

Intergenerational Resilience in Aklavik, NWT

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ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of social change in the Canadian Arctic, Gwich'in and Inuvialuit community members in Aklavik, NWT live with the motto "Never Say Die". This paper explores the development of a model for Aboriginal resilience in the community of Aklavik across different generations. Attributes of resilience were used to build the model and found through a systematic review of the literature. To verify the applicability of these attributes to Aklavik, we held separate elder and youth focus groups to discuss resilience for each person and their community. The presence or absence of mention of an attribute in each discussion was noted and compared. Most of the attributes presented in the literature were also mentioned in the focus groups, however, one in particular was emphasized through the discussions. This attribute is agency and the action to create change in one's life and community. We present a brief discussion agency, although its emergence in the recent literature and its focus in Aklavik begs the question: *is agency a valuable attribute to resilience?*

KEY WORDS

Resilience, Aklavik, Gwich'in, Inuvialuit, Generations, Agency

INTRODUCTION

"Our instructor asked us, if there is one thing that you want to keep in your culture, in 500 years, what would that one thing be. And people spoke about language, hunting, trapping skills, dance, song. And I said **resiliency**. Because that's what has kept our people going from generation to generation to generation. And the only reason we brought that up was because when I went to school to do my degree in Whitehorse, this elderly lady came up to me and she told us, she welcomed us first and then she said, we just want to tell you ladies one thing, and we want you girls to keep it in your mind, Aboriginal people are stubborn. We're stubborn because they tried to get rid of us, they couldn't do it and we're still here. She meant, the system, government, whatever

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you want to call it, had tried to keep the people down, that's what she meant, that no matter what we're still here" (Velma Illasiak, pers. com., 2009)

Resilience is a broad and somewhat vague term that spans several disciplines. In the necessary growing pains of maturing as a concept, resilience is presently having a push-pull between its variety of interpretations. The conceptual breadth of resilience has lent itself to the malleability of the concept, and can be seen as both a strength along with a weakness. It allows resilience to be applied to different disciplines and lends itself to interdisciplinary use (Brand and Jax 2007). To highlight, the concept includes a range from the ecological to sociological interpretations. In the ecological literature, resilience was initially used to describe the capacity of a system to remain at equilibrium (Holling 1973). This has grown to a social-ecological interpretation of resilience (Adger et al. 2005). Similarly, in the psycho-sociological literature resilience has more traditionally referred to how an individual can remain a healthy, happy individual in the face of tremendous risk, again in a state of equilibrium (Andersson 2008, Fleming and Ledogar 2008). Yet researchers, particularly those who are Aboriginal or those working with Aboriginal communities are shifting the lens of resilience to make change (Wexler et al 2009, Pyett et al 2008). This paper places itself in the middle of the push and pull, first observing factors that community members determine to make them strong in a more traditional "equilibrium" understanding of resilience, and then playing with some ideas that were presented in focus groups to see resilience through a more radical agency-oriented approach. The objective of this paper is to outline a model of Aboriginal resilience in the community of Aklavik, NWT, Canada and contribute a push to resilience in the community seeing it as a tool for change.

This paper is presented in seven sections. First we introduce the community of Aklavik. Then, we outline how resilience can be broadly defined involving equilibrium and describe attributes of resilience. Next we profile a push to the resilience concept to implicate agency and directing change including a brief presentation of critical theory as a supporting theoretical framework. In the third section, we present the community of Aklavik as the case study community for this research. Following, we present the methodology and methods engaged in this work and then the resulting of the attributes of resilience in Aklavik and discuss them towards highlighting the direction for agency in resilience in conclusion.

