Connections to the Land:

The Politics of Health and Wellbeing in Arviat Nunavut

by

Sherrie Lee Blakney

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba
December 2009

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Abstract

Connections to the Land: the Politics of Health and Wellbeing in Arviat, Nunavut is about traditional knowledge as process. The thesis examines the relationships between Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) ["the Inuit way of doing things"; traditional knowledge (TK);], Inuit perceptions of health and wellbeing and the land; and what the relationships mean for integrated coastal and ocean management. Among Arviat Inuit (Arviarmiut), IQ, health and wellbeing and the land are tightly interconnected. When one relationship is stressed, disruptions occur throughout the whole system. IQ is embedded in Inuit perceptions of health and wellbeing, and to be healthy, Inuit maintain they must interact with the land in Inuit ways. In 2004, issues surrounding the nature of IQ, its control, production, documentation and legitimation were hotly contested by Arviarmiut. Inuit strongly resented input from academics, resource managers, scientists or other southern "experts". Arviarmiut sensitivities regarding IQ were in part the result of the rapid social change that had occurred over the last half century. Social systems suffered upheaval as colonial processes and institutions impacted values, networks, families and identity. The rate of change did not allow for time for traditional systems to adapt, and aspects of social change happened out of sync with each other resulting in dysfunction. Arviat's history of relocation, uneven social change and expanded communication ability all affected the formation of IQ. Through participatory research, participant observation, interviews and network-building with Inuit organizations, the research explores IQ as process and the interconnections with the land and wellbeing. It recommends greater integration of Inuit into resource management planning and decision-making in ways consistent with IQ; and allowing Inuit to decide what processes and policies are most appropriate for them.

Acknowledgements

There are many Arviarmiut who gave so generously of their time, their honesty, their frustrations and their experiences in hopes of bringing about a healthier community and increased wellbeing through improved government-community relations in their lifetime.

First are the elders (in alphabetical order): Marc and Simone Ahikashwa, Manual and Kitty Akat, Dorothy and Joseph Akatsiaq, Louis Angalik, Martine Anoee, Luke and Mary Anowtalik, Little Elizabeth (relative of Angie Eetak), Paul Inauliak, Mark and Mary Kalluak, John and Rhoda Karetak, Philip Kigusiotnaaq, Andy Kowtak, James and Helen Kunne, Martha (elder sister of Angie Eetak), Elizipee and Jimmy Muckpah, Job and Eva Mukjurnik, Mary Nagiyak, Elizabeth Nibgoarsi, Annie Seowee, Peter and Lydia Sewaksiork, Matilda and Bernie Sulurguk, Philip and Nancy Tasseur, Richard and Lucy Tutsweetuk, and Donald Uluadluak.

Many Arviarmiut were involved in the project through interviews, hunting, trapping and fishing excursions, interpretation, visits and multiple interactions involved in living their day-to-day lives with me in their midst. In alphabetical order they are: Theresa Agaark, David and Dorothy Aglukark, Janet Akat, David and Hattie Alagalak, Larry and Elizabeth Alagalak, Peter Alareak, Dianne Angmak, Eric Anoee Jr., Luke and Aileen Anoee, Susan Arloo, Betty Curley, Paul Ee, Angie and Mark Eetak, Abraham Eetak, Ernie Eetak, Micheal Eetak, Randy Eetak, Micheal Evunirjuk and Nellie Nagiyak, Judy Issariark, Jeanie Kalluak, Lucy Kalujuk, Joe Karetak, Pierre Komak, Peter Kritagalik, Isaac Levi, Peter Mikijuniak, Florence Mikijuniak, Noah Muckpah, Tommy Muckpah, Billy and Tamar Mukjurnik, Rebecca Nagiyak, Frank and Martha Naturasungnik, the Naturasungnik girls, Peter Naturasungnik,

David Nibgoarsi, Thomas Nibgoarsi, Arden and Theresa Nibgoarsi, Annie Ollie, Paul and Linda Pemik, Pauline Pemik, Joe and Susan Savikitaaq, Melinda Sewaksiork, Luke Suluk, David Suluk, Melanie Tabvehtah and Shirley Tagalik.

There were also Qablunaat who gave interviews or contributed to the research. They include: Mitch Campbell, Alain Chouinard and Mike Setterington, Government of Nunavut Environment; Brock Junkin, Government of Nunavut, Economic Development; Margaret Joyce, Government of Nunavut Education; Todd Johnson, John Mains and Rick Van Horne, Arviat Hamlet; and Gordon and Martha Mains, Northern Store.

Special appreciation goes to David Rosenberg who applied his outstanding editing skills to the thesis draft, and to Leah Hartwig who assisted with the maps and charts used in this project. This thesis would not have been possible without the efforts of Thomas Suluk who reviewed interview tapes, verified transcriptions, read thesis drafts, corrected errors and misconceptions, and when necessary, called Arviarmiut to fill in missing details and gaps.

Last, but not least is my husband Ivan Blakney who endured long months of separation while I was in Arviat, and many hours of isolation while I worked on thesis development.

This project was funded through: research grants from Fisheries and Oceans Canada, ArcticNet, and the Oceans Management Research Network (OMRN); doctoral fellowships from Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the University of Manitoba, the James Gordon Fletcher Ph.D. Fellowship; and first year graduate support was provided by a SSHRC/DFO grant to F. Berkes for Blakney's work as the OMRN Integrated Management Node Coordinator.

