations using respondent-driven sampling. *Sociological Methodology* 34(1):193–240. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.0081-1750.2004.00152.x>.
- Samson, Colin. 2003. *A way of life that does not exist: Canada and the extinguishment of the Innu*, vol. 67. New York: Verso.
- Scott, C. 2011. *Aboriginal autonomy and development in northern Quebec and Labrador*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Sider, Gerald. 2006. The production of race, locality, and state: an anthropology. *Anthropologica* 48(2):247–263. <http://doi.org/10.2307/25605314>.
- . 2014. *Skin for skin: death and life for Inuit and Innu*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Spiller, M. W., C. Cameron, and D. D. Heckathorn. 2012. RDSAT 7.1 User manual: RDS analysis tool 7.1. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Stammler, Florian. 2005. *Reindeer nomads meet the market: culture, property and globalisation at the "End of the Land,"* vol. 6. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia. Munster: Lit. [DVA]
- Statistics Canada, Government of Canada. 2013. 2011 National Household Survey Profile—Census Subdivision. Accessed March 4, 2014. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=1010025&Data=Count&SearchText=Happy%20Valley-Goose%20Bay&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&TABID=1>.
- Stewart, M. 2013. Roma and Gypsy "ethnicity" as a subject of anthropological inquiry. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42:415–432.
- Sutton, P. 2011. *The politics of suffering: indigenous Australia and the end of the liberal consensus* (new edition). Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing.
- Taylor, C. 1994. The politics of recognition. In *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*. Amy Gutmann, ed. Pp. 25–75. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, J. 1979. Indian-Inuit relations in eastern Labrador, 1600–1976. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2):49–58.
- . 2010. Demography as destiny: schooling, work and Aboriginal population change in Wadeye. CAEPR Working Paper 64/2010. Canberra: Centre for Economic Policy Research. [DA-B]
- . 2011. Beyond the pale: measures of mobility in postcolonial Australia. *Law Text Culture* (15):72–99. [DA-B]
- Tester, F. J., and P. K. Kulchyski. 1994. *Tammarniit (mistakes): Inuit relocation in the eastern Arctic, 1939–63*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Wakeham, P. 2012. Reconciling "terror": managing indigenous resistance in the age of apology. *American Indian Quarterly* 36(1):1–33.
- Ween, Gro B. 2012. World heritage and indigenous rights: Norwegian examples. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18(3):257–270.
- Wejnert, C. 2009. An empirical test of respondent-driven sampling: point estimates, variance, degree measures, and out-of-equilibrium data. *Sociological Methodology* 39(1):73–116. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9531.2009.01216.x>.
- . 2010. Social network analysis with respondent-driven sampling data: a study of racial integration on campus. *Social Networks* 32(2):112–124. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2009.09.002>.
- Wejnert, C., D. D. Heckathorn, J. Ramirez-Valles, and R. M. Diaz. 2008. The dual homophily model: disentangling the effects of affiliation preference and differential degree on homophily. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Sheraton Boston and Boston Marriott Copley Place, Boston, MA.
- Whitbeck, L. B., X. Chen, D. R. Hoyt, and G. W. Adams. 2004. Discrimination, historical loss and enculturation: culturally specific risk and resiliency factors for alcohol abuse among American Indians. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 65(4):409–418.
- Widdowson, F., and A. Howard. 2008. *Disrobing the aboriginal industry*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Wilkins, R., S. Uppal, P. Finès, S. Senécal, É. Guimond, and R. Dion. 2008. Life expectancy in the Inuit-inhabited areas of Canada, 1989 to 2003. *Health Reports/Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Health Information/Rapports Sur La Sante/Statistique Canada, Centre Canadien D'information Sur La Sante* 19(1):7–19.
- Wimmer, A. 2013. *Ethnic boundary making: institutions, power, networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Young, Michael G., and Joshua Moses. 2013. Neoliberalism and homelessness in the western Canadian Arctic. *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research* 4(2):7–22. Accessed July 15, 2016. <http://anserj.ca/index.php/cjnser/article/view/147>.