CASE STUDY COMMUNITY

Brief history of Aklavik, NWT

On the western side of the Mackenzie Delta in the Northwest Territories, Canada, is the community of Aklavik whose motto is: "Never say Die". In 2006, Aklavik

was a hamlet of 594 individuals (Statistics Canada 2006), most of who identify as Gwich'in, Inuvialuit, or Métis. The settlement of Aklavik is on the shore of the Aklavik River with the view of Red and Black Mountain and was established in 1912 when the Hudson's Bay established a trading post. Since then, Aklavik has been a centre for transportation, trade, and trapping in the Western Arctic. The trading post was strategically located in the Northwestern Arctic, and by the 1920s became the government and trading centre of the region (ACC 2010). Quickly, Aklavik became home to residential schools. In 1925, the Catholic Immaculate Conception Residential School opened and in 1936, the Anglican All Saints Residential School. The schools were partially government supported for Gwich'in and Inuvialuit children from kindergarten to grade 8. Over the next couple decades, Aklavik grew steadily and by 1952, the population was just over 1600 people. The growing size of Aklavik and the occurrence from being located in the Delta, put enormous strain on the local infrastructure (ACC 2010). At this time, the Federal government planned the relocation of the Aklavik to Inuvik across the Mackenzie Delta. In 1954, East 3 was selected and later named Inuvik. Inuvik was functioning completely by 1960.

It was at this time that the community of Aklavik received its motto. While the town was being organized for its relocation, part of the town organized its own resistance, led by Arnold "Moose" Kerr who was the principal of the Aklavik Day School at the time (Usher and Brody 2008). This resistance movement would oppose the Federal government push for modernity in the North and in the end, many families from the town remained. Aklavik is on the border of the Gwich'in Land Claim and Inuvialuit Settlement region. On April 22, 1992 the Gwich'in land claim (GCLCA 1992) was signed and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) came into effect on July 25, 1984 (IFA 1984). The town is today a more traditionally-based community as well as with local tourism and oil and gas development.

The present changes faced in Aklavik, are an ideal backdrop from which to understand how people and a community respond to change. Contemporary threats such as climate change, wildlife population decline and the boom and bust of oil and gas activity may be described as a continuation of this historical colonization. Among the most well defined issues in the literature are the effects of climate change such as flooding and erosion (Adger et al. 2005), wildlife population decline including a decrease in the population of barren-ground caribou (Parlee and Wray 2008; Kruse et al. 1998) and the social and economic effects of boom and bust oil and gas activity (Usher 1993; Gamble 1978). The two residential schools in Aklavik, alongside many Canadian residential schools, "have been more recently acknowledged as institutions responsible for a variety of emotional, physical and spiritual atrocities committed against many of their western arctic Aboriginal residents over a four decade period" (Lewthwaite 2009). These combined experiences indicate enormous social change for community members of Aklavik over the past century.

During the last nearly decade, another change has taken place in the form of resistance and reclamation. This is through the Moose Kerr Aklavik School,

where Velma Illasiak, the present principal of the school, has initiated and facilitated an entire change of the school to serve the needs of and be a vehicle change for the community (Lewthwaite 2009). A recent recipient of the Canadian Principal Award, Velma recognized a need to reorient the school so that the community have cultural ownership of it and create a place where youth can grow, become leaders, and understand the world around them. The youth were considered the point of change for the community and the school is changing to support their role.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Developing a model for resilience in Aklavik

Definitions of resilience span disciplines and scales although many of them refer to the way in which different “systems” are in equilibrium (Brand and Jax 2007). In such, it depends on the understanding of a system, which in turn is guided by the paradigm of structural functionalism to observe a social system in identifiable components (Babbie and Benaquisto 2002, Parsons 1951). Each part of a system has a function, and each attribute of resilience has a purpose in shaping the whole and contributing to its functioning. We rely on a structural functionalist observation of the social system of Aklavik and its resilience in order to understand its various attributes. This model is a means of first observing and mapping the social world of Aklavik from the lens of resilience.