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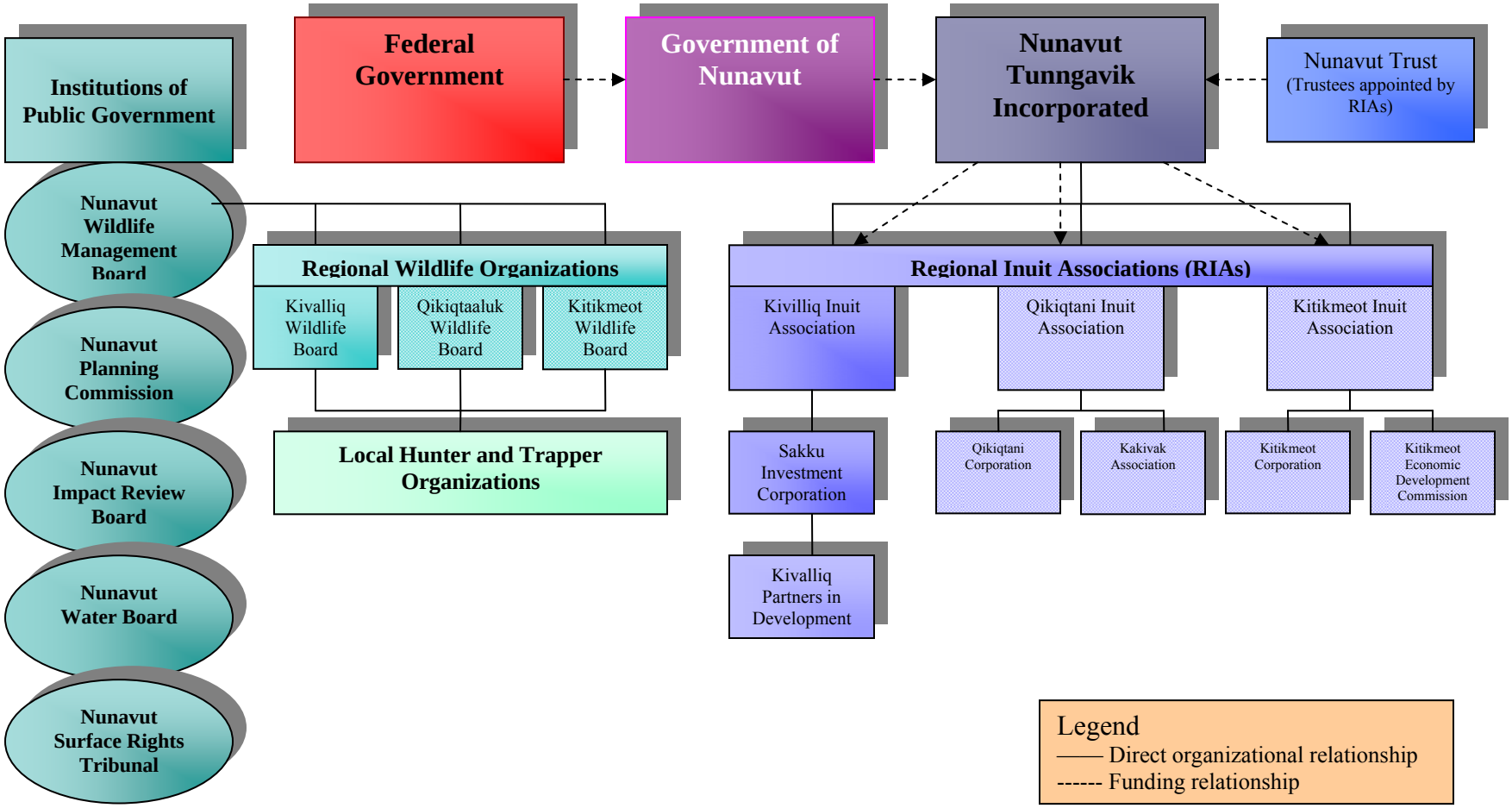
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Chapter One: Introduction

Vignette 1: The shadow of the shaman

On December 25, 1940 in Kingaryualik ("the hill"), families gathered for a drum dance. Young Donald Uluadluak was among those gathered in the snow-house at the time and he describes the events that transpired. During the drum dance Donald Suluk, the favoured grandson of Issumatajuak ("big camp boss"), suddenly turned ghostly white from a premonition and sighed deeply. In a grave, tired voice Suluk said:

> From this day forward our world has changed because now Christianity has come and it is no longer proper for us to do these things. Everywhere Christianity has gone there has been change and people who persist in maintaining their culture will be considered as breaking the law. The songs will be different because now we will be singing about Christian things…. From this day forward we will no longer be using amulets and other such things because now we have turned to Christianity. Now *we have to pretend forever*. From henceforth nothing out of the ordinary goes on. – Donald Uluadluak.

Since that time, Uluadluak says, "the drum dances have never been original. The drum dances performed today are corrupted and sanitized —a modification of the way they used to be. From that time forward those things that were, were suppressed, forgotten or left behind".

Thomas Suluk, a relative of Donald Suluk, added to Uluadluak's account saying the reason Donald Suluk announced these things was because his grandfather, Issumatajuak, was on his deathbed and worried that his grandson would be living an orphan's life rather than the privileged position that he then enjoyed. The grandfather's dying wish was that Suluk would have companions and friends, and that their society would keep him occupied so he would eventually forget about having been the favourite.

Twenty years later, Donald Suluk's power and reputation as a big camp boss had grown and he was the source of much awe and suppressed astonishment as he brought his

people in off the land to Eskimo Point (now Arviat). As a young Arviarmiut, elder Bernie Sulurguk well remembers that day and how he was told to go up on a hill away from the area where Suluk was bringing his camp, and to *watch and act like nothing out of the ordinary had taken place, and to report back on what was happening.*

Uluadluak asserts he had seen with his own eyes Donald Suluk's ability to "walk through people and igloos while doing drum dances. Suluk had the ability to levitate and fly".

> They used to do those things with extreme happiness, exceeding and uninhibited joy. But then Suluk began to suppress the taboos and practices. Then he said now we are going to lead very moderated lives, very diluted. In fact Suluk said he would help the priests, both Catholic and Anglican and many Inuit believed because one of their own was supporting the new religions. That was how the original, ancient peoples with ancient beliefs began to switch to the modern — though not all did. – Donald Uluadluak

Uluadluak contends that Suluk's followers and relatives were very happy with what Suluk was doing because he was using the same angatquq (shaman) methods he used before Christianity was introduced in the north.

> He was saying similar type things except now he was using words like "Christ" and other catch phrases. But to the uninitiated, he was a prophet because he did things like a prophet. He used oracles to discern the answer. If it was 'no' then an object might be heavy, or if the answer was 'yes' then it would feel light. The answer was 'yes' or 'no' in black and white …. We cannot say there are no more people that believe in those things, but maybe they are not as obvious. – Donald Uluadluak



Grave of Donald Suluk, Born 1925. Note that the date of death has been scratched out. Some Arviarmiut consider him a prophet.

Framing the thesis

Purpose and objectives

The thesis is about traditional knowledge as process and the socio-political construction of TK in Arviat Nunavut. Traditional knowledge (TK) is more than content and artefacts. TK contains more than ecological knowledge. TK is political and is embedded in social relations. TK is a way of knowing and Inuit want control of their TK — Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), described by Arviat Inuit as "the Inuit way of doing things". The TK material contained in the thesis is controversial. The conflicts arising from the material involve completing claims about what TK is and what it is not, how TK is used, and who controls it. Although it may not be appropriate for non-Inuit to decide what constitutes TK, the process of constructing TK through various discursive strategies can be explored.