Along the disciplinary spectrum of resilience, typologically, it can be observed across different scales. Among the social disciplines, some of these are at the scales of the Individual, Culture, Family, and Community. The definition of Individual resilience is: “The ability of an individual to bounce back from adversity; The ability to transform disaster into a growth experience and move forward” (Connor and Davidson 2003). Lalonde (2005) defines Cultural Resilience as “Cultural persistence and continuity in through inevitable change”. Black and Lobo (2008) outline family resilience to be the ability of a family to respond positively to an adverse situation and emerge from the situation feeling strengthened. Finally, Wexler et al. (2009) describe community resilience to be the ability of a community to respond positively to adversity. These definitions are organized in Table 1. Across different scales, these definitions of resilience aim to explore how each system remains at an equilibrium, or in other words, at a healthy, or stable state.

Within each scale of resilience, there are attributes that are outlined to foster resilience. At the scale of the Individual some attributes are: positive acceptance of change and personal or collective goals (Connor and Davidson 2003), self-esteem (Andersson and Ledogar 2008) and agency (Wexler 2009). At the scale of the Culture some attributes are: Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Language (Chandler and Lalonde 1998), spirituality (Connor and Davidson 2003) and time on the Land (Ford 2009). At the scale of family, support networks are an

attribute to resilience (Black and Lobo 2008) as a sense of community (Sonn and Fisher 1998) and collective meaning making (Wexler et al 2009) are an attribute to Community resilience. These different components to “resilience” are the theoretical framework for the development of a model of how people respond to change. In this research we will look at resilience among these attributes to form and reflect on a model of resilience in Aklavik based on community input.

Agency in resilience

In this next section we examine the attribute of agency and the surrounding literature that calls for a push to resilience. In recent years, there has been a call for resilience to move beyond keeping a system in equilibrium, or an individual able to cope with risk, and into using it as a tool for creating change. Davidson (2010) presents some of the existing flaws to adapting ecological resilience to social-ecological systems. One particular consideration in this adaptation is the presence and role of human agency that is not present in ecological systems. She calls for the theoretical development of resilience to incorporate agency. Wexler et al. (2009) refute the idea that resilience is an equilibrium response to risk, and that resilience is instead about finding purpose. They propose that “health and well-being have been associated with the maintenance of traditional culture for Indigenous peoples because the production of culture creates collective meaning, a perception of community through mythology and history, and can provide symbolic bases for mobilization” (Wexler et al 2009). They outline that a community analyzing their culture and history in order to mobilize to create change is resilience.

In order to push resilience to involving agency, we must outline a theoretical framework for this action. Agency in resilience links to the tenets of critical theory (Davidson 2010). Shifting how an individual and a community respond to change to implicating agency involves a parallel shift from a paradigm of a structural functionalist observation of *how* a community responds to change, to a theoretical framework for critiquing its operation. Friere (1971) theorizes that to make change involves a “consciencization” of how a society or community works, and what is not working. This occurs at the level of the individual and multiplies to the level of a community and society. Through this process, the individual has the capacity to understand the functioning of the society within which the individuals live and additionally the ability to critique this process. In turn the individual can observe where change needs to be made and develop ways of creating this change. Similarly, Horkheimer with the Institute for Social Research developed critical theory where knowledge of a social system is connected with a social critique of it. “A critical theory of society is one in which philosophical reflection and social scientific knowing are joined” (Bernstein 1995). Habermas builds on this, to describe the emancipation of a society, or community, through its engagement of critical theory. Bernstein (1995, 51) quotes Habermas:

Only in the emancipated society, whose members’ autonomy and

responsibility have been realized, would communication have developed into the non-authoritarian and universally practiced dialogue from which both our model of reciprocally constituted ego-identity and our idea of true consensus are always implicitly derived. To this extent the truth of statements is based on anticipating the realization of the good life.

Davidson (2010) further links critical theory to the push for the resilience of social systems for including agency to the work of Habermas (1992). Through first understanding the society in which people live, they can then be critical of the power relationships and communication at play and create a better society in which to live. Communication and knowledge of society can bring the emancipation of people through critique and subsequent social change.

METHODOLOGY & METHODS

Methodology

We engaged a Community Based Collaborative Research methodology because it both maps and observes a system as well as works with critical theory with the intention of creating change (McTaggart 1997). CBCR has been previously used to explore wellbeing and resilience (Israel et al 1998, Dickson 2000) with a postcolonialist lens (McTaggart 1997). CBCR is a holistic approach to research that is useful for looking at a system (Brown 1991) as well as in developing meaningful research relationships (Battiste 2000). We worked with CBCR in Aklavik to design and conduct research that would be meaningful to and serve some of the goals of the community.

The goals of CBCR are to foster participation, learning, empowerment, and collaboration with a community (Krieger 1994, McKinlay 1993, Strand 2003). From these goals, eight pillar principles guide the way that research is conducted. Israel and others (1998) outline these pillars to be: 1. Recognizes community as a unit of identity; 2. Builds on strengths and resources within the community; 3. Facilitates collaborative partnerships in all phases of the research; 4. Integrates knowledge and action for mutual benefit of all partners; 5. Promotes a co-learning and empowering process that attends to social inequalities; 6. Involves a cyclical and iterative process; 7. Addresses health from both positive and ecological perspectives; 8. Disseminates findings and knowledge gained to all partners. Strand (2003) consolidates these pillars into three: collaboration, the creation and dissemination of knowledge, and community based research as social change. Together these goals and pillars form the structure upon which we have conducted this research in Aklavik.

While we cannot claim that it fully follows, the design of this project was further guided by Indigenous research methodology. An Indigenous research methodology considers “Whose research is this? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and

framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will the results be disseminated?" (Smith 1999). To develop the accountability and accessibility of the research to Aklavik, an Indigenous research Methodology has been foundational to this work.

Methods

In order to develop a model of resilience in Aklavik, We first conducted a systematic review of the literature (Savoie et al 2003) to identify resilience attributes. We searched for resilience attributes in the published literature in the database Web of Science and used the terms: "factors", "indicators" and "attributes". When performing this search exclusively for the term "resilience", it rendered 13,475 peer-reviewed journal articles. In order to search for resilience as developed in the social disciplines, and was narrowed to include only multidisciplinary psychology, social work, family studies, social psychology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, womens' studies, social issues, the search rendered 1,521 articles. We then searched along each scale of resilience, being individual, family, cultural, community and social-ecological. At the individual level the search retrieved 194 journal articles on resilience and 15 of worked with a scale of resilience. Of these, 9 looked at the Connor-Davidson scale for resilience. We derived some of the individual indicators from this scale. In searching for family resilience, there were 1077 journal articles, and 473 that implicate resilience factors in their study. In searching for community resilience in anthropology, psychology and sociology, 30 articles were found. In searching for cultur* resilience, 725 articles were found, of which 160 involved factors. A search for social-ecological resilience rendered 278 articles, of which 45 articles involved factors. When searching for Aboriginal resilience Web of Science 37 papers were retrieved. In addition, we searched the "gray literature" with Google Scholar for all of the same scales.

From this systematic review of the literature, a questionnaire was designed to explore a model for Aboriginal resilience in Aklavik, NWT. It included questions to explore each of the resilience factors. While this questionnaire is not the focus of this paper, focus groups were used to validate the questionnaire that would be used to collect qualitative and quantitative data on resilience (Morgan 1997, Rapley 2004). With two focus groups, one with youth and one with elders in 2 separate groups, we asked the participants to describe what would make themselves, their family and their community strong through time, in the past and into the future. With, six in each group we held 2 hour long focus groups and provided honorarium. We then compared what people discussed as "attributes" in the focus groups to what is presented in the literature. We also looked at what attributes in addition to the literature where spoken about by youth and/or elders.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Equilibrium resilience attributes

The preliminary results of the attributes from the literature and focus group are summarized in Table 2. Included in Table 2 is a column of “Measure in Our Study”, which highlights examples of questions intended to be asked in the questionnaire. At the individual scale of resilience, the first attribute was a positive acceptance of change. In the focus groups, this attribute was not explicitly mentioned and in fact change was described as uncontrollable and inevitable. The attribute of having personal or collective goals was not discussed at the individual level, but was discussed at a community level with the school. For the attribute of having agency, elders described how reclaiming the community school was important for building community resilience. For the attribute of self-esteem, youth said that to be outgoing and not shy, ambitious and creative would improve one's resilience. Elders said that truly knowing and believing that each person is resilient, that resilience is innate would support the resilience of each person and the community.