There are three interconnected elements running throughout the thesis: Inuit perspectives on IQ; Inuit and their relationship to the land; and Inuit concepts of health and wellbeing. IQ is embedded in Inuit concepts of health and wellbeing, and to be healthy, Inuit must interact with the land in Inuit ways. However, each of the three elements is in a state of flux due to historical and colonial processes. The process of change is not synchronized; components informing each element are changing at a different rate, causing disarray and disconnectedness throughout Inuit communities. Strife, disagreements and violence may emerge without particular substance behind the motives or reasoning. Difficulties and unanticipated results occur when government bureaucratic and administrative structures attempt to intervene and design solutions. In the latter section of the thesis, I examine the Nunavik beluga situation and Arviat Inuit difficulties integrating abstract information from

Nunavik. IQ becomes disjointed from not being embedded in Arviat's social relations and experience, triggering intense hostilities against the researcher. The interplay between the IQ, Inuit perceptions of health, wellbeing and the land has continued implications for integrated coastal management and governmental arrangements in the North.

I use the theoretical perspectives and the principal of montage (see below) to examine the politics of IQ, the land, health and wellbeing, and the implications for integrated management and policy development within Arviat and the wider Kivalliq region of Nunavut. Throughout this work I highlight Inuit perspectives, practices and words; lesser attention is given to non-Inuit views, except to draw a contrast.

Orientation

A hundred and fifty years ago, a lawyer/archaeologist named Brackenridge, made an observation concerning the North American Indians in Missouri:

> They have amongst them their poor, their envious, their slanderers, their mean and crouching, their haughty and over-bearing, their unfeeling and cruel, their weak and vulgar, their dissipated and wicked; and they have also, their brave and wise, their generous and magnanimous, their rich and hospitable, their pious and virtuous, their frank, kind and affectionate, and in fact all the diversity of characters that exists amongst the most refined people (Brackenridge 1904:128-129).

Similar to Brackenridge's observations, in the North I have seen among the Arviarmiut acts of great compassion and cruelty, thoughtfulness and neglect, violence and gentleness, crushing ridicule and uplifting encouragement. I've been welcomed into homes by some and harshly turned away by others. I saw some elders highly respected and their words adhered to, others were reproached and abused. The friendship of some Inuit caused me to forget I was Qablunaat, while others caused me to fear for my life. On many occasions I witnessed these

contrasting characteristics within the same individual, fluctuating hourly or daily depending on the circumstances coming to bear on the individual's emotional, mental, physical and social being.

Throughout this thesis, I have chosen to speak about incidences which are controversial. The reader should be cautioned that these incidences are not the only way Inuit do things, neither are they characteristic of all Inuit all the time. Likewise it is false and an injustice to the intelligence and dignity of Inuit elders, hunters, women and children to romanticize their lives and deny them the opportunity to voice their anger and frustrations, to make mistakes, to adapt or change and to move on — like any other Canadian. This thesis is not the final word on the Inuit of Arviat, but a montage of one researcher's experiences:

> *Montage*: alterations, cracks, displacements, and swerves all evening long— the sudden interruptions, always interruptions to what at first appears the order of ritual and then later on takes on a little more than an excuse of order and then dissolves in a battering of wave after wave of interuptedness into illusory order, mocked order, colonial order in the looking glass … (Taussig 1987: 441).

> *Montage*: oscillating in and out of oneself: feeling sensations so intensely that you become the stuff sensed. But then you are standing outside the experience and coldly analyzing it … (Taussig 1987: 443).

Theoretical perspective

Society is inherently dialectical in character; the socio-cultural context in which we live influences and, to a large extent, determines the interpretation of basic "facts" about the world around us. According to Bourdieu (1990), the perceived objective structures, laws and systems of relationships are not independent of individual consciousness and will, but one is simply the embodiment of the other. The correspondence between perceived objectivist and subjectivist structures has important political applications because the categories of perception

reinforce the established order and the interests of those who dominate it. However, the social order is malleable because symbolic systems help constitute the social relations and vice versa. Within limits, one can transform the world by transforming the representation of it (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Using a game analogy, Bourdeau (1990) proposed that objectivity is an illusion that requires the belief of those who have the propensity and ability to play the game. Players compete, oppose, form strategies and constantly work to define the boundaries of their field. Players expend much energy to differentiate themselves from their closest rivals to reduce competition from rivals and to establish monopolies over their subfields. However, players will only obey the tacit rules of the game insofar as it is in their interest to follow them. The players act according to self-interest because they firmly believe in the illusion created by the overlapping social fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Foucault and Rabinow (1984) add to our understanding by proposing that objectivity is not a natural evolving or emerging process but is often the result of human intervention and planning, and is accomplishable because such illusion is part of a productive network that runs through all of society producing pleasure, knowledge and discourse. The illusion of objectivity is tied to the use of population surveillance and administration technologies that control populations by seeking to define a “norm” and focusing the state’s power on whatever falls outside of the norm. Through scientific discourse, norms become identified and diffused through educational, governmental and military institutions, and through media and narrative texts, establishing western regimes of “truth”. The creation of truth reflects the politics of its creator(s), and societies are conditioned and trained to obey through the integration of the

state's power into the everyday attitudes and actions of individuals (Foucault and Sheridan 1995).

The goal and primary function of this form of power is to train, condition and link forces together in such a way as to amplify their effectiveness (Foucault and Rabinow 1984). At the centre are the "administrative functions of management, the policing functions of surveillance, the economic functions of control and checking, the religious functions of encouraging obedience and work; from here all orders would come, all activities would be recorded, all offences perceived…." (Foucault and Rabinow1984:191-192). It is not the body of knowledge and the one possessing it, but it is the processes and perspectives from which that knowledge is shaped and presented that determine power–knowledge.

According to Scott (1998), governments require standardized information and simplified numerical data to make populations intelligible and subject to the classic functions of statecraft: taxation, conscription and prevention of rebellion. Governments knew very little about their citizens before the institution of permanent last names, the standardization of measurements and weights, cadastral surveys, population registers, freehold tenure, the standardization of language, legal discourse, and the design and organization of cities and transportation. A similar situation existed with the natural environment. Without standardization, a scientific design and layout that could be put on a grid, centrally monitored and recorded, the environment in terms of forestry, agriculture, flora and fauna were knowable only to those intimately connected to the area and therefore not subject to state manipulation. Populations and individuals currently allow state manipulation and comply because they accept the information and process as truth and because of the perceived

knowledge, pleasure and discourse generating from the system. Societies can operate relatively well in situations where players (the rulers and the ruled) believe in the same body of truth and operate by the same set of principles.