At the scale of cultural resilience, both youth and elders described traditional knowledge to be incredibly important. Youth said that it involved important skills for each person and the community to be resilient. Elders described traditional knowledge to be incredibly important for resilience because that knowledge holds the ways in which people responded to change in the past as well as survival skills because elders said that one day the community would have to return to the land. With the attribute of traditional language, elders described it to be important for resilience because it connects each person with the culture and the elders and holders of the culture. They emphasized that youth need to learn and speak their traditional language in order to be more closely connected to their culture. Elders and youth both emphasized how important their spirituality is for the resilience of each person and the community. Elders said to pray and be connected to the Lord and Creator would support them through anything. Both elders and youth strongly emphasized how important time on the land is for their resilience through knowledge, mental health and connection to family, community and culture. Youth said that the Land connected them to their spirituality and a feeling of awe. It reinforced cultural values to be resourceful and to think on ones toes. The land also taught people to not waste and be considerate of their environment. One youth in particular described that the Land brought him a sense of peace and freedom, which supported his mental health.

At the scale of community resilience, the attribute of sense of community was emphasized by both youth and elders as important for the resilience of their community that people come together. Elders spoke of how strong and important this was in the past. Elders and youth both said that elders and youth need to come together. Elders spoke about how it is immensely important to keep family members who have left the community supported in their new location. This support needs to be in the form of emotional support and food. Similarly, elders said that individual, community and family resilience all depend on family support. In the past, they say that people were never alone. They always had

strong family support. Elders said that the family has a strong educational role and not just the government school institution.

Resilience as a possible tool for change

Agency as an attribute as well as an idea was spoken about in the focus groups. “If we stay in the status quo, nothing will ever change” (Velma Illasiak, pers. com., 2009). There was a call to create change at a community level.

During the focus group, elders were very critical of negative effects that some parts of their society has on their community and its members. They described how they became critical through reflection of certain parts of their community, and their history. Elders outlined some of the factors that limited the resilience of the community. First they described leadership, which is not always working with community. Second, they described how community members and leaders are not always coming together and that they need to. They described that not coming together reduces growth and community wellbeing. Elders outlined that policy is limiting the resilience of the community and that government programs are often oppressive.

Resilience is a goal that has been utilized in the community and youth have been identified as major players in this change. Through the school, Velma and other elders have been using resilience as a lens for redirecting the lives of youth. It is their hope that this percolates to the greater community. They used the school to mobilize and used resilience as their target, or vision, for their community. The teachers, principal and elders have been teaching youth about the history that hindered the resilience of their people and have been trying to provide the skills through mentorship and programming that will support their individual and community resilience.

DISCUSSION

In the context of an equilibrium model of resilience, all of the attributes that were presented in Table 1 were discussed by elders and youth except for one. This was the “positive acceptance of change” where there was a somewhat indifferent reception to change described. Change was neither acknowledged as negative or positive, but inevitable. This should entail a closer examination of what is meant in the literature but a “positive” acceptance of change. It is our hope that the discussion of most of the attributes will support a representative and meaningful questionnaire.

There was much more discussion in the focus groups of resilience at the level of the community than at the individual level as well as a critique of what hindered resilience at the community level. The elders focused greatly (approximately half of the discussion) on what hindered resilience in the community. They were

describing a process of learning and critique of the community and society in which they live, that resembled the consciencization of Friere (1971). Similarly, this same critique links to both Horkheimer and Habermas (Bernstein 1995) of understanding their community and society in order to critique it.