However, every society establishes its own regimes of truth, and the hegemonic relations that infuse the illusion of objectivity are never exercised on an unoccupied cultural landscape. Instead, hegemony is established at the expense of other fields that have their own sets of relations and ideologies. The objectivist narrative makes the extraordinary appear ordinary and the resulting colonial violence played out on a culture seem distant and fascinating, instead of startling, shocking and immediate. This fiction is accomplished in part by

> …dividing the rational from the irrational, and economically sensible from the frivolous, as if by this ordering procedure the analyst and commentator was still, so to speak, on top of things, understanding, taming, coping… (Taussig 1986:51)

Landscape is often recruited to the task of interpreting history or justifying policy by giving it a power and legitimacy it would not necessarily have (Cronon 1983; Simmons 1993; Amagoalik 2000; Sherrill 2003; Taussig 2006). Names and descriptive terms used by early explores to describe indigenous land such as “barren grounds”, “wastelands” suggest hardship, starvation and places of death where intervention is needed. Other terms such as “pristine” and “wilderness” suggest an uninhabited land full of natural resources and where there is no one to consult. Simmons (1993) in writing of the contrast between western and indigenous constructions of the North American environment said regarding the European colonist:

> …this continent was often a threatening and untrodden tract empty of human life other than that of the 'savages', or possibly a sublime solitude waiting for the axe and the plough (Simmons 1993:14).

In contrast, Simmons goes on to quote Luther Standing Bear saying:

> Only to the white man was nature a 'wilderness' and only to him was the land 'infested' with 'wild' animals and 'savage' people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessings of the Great Mystery (Simmons 1993:14).

Dominant societies with illusions of objectivity never totally succeed in removing the vitality from indigenous systems. Instead, elements of pre-existing indigenous systems constantly spring up, threatening and remaking the dominant hegemony by subverting, modifying, overturning and blocking the categories imposed on it by the dominant society. Scott's (1985, 1998) studies of the hidden texts and weapons of the peasantry describe strategies used by dominated cultures to overturn the categories imposed upon it. Thus dominant systems are constantly trying to win the approval and consent of subordinate groups.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1991:15) said colonization "inheres in seizing and transforming "others" by the very act of conceptualizing, inscribing, and interacting with them on terms not of their choosing; in making them into the pliant objects and silenced subjects of our scripts and scenarios…".

However in the place where two cultures meet, both the dominant and the dominated are "folded into the assumed otherness of each other, where what was taken to be an [Aboriginal] practice met with what was taken to be a white one, where assumed meanings met with assumed meanings to form strange codependencies and culture itself…" (Taussig 1986:109)—a culture of hybridity and "epistemic murk".

There are no "pure" cultures or cultural products —all have been influenced by others and identity can be very difficult to define because cultural communities can have permeable borderlines in areas of language, kinship, intermarriage, government, economy and religion, to name a few (Clifford 1988). However, in situations of colonialism, Bhabha (1994) says identity involves "being called into being in relation to otherness" and the native fantasy is to occupy the colonizer's place while at the same time keeping his own place and right to avenging anger; to be in two places at the same time, the production of an image assumed by the other, but not the essence. This form of hybridity is not about the permeable borderlines of Clifford (1988), but of a mimicry—a double articulation, to be almost the same but not quite. Mimicry is a camouflage. "It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled—exactly like the technique of camouflage practised in human warfare" (Lacan 1977:99). To be effective, mimicry is constructed around ambivalence; a continuous fluctuation between two opposites and stands in stubborn defiance of authority, thus creating what Taussig referred to as:

> …a society shrouded in an order so orderly that its chaos was far more intense than anything that had preceded it…that great steaming morass of chaos that lies on the underside of order and without which order could not exist (Taussig 1986:4).

Indigenous people may be surrounded by European-based systems and consume its goods and its narratives, but it is often for the purpose of seizing its symbols, calling into question their integrity and authority, and remaking them in their own image. This defiance may be engaged in openly or through imaginative feats of cultural subversion, or through a quiet brooding resistance (Scott 1985, 1990; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Kulchyski 1992). As indigenous people try to reverse the existing relations of inequality and assert themselves

against the dominant group, they too must call upon these ideologies in a struggle to control the terms in which their world is ordered and power legitimized. It typically involves asserting control over forms of symbolic production such as formal education, religion, social behaviour, governance and law, communication, health, and modes of representation (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

> A crucial domain for the analysis of colonialism and resistance is the realm of partial recognition; that hazy, liminal space of ambiguous perception in which people may discern acts and know that something is happening to them but not be able to order them into articulate descriptions. It is from this realm that Benjamin (1969:224, 225) said "The true picture of the past flits by. … To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was'… It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger". This concept of history has little to do with the common historicist view of events unfolding progressively over time, but has more to do with the principal of montage carried over into history.

Constructions of the land

Kivalliq ("the southern region") consists of 125,000 km^2 of land on the western side of Hudson Bay and is characterized by flat open tundra, slow rising beaches, great rivers, granite eskers and countless lakes and ponds carved out by ice melts and glaciations. It encompasses the area between Repulse Bay and Churchill on the east, over to the Coronation Gulf. Its western boundary roughly follows the treeline south and back east toward Churchill (Birket-Smith and Calvert 1929).

The climate of the Kivalliq is more severe than most parts of Canadian Arctic. Heavy storms are common in all seasons (Williamson 1974). Temperatures drop to below -60°C and there is a continuous wind that averages around 25–30 km/h. Until recently, the Hudson Bay was free of ice only from the third week in July to mid-October. Early explorers in search of the Northwest Passage called Kivalliq the "Barren Grounds" because of the severity of the weather and the perceived lack of resources. To the Inuit who inhabit the Kivalliq, it is a place where caribou and fish are plentiful and today the Kivalliq is home to 8000 people in seven hamlets: Arviat (formerly Eskimo Point), Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, Igluligarjuk (formerly Chesterfield Inlet), Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay on the coast, and the inland community of Baker Lake (Figure 3).

Not all cultures view their land in the same way. Those from a European background tend to view land in terms of economic potential and as wilderness that needs to be tamed (Cronon 1983; Taussig 1986). Contrary to the dominant stereotype, Brody (2000) states agricultural societies, of which Europeans are a part, tend toward both small- and large-scale nomadism because private property, inheritance factors and growing populations lead to a

shortage of land and resources. Agriculturalists expand into less populated areas and appropriate the land of less powerful inhabitants. Hunter-gatherer societies, with their relatively low populations, are situated on the periphery of the agricultural world. Although often assumed to be more nomadic than the agriculturalists, hunter-gatherer societies are highly settled on their land and their movements remain within the boundaries of their traditional territories (Brody 2000).

For the Cree, the land supports an integrated chain of sentient beings, hunters and animals that form complex reciprocal relationships in which animals give themselves to hunters in return for meeting the needs of the animals (Feit 1986; Berkes 1999). Other research indicates that Aboriginal people often view their land as essential to their physical, emotional and cultural well-being (Adelson 2000), and that ill health may be connected to maltreatment of their environment (Blakney 2003). Povinelli's (1993) work among the Belyuen of northern Australia demonstrates how Aborigines believe their speech and physical labour (sweat) affects a sentient landscape and the community's identity.

Inuit health and identity is strongly connected to the land and their knowledge and relationship to it (Blakney 2004). In the three decades that preceded the Nunavut land claim settlement (mid 1960s-1993), Inuit realized how the map of their land was becoming a patchwork of mineral claims and leases. Inuit increasingly viewed government and the mining industry as partners who were non-supportive of their concerns and not willing to allow serious input from Inuit for resource planning and decision-making (Hicks and White 2000). Inuit maintained they were never consulted regarding these changes and that their compliance was assumed. Decisions made by the dominant society did not reflect Inuit values and

traditions, and soon resulted in a distortion of their society and a growing resistance. Thus, Inuit began the long process towards a comprehensive Nunavut Land Claim Agreement and the formation of Nunavut Territory to regain control over the land and fish and game management, and their land-based culture, language and knowledge.

According to former land claims negotiator, Thomas Suluk (Suluk and Blakney, 2008), the land claim agreement was necessary to build a buffer zone between the outside world (southern Canada) and the older generation of Inuit who were coming out of the ancient world into the modern society. The creation of Nunavut Territory was necessary to provide the infrastructure for dealing with the socio-economic concerns that arose from this transition. Inuit leaders were aware that the livelihood of the elders would not sustain their children's generation. New skills, wage labour and non-renewable resource development were required to build a viable economy in Nunavut. Thus, Inuit relations to the land took on a new dimension through the land claim process, as did Inuit relationship with government.

Berkes (1999:168) said increasingly indigenous people are choosing to:

> …retain culturally significant elements of a traditional way of life, combining the old and the new in ways that maintain and enhance their identity while allowing their society and economy to evolve …. Traditional knowledge has become a symbol for indigenous groups in many parts of the world to regain control over their own cultural information, and reclaiming this knowledge has become a major strategy for revitalization movements.

In Arviat, Inuit elders and senior hunters repeatedly asserted that to be healthy is to be Inuk, and to be Inuk required having the knowledge and ability to relate to the land in Inuit ways; Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) or traditional knowledge. The Inuit way of knowing and doing things is often referred to by non-Inuit as traditional knowledge.

Traditional Knowledge (TK)

Various perspectives on TK and culture have been developed by academics. Perspectives range from the assertion that traditional culture has been absorbed, that *real Aboriginal* people no longer exist; therefore they should be fully assimilated into mainstream Canadian culture. Others take the view that traditional culture and knowledge is thriving and adapting to new situations. Below is a brief discussion of selected perspectives on traditional knowledge is below, followed by the major perspectives of Berkes (1999; 2008) and Nadasdy (2003). In this discussion, I take the position of Bourdieu — objective structures are the embodiment of subjective structures — and apply it to traditional culture and TK; in other words, I maintain that traditional culture is the embodiment of TK. This position is somewhat similar to the relationship described by Ingold (2000:175):

> Human beings…are the authors of their own designs, constructed through a self-conscious decision process — an intentional selection of ideas. … [houses] are only being made … when they are constructed in the imagination prior to their realization in the material … it follows that things can be made without undergoing any actual physical alteration at all.

In the 19th century, Lewis Henry Morgan proposed human societies progressively worked their way up through various stages of cultural development by the slow accumulation of experiential knowledge. A society's evolutionary stage was gauged by its technology, subsistence pattern, kin and family structure and moral development. Morgan asserted that all human societies followed a universal course through various stages of savagery (hunter/gatherer societies), barbarism (domestication of animals and irrigation), and civilization (the invention to writing to present). Hunter and gatherer societies were considered "survivals" from the past. Although now seen as inherently racist, Morgan's view

reflected the scientific milieu of his time (Morgan 1877; McGee and Warms 1996).

Widdowson and Howard (2002; 2008) revisit Morgan's ideas on the stages of human cultural evolution as a foundation for their discussion on the lack of Aboriginal cultural development. Widdowson and Howard maintain a historical materialism perspective that assumes "the means used by human beings to produce and reproduce their existence is the foundation for historical development and social progress" (2008:14). They maintain cultural evolution occurs through technological advancement accompanied by a greater division of labour, and that these developments increase stratification to the point that one group deprives another of access to basic resources.

> …much of the aboriginal participation in modern societies is as consumers, not producers. Isolation from economic processes has meant that a number of Neolithic cultural features, including undisciplined work habits, tribal forms of political identification, animistic beliefs, and difficulties in developing abstract reasoning, persist despite hundreds of years of contact (Widdowson and Howard 2008:13).

Widdowson and Howard maintain that lacking the material requirements for development arrests human progress until environmental conditions provide the necessary components for further cultural evolution. They are convinced that Aboriginals are in a state of "cultural stagnation" (Widdowson and Howard 2008:67).

Widdowson and Howard (2002) propose that TK is fabricated, and refer to the story of the "Emperor's New Clothes" in which "an Emperor, his servants and the public at large were all duped by two con men selling a suit of clothes that does not really exist", as a metaphor of how Aboriginals have sold TK to scientists and government policy makers (Widdowson and Howard 2002:33). They refer to TK as "nothing more than a compilation of jejune platitudes interspersed with various intellectual dodges" that had no criteria or standards for identifying,

evaluating or applying TK (Widdowson and Howard 2002:30–31). The difficulty with the Widdowson and Howard (2002) perspective is the assumption that science is the only legitimate index by which other forms of knowledge can be judged (ideas that do not easily fit into scientific terminology and methodology, and cannot be evaluated according to scientific standards, consist of nothing more than imaginary threads and feigned weaving). Widdowson and Howard do not recognize the subjective and socially constructed nature of science as proposed by Bourdieu and Foucault.

Franz Boas (1888; 1896) and his work with the Baffin Inuit, challenged the unilinear evolutionary theory of Morgan. Boas (1896) insisted that cultures develop as a result of environmental conditions, historical connections and psychological factors. He argued that technologically simple societies were not primitive or inferior, but each culture was unique and cultural traits could only be understood within the context of its particular environmental and historical evolution (McGee and Warms 1996).

In **Balikci (1970), the author in** attempted to reconstruct the traditional culture of Inuit in the **Kitikmeot region of Nunavut.** Balikci maintained that Inuit culture was well adapted to the environment in terms of its mode of production, technology, kinship, sharing networks, belief systems and alliances. However, Balikci maintains traditional culture and TK ceased to exist with introduction of firearms, wage economy, imported food and clothing, permanent settlements, missionization and snowmobiles. Balikci understands Inuit traditional culture as connected to the past: “The traditional Netsilik culture remains only in the memory of a few elderly persons” (1970:xxiv).

In *The People’s Land*, Brody (1975) asserts that traditional culture and TK survive but

are in a stressed and declining state. Brody states the Inummariit, the *true* Inuit, still exist and attempt to maintain their relation to the land despite being constrained and somewhat overwhelmed by white culture and the influence of assimilated Inuit. The Inummarik are admired for their intense knowledge of the land and their skills, but their activities are often restricted by financial difficulties. Inummarik must remain on the land to be available for when the animals come, but they are expected to do wage labour in the settlement when they are not hunting.