Building on this critique, there was a push from the elders focus group for resilience as a means of coming together to create change that fell in line with the work of Wexler et al. (2009) on resilience as mobilization. Wexler et al. (2009) describes that the learning that takes place for the critique of society creates a personal meaning-making of one's personal or community struggle. This in turn enacts mobilization that in working towards being resilient, this same process appeared to take place in Aklavik. Instead of having resilience reinforce Aboriginal stereotypes of risk, Wexler et al. (2009) call for it be a force of change. This mobilization and action of resiliency, was directed by the elders and taught to the youth. Davidson (2010) reiterates that resilience can be a response to collapse and must involve agency, in this research the elders presented that they have been taking action in response to the threat of loss of their traditional language, and knowledge. This shift towards linking agency with resilience is a theme that is just beginning to emerge in the literature and its appearance in the literature begs the question, *is agency a valuable attribute to resilience?*

CONCLUSIONS

Building upon previous research on individual, family, cultural, and community resilience, we developed a model to explore Aboriginal resilience in Aklavik, NWT with community members. This model was created based on resilience attributes identified from a systematic review of the literature to design a questionnaire and was verified through focus groups with youth and elders. The preliminary results of the research suggested that the model could serve Aklavik. Additionally, the results of focus groups highlighted one attribute that emerged from the systematic review. This was the attribute of agency in making change. The ideas of youth and elders in Aklavik echoed a push that has been emerging in the literature to move the study of resilience in this direction; building on resilience as a response to risk and towards resilience as how people direct the change they wish to see for themselves and community. This paper underlined the importance of understanding how a person and his or her community is strong through changes as a first step to then critiquing one's social system and making change. It is our hope that this paper will form the scaffolding of meaningful research results for the community of Aklavik in the near future and to resilience research in years to come.

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Scale	Definition	Attributes	Reference(s)
Individual	The ability of an individual to bounce back from adversity; The ability to transform disaster into a growth experience and move forward	<i>Positive acceptance of change</i>	(Connor and Davidson 2003)
		<i>Personal or collective goals</i>	(Connor and Davidson 2003)
		<i>Agency, Action oriented approach</i>	(Wexler et al 2009)
		<i>Agency, Action oriented approach</i>	(Wexler et al 2009)
		<i>Self-esteem</i>	(Andersson 2008)
		<i>Process</i>	(Fleming and. Ledogar. 2008).
Cultural	Cultural persistence and continuity in through inevitable change.	<i>Traditional Knowledge</i>	(Chandler and Lalonde. 1998; Lalonde 2005; Ford 2009)
		<i>Traditional Language</i>	(Chandler and Lalonde. 1998; Lalonde 2005)
		<i>Spirituality</i>	(Connor and Davidson 2003; Hallett et al 2007)
		<i>Time on the Land</i>	(Ford 2009)
Community	Ability of community respond positively to adversity; also referred to as "community competence"	<i>Collective meaning-making</i>	(Wexler et al 2009)
		<i>Sense of community</i>	(Sonn and Fisher 1998)
Social-Ecological	The ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change;		(Adger 2000; Walker and Salt 2006)
Family	The ability of a family to respond positively to an adverse situation and emerge from the situation feeling strengthened	<i>Support networks.</i>	(Simon and Smith 2005;Black and Lobo 2008)
Ecological	Several Definitions	<i>Shifting Regime States</i>	(Brand and Jax 2007)