Through the works of Mauss and Bleuchat (1906), and Cronon (1983) it is proposed traditional culture and TK is not static or dying, but that it evolves and adapts to new situations. A society's range of choices may initially be shaped by the environment, but culture may then reshape the environment through resource harvesting, technology and management strategies in response to those choices allowing a different set of possibilities and new cycles of mutual adaptation. Thus, change occurs both in the cultural and ecological relationships.

Wenzel (1991) says that it is consistent with traditional practice for Inuit to incorporate the artefacts and materials of other cultures into their own systems. The ability to absorb new technology and strategies relates to the need for continuous adaptation to a rigorous environment. What is traditional about the Inuit is their ability to adapt to the arctic environment. In the past, the main focus of adaptation was to the natural elements. Now the major challenges involve the acceptance of southern ideas, institutions and artifacts while still maintaining their way of life on the land. Inuit adopted the skidoo as a strategy to maintain their life on the land and were again able to travel to the areas close to the game. While the

non-Inuit population may see the skidoo as a indication of Inuit assimilation into the southern culture, Inuit see it as an adaption to the current cultural and natural environment. While non-Inuit often interpret Inuit involvement in wage labour as leaving behind the traditional culture, Inuit co-opt wage labour into their traditional kin-based institution of responsibility, sharing and the redistribution of wealth. Those with government jobs earn cash to share with the extended family while hunters obtain meat to share with wage earners. So the traditional sharing and reciprocal relationship remains intact and is expanded to incorporate elements of the cash economy needed to maintain their culture. Sharing is not ad hoc, but a highly organized system for the redistribution of resources. Kinship and sharing institutions provides the framework from which the environment and social relations are ordered.

The two major perspectives on traditional knowledge are by Nadasdy (2003) and Berkes (1999, 2008). In *Sacred Ecology,* Berkes (1999) proposes that among indigenous peoples 'traditional' does not mean a rigid adherence to the past, but refers to time-tested and wise. Indigenous knowledge is adaptive knowledge and has the ability to buffer or absorb many environmental stresses through a variety of coping mechanisms and long term adaptive strategies. For example, coping mechanisms for dealing with short-term stresses consist of modifying the timing of harvest activities, switching locations, changing hunting methods, switching to other species and by minimizing risk. Long-term adaptive strategies include flexibility within seasonable cycles (harvesting what is available), a detailed knowledge of the diversity and skills, sharing through family and social networks and trade with other communities (Berkes and Jolly 2001).

Social systems bring order, understanding and cohesiveness to practices through

beliefs, societal norms and values. New ideas and strategies may be incorporated but only if they fit into the wider context of traditional practices (Berkes 1999:59). TK not as cognitive knowledge "that comes fully formed, to be transmitted from one generation to the next. But rather, it is about knowledge as process. It is knowledge that undergoes continual generation and regeneration a people interact with the environment; observing, learning, and adapting" (Berkes 2008:162). TK is not "static knowledge as "content" [but] "indigenous ways of perceiving, understanding, and interpreting the environment." Inuit may have no previous knowledge of climate change, but they know how and what is important to look for (Berkes 2008:162).

Berkes suggests societies use simple prescriptions based on in-depth cultural understanding to turn complex decisions into rules that can be easily remembered. Indigenous knowledge considers "a large number of variables qualitatively, while Western science tends to concentrate on a small number of variables quantitatively" (Berkes 2008:197). TK develops in two ways. The first involves incremental learning as the result of detailed observations and experience. Belief systems and institutions are simultaneously developed to define the 'rules' and to encode and consolidate the knowledge through stories, social relationships and responsibilities. The second way TK develops is through crisis learning which triggers new learning and adaptation practices (Berkes 2008:204-205).

New knowledge and knowledge systems are arising all the time. In the process of adopting and adapting different technology indigenous people learn new skills. New needs drive the development of new knowledge. The development of local knowledge is necessary for community-based management, but it can only be initiated when local control is able to

exclude outside competition (Berkes 2008:224)

In *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* Nadasdy (2003) applies the works of Bourdieu and Foucault to explain the concept of knowledge, and how knowledge is produced and legitimized. He holds that Aboriginals possess 'traditional knowledge' while Euro-Canadian experts possess and are seen as acting according to 'scientific knowledge' and rationalized bureaucratic knowledge (Nadasdy 2003:9). During the process of incorporating Aboriginal cultural factors into the context of Euro-Canadian institutions the existing power relations are taken for granted. Power and knowledge are inseparable and institutional power arises from its ability to shape discourse. Force becomes unnecessary when institutions are able to define what is possible to think. (Nadasdy 2003:10). Some ways of speaking are suppressed while others are legitimized as "official," or "formal," solely by virtue of their relation to state power. Because of their legitimacy, these official ways of speaking become the only acceptable ways of talking about and analyzing other forms of knowledge (Nadasdy 2003:11)

Mistrust regarding TK from both the Aboriginals and scientists/administrators. Aboriginals conclude that "many scientists and managers … are merely paying lip service to the idea because it has become politically expedient to do so." It has become a "calculated strategy for retaining control over the management of land and resources" (Nadasdy 2003:118). On the other hand, "…scientists and resource managers say that TEK is simply a political ploy invented by Aboriginals to wrest control of wildlife from "qualified" scientific managers." (Nadasdy 2003:118).

Much TK was gathered for use in land claim processes and co-management schemes. As such, Nadasdy asserts TK becomes a body of supplemental data and a sub-category to the

professional scientific categories of resource or wildlife management. The use of knowledge in this way assumes that knowledge is a "collection of intellectual products that can be isolated from their social context" and that "knowledge exists in discrete bounded "systems" (Nadasdy 2003:132). The assumptions about knowledge allow power to be concentrated in the hands of scientists and resource managers because, "[a]fter all, who uses these categorized and distilled TEK studies?" (Nadasdy 2003:141).

> Knowledge, however (whether scientific or traditional), does not exist in some pure form, independent of power relations; rather, it is constituted by those relations and draws its validity from them. (Nadasdy 2003:144)

Nadasdy's criticism above does not mean that communities cannot benefit from some forms of scientific research or resource management. Aboriginals admit the usefulness and need for relevant science. Returning decision-making power to the local populations would provide a counter-weight to the "centralizing tendencies of scientific resource management" Nadasdy 203:145). Scientists would be able to continue in socially useful practices at the request of the local communities.