Table 1. Resilience attributes from systematic review of the literature

Scale	Definition	Attributes	Measure in Our Study	Reference(s)	Youth and Elder Focus Group Discussion
Individual	The ability of an individual to bounce back from adversity; The ability to transform disaster into a growth experience and move forward	<i>Positive acceptance of change</i>	When you experience change, do you most often feel nervous or optimistic?	(Connor and Davidson 2003)	Youth said that one can never know the future. There are no expectations for the future which allows many changes not to be strongly judged as positive or negative
		<i>Personal or collective goals</i>	Do you ever plan your life around your thoughts for the future?	(Connor and Davidson 2003)	There was some indirect discussion of how there was personal goal of Velma which became a the community goal to reclaim the community school in order to make the youth and their community more resilient.
		<i>Agency, Action oriented approach</i>	Do you ever plan your life around your thoughts for the future?	(Wexler et al 2009)	There was no explicit discussion, however, the elders spoke about needing to think about children and their future for and in the community.
		<i>Agency, Action oriented approach</i>	Do you feel like you can make positive change in Aklavik if you wanted to?	(Wexler et al 2009)	The elders described how reclaiming the community school was important for building community resilience.
		<i>Self-esteem</i>	Do you feel confident with your life?	(Andersson 2008)	Youth said that to be outgoing and not shy, ambitious and creative would improve one's resilience. Elders said that truly knowing and believing that each person is resilient, that resilience is innate would support the resilience of each person and the community.
		<i>Process</i>	Not measured	(Fleming and Ledogar. 2008).	
Cultural	Cultural persistence and continuity in through inevitable change.	<i>Traditional Knowledge</i>	Do you consider yourself to hold traditional knowledge?	(Chandler and Lalond. 1998; Lalonde 2005; Ford 2009)	Youth described Traditional knowledge to be important skills for each person and the community to be resilient. Elders described Traditional knowledge to be incredibly important for resilience because that knowledge holds the ways in which people responded to change in the past as well as survival skills because elders said that one day the community would have to return to the land.
		<i>Traditional Language</i>	Do you speak Gwich'in/Inuvialuktun?	(Chandler and Lalond. 1998; Lalonde 2005)	Elders described that <i>Traditional Language</i> is important for resilience because it connects each person with the culture and the elders and holders of the culture. They emphasized that youth need to learn and speak their traditional language in order to be more closely connected to their culture.
		<i>Spirituality</i>	Are you spiritual?	(Connor and Davidson 2003; Hallett et al 2007)	Elders and youth both emphasized how important their spirituality is for the resilience of each person and the community. Elders said to pray and be connected to the Lord and Creator would support them through anything.
		<i>Time on the Land</i>	Roughly, how many days in the past year have you spent on the land?	(Ford 2009)	Both elders and youth strongly emphasized how important time on the land is for their resilience through knowledge, mental health and connection to family, community and culture. Youth said that the Land connected them to their spirituality and a feeling of awe. it reinforced cultural values to be resourceful and to think on ones toes. The land also taught people to not waste and be considerate of their environment. One youth in particular decribed that the Land brought him a sense of peace and freedom, which supported his mental health.

Table 2. Attributes of resilience and results from elders and youth focus groups.

Scale	Definition	Attributes	Measure in Our Study	Reference(s)	Youth and Elder Focus Group Discussion
Community	Ability of community respond positively to adversity; also referred to as "community competence"	<i>Collective meaning-making</i>	Not measured	(Wexler et al 2009)	This idea was discussed in the elders meeting although not labelled as such. The school is a vehicle for children and youth to be united. They describe the effort in turning around the school as a place is driven by and serves the community. In addition, it is a place where culture can be reinforced and the colonialist history of the community can be understood by children and youth.
		<i>Sense of community</i>	Do you consider yourself a part of the community of Aklavik?	(Sonn and Fisher 1998)	Youth and elders both emphasized important how important it is for the resilience of their community that people come together. Elders spoke of how strong and important this was in the past.
Social-Ecological	The ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change;		Can you think of a change that happened on the land that is negative for yourself, your family, and Aklavik?	(Adger 2000; Walker and Salt 2006)	not discussed
Family	The ability of a family to respond positively to an adverse situation and emerge from the situation feeling strengthened	<i>Support networks.</i>	1. If you were to encounter difficulty, do you feel financially supported by your family? 2. If you were to encounter difficulty, do you feel emotionally supported by your family?	(Simon and Smith 2005; Black and Lobo 2008)	Elders said that individual, community and family resilience all depend on family support. In the past, they say that people were never alone. They always had strong family support. elders discussed the educational role of the family, not just in the government school institution.
Ecological	Several Definitions	<i>Shifting Regime States</i>	Not measured	(Brand and Jax 2007)	

Table 2. Continued. Attributes of resilience and results from elders and youth focus groups.