TK and Arviarmiut

The discussion of whether TK was static or adaptive, dying or thriving, co-opted by scientists or the property of knowledge-holders, was not limited to academics. In 2004 these topics were hotly contested by Arviat Inuit. Publications by academics on TK and comments that Inuit lacked the ability to adapt to environmental change were deeply felt by Arviarmiut. The controversies over TK, together with local harvesting events and news troubling news from Nunavik, resulted in a backlash against researchers in the community.

Arviat Inuit wanted control of their TK, its production, documentation and

legitimation. They strongly resented input from academics, resource managers, scientists or other southern "experts". Arviarmiut were not interested in co-producing knowledge (partnering with researchers and academics) to help them make sense of environmental and climate change. They did not see it as empowering, but as being controlled and manipulated by outsiders. Participation from academics was seen as surveillance and monitoring of Inuit for the purpose of taking away or restricting their livelihoods.

Arviarmiut sensitivities regarding TK, its essence, use and control were in part the result of the rapid social change that had occurred in Arviat over the last half century. Inuit had come or been brought in off the land and settled in difficult situations. Social systems suffered upheaval as colonial processes and institutions impacted values, networks, families and identity. Rapid change did not allow for adaptation and societal adjustments. Instead aspects of social change happened out of sync with each other resulting in social dysfunction.

Arviarmiut as a whole did not have complete "place-based" information to incorporate into their TK. Experiential information had not been collected continuously, and therefore the collective mental model was not able to adapt quickly enough but remained dysfunctional. Arviat's history of relocation, uneven social change and expanded communication ability all affected the formation of TK. At times TK was based on vague and assorted circumstances from 60 years before. At other times TK was animated by the land claim era's vision for Inuit to take back the land from the oppressors, and the need for continuing vigilance to keep the oppressors from returning. At other times TK was constructed from hearsay outside their region as news of Nunavik's beluga situation ignited fears that Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) would come and impose harsh quotas on Arviarmuit. Inuit from Nunavut are

continuously acquiring information but it does not necessarily become TK until it becomes used. TK is contextual, and taking bits of information out of its contextual, experiential setting can have dire and unanticipated consequences for both Inuit and those who interact with them.

Since the land claim era, DFO periodically began building a relationship with Nunavummiut in Western Hudson Bay. An integrated Hudson Bay Oceans Working Group (HBOWG) was formed in 2000 to work with local communities on management and research concerns considered a priority by Inuit (Cobb et al., 2001, 2005; Fast et. al. 2001, 2005; Eddy et al. 2002; Fast and Junkin 2003; Stewart and Lockhart 2005). However, due to federal cutbacks, sustaining the relationship was challenging and after four years the neophyte group was suspended. As DFO attempts once again to engage Nunavummiut, implications of TK for integrated resource management are discussed in the final chapter.

Methods

A number of research methods were used in this project, each adding a new dimension to the project complexity, yet serving to verify and strengthen a perspective that was not evident through the use of just one or two methods.

Literature review

A literature review consisting of primary publications, grey literature and newspaper articles was conducted in preparation for the project, throughout the field work phase, and during the write-up. The topics included, but were not limited to, TK, perceptions of health and wellbeing, resistance theories, Inuit ethnographies and historical material, anthropology

of religion and millenarian movements, resource management case studies, and northern social/economic reports.

Community collaboration and participatory research

Field research was done in and around the Kivalliq community of Arviat in 2004. Arviat representatives wanted their concerns and research priorities addressed, and saw value in using a collaborative research approach. Through their involvement in the HBOWG, members of the Arviat Hamlet Council (AHC) and the wildlife management boards requested that I come to Arviat to document IQ for the purpose of maintaining and improving Inuit health and resilience.

Community collaboration and participatory research was initiated through the HBOWG which consisted of Inuit elders, resource harvesters, AHC members and Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) groups including the Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporation (NTI), the Kivalliq Inuit Association, and the Kivalliq Wildlife Board (KWB). During the HBOWG meeting in Arviat (March 3–6 2003), David Alagalak, KWB president, made an impassioned plea for researchers to document the IQ of the remaining few elders. During the June 25–6 and September 9–11, 2003 HBOWG meetings in Winnipeg and Rankin Inlet, respectively, I discussed the proposed research with the group. From September 1–8, 2003, I was in Arviat to consult with community members and seek their direction in shaping the research project. I met individually with members of AHC, the KWB, the Arviat Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO), the Nunavut Planning Commission (NPC) and the Government of Nunavut Department of Education. Alagalak agreed to guide the community research and be the local advisor. He would assist in: 1) adapting proposed research to the local situation, and

2) identifying local resource specialists (such as elders, hunters, trappers, clothing and craft producers, and country food specialists) willing to participate in the research project.

Local assistant(s) fluent in the Inuktitut dialects and English were hired to arrange and interpret interviews. After the Arviat portion of the research was completed, a fluently bilingual interpreter was hired to verify the accuracy of the translated interview transcripts and to proof the thesis draft to verify the plausibility of cultural interpretation.

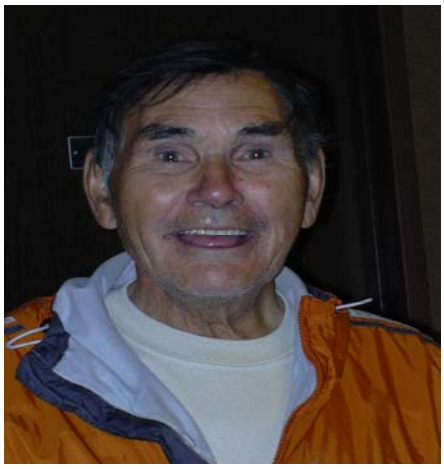
Participant observation

As planned in consultation with the KWB and Arviat HTO, I spent two six-week periods (January 19–February 28, 2004; April 15–May 31, 2004) and a ten week period (August 14– October 30, 2004) in Arviat during times that resource harvesting activities were most likely to occur. I lived, during the first two terms, with a 50–60 year old Ahiarmiut couple and their family who were actively involved in the local hunting and craft economy. I lived, during the third term, with a single, middle-aged Padlirmiut female hunter known for her ability to hunt caribou, process skins and sew highly valued traditional clothing.

Throughout 2004, I participated in the local economy and learned skills associated with fishing, hunting, trapping, resource management practices, food and fur/skin preparation, and traditional crafts. On numerous occasions, I accompanied hunters while caribou hunting, setting fox traps and on family outings to "jig" fish. On other occasions I helped set char nets and went beluga hunting. I attended HTO meetings, attended all community feasts, celebrations, square-dances, church services and youth recreation. At most of these events I was the only Qablunaaq (non-Inuk) present.



Thomas Suluk



Jimmy Muckpah



Job Mukjurnik



Marc Ahikashwa



Annie Seowee



Eva Mukjurnik



Luke Anautalik



Richard Tutsweetuk



James Kunne



Mary Anautalik



Lucy Tutsweetuk



Helen Kunne



Mary Nagiyak



Kitty Akat



Philip Tasseur



Margaret Hannak



Andy Kowtak



Nancy Tasseur



Peter Mikijuniak



Melanie Tabvetah



Mark Kalluak



Isaac Levi



Dianne Angmuk



Mary Kalluak



Mark Eetak



Angie Eetak



Abraham Eetak



Nellie Nagiyak & Michael Evunirjuk



Rebecca Nagiyak



Luke Anautalik

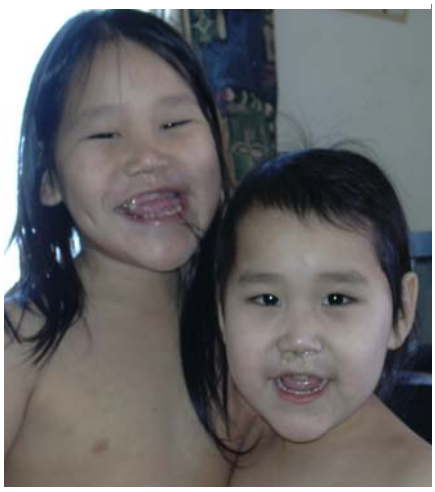


Martha Naturasungnik





The Naturasungnik Girls



Interviews

Interviews were conducted with local knowledge holders from each of the three main extended family groups: Ahiarmiut, Padlirmiut and Aivilingmiut. Knowledge holders were those recognized by the community as being particularly informed in areas relating to the topic, and included elders, hunters, trappers, clothing and craft producers, country food producers and land claim negotiators. Special emphasis was given to elders' knowledge and expertise, recognizing the extensive information they embodied.

Interviews consisted of semi-structured, open-ended questions to obtain qualitative data regarding the stories, beliefs, attitudes and practices related to resource management and subsistence activities on the land. Participants were interviewed at home or on the land, often while engaged in resource harvesting activities. An Ahiarmiut Elders Workshop was conducted and video-taped in February, 2004. The original tapes remained with the Government of Nunavut Department of Education. Local assistant(s) were hired to interpret and transcribe interviews.

After the 2004 Arviat fieldwork was completed, further consultations took place in Rankin Inlet with NTI and Government of Nunavut Economic Development regarding the wider context of community harvesting and the Nunavut land claim. The research focus shifted in January 2005, from the community level to the wider DFO policy context and an analysis of DFO Oceans activities in western Hudson Bay. Intensive interviews with former land claims negotiators took place in autumn 2005 in Iqaluit, Ottawa and Dauphin, MB.

Quotations from interview participants are used extensively in this thesis to give a voice to Inuit, and other northerners, that could otherwise be lost during the normal process of

academic writing.

Other activities

Monitoring of the *Nunatsiaq News* and other northern papers, and building a northern network with Inuit organizations and political leaders across the Western Arctic, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut was ongoing from 2004-2008 to gain a wider perspective on Inuit relationships to the resources and the land. These relationships were sometimes fostered through the organization of conference sessions and joint conference presentations designed specifically to give Inuit a forum to express their concerns in venues typically dominated by federal and southern scientists and politicians (e.g., the Ocean Management Research Network[1] and Coastal Zone Canada conferences). Each of these activities served to inform and develop the thesis project.

Ethical considerations

The University of Manitoba complies with the "Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans" policy statement of the Tri-Council of Canada. All proposals for research projects involving humans are reviewed and approved by the University's Research Ethics Board prior to commencement of the research. The participation of individuals, community representatives, resource management boards and government representatives in this project was strictly voluntary, and participants were free to cease involvement at any time.

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[1] The Ocean Management Research Network was created to promote critical thinking and best practices for ocean management in Canada. The OMRN is interdisciplinary with a social science emphasis. It provides a forum for researchers, managers, and policymakers to evaluate, integrate, transfer and share knowledge, and to create a core of ocean research experts. It holds an international conference in Ottawa biannually.

The research proposal was also submitted to the Nunavut Research Institute in Iqaluit for review and approval. A research licence was issued by the Nunavut Research Institute for the fieldwork portion of the thesis project which took part in 2004.

Chapter Two: Constructions of Inuit and the land

Life on the Inuit land

Values, beliefs and technological innovation in Arctic social organization, play an essential part in the ability of a society to buffer stresses, reduce uncertainty and gain continued access to resources. A society's range of choices may initially be shaped by the environment, but culture may then reshape the environment through resource harvesting, technology and management strategies (Mauss and Bleuchat 1979). Thus, change occurs both in the cultural and ecological relationships (Cronon 1983).

Inuit cosmological, social and subsistence relationships have evolved and adapted over time to create a variety of long- and short-term strategies to deal with uncertainty in the physical environment (Blakney and Suluk 2007). Inuit developed a variety of strategies to deal with uncertainty and climate change (Berkes and Jolly 2001).

Inuit generated a cumulative body of knowledge, formed in relation to environmental circumstances that was and still is, passed down over space and time. New ideas and strategies may be incorporated but only if they fit into the wider context of cultural practices. Inappropriate change can result in disastrous consequences.

The casual observer might assume the strategies of today's Inuit were born of white contact and do not flow from cultural tradition. The use of firearms, snowmobiles and motorboats are evidence that Inuit are no longer maintaining a traditional relationship to the land. Focusing on artefacts and material culture, non-Aboriginals often consider change to be

contradictory to tradition and overlook TK because they no longer perceive an indigenous group to be living a traditional lifestyle.[2]

Wenzel says

> It appears…that long before formal commercial trading was established, Inuit had begun to incorporate 'exotic' artefacts and materials into their own system. This willingness to absorb new items appears to be best explained in terms of the overall need of Inuit to maintain adaptive efficiency in a most rigorous environment. Efficiency in this case means investing the minimum amount of energy for the greatest possible return (Wenzel1991:28).
>
> The snowmobile example … illustrates the overall difference in the way Europeans and Inuit each see northern history. To Whites, the snowmobile exemplifies the erosion of traditional Inuit culture….The situation for Inuit, however, has been, and is, one of recognizing adaptive opportunities offered by their natural and cultural milieu. Inuit history is a continuum understood only when events connect to process and artefacts to adaptation.

Early history

Rasmussen, as an elaboration of an early theory by Steensby (1917), proposed: (1) the Eskimoan culture originated along rivers and lakes somewhere in the northern Canadian Interior; (2) the people were either chased north by Indians or followed the caribou into the Coronation Gulf and Boothia Peninsula regions; (3) from the Coronation Gulf, Inuit spread west to Alaska and east to Greenland; (4) a new Inuit culture later emerged around the Bering Strait area; (5) the new Inuit culture spread east across the Canadian Arctic to Greenland, and west into Asia. According to Rasmussen, one large group of the original Eskimo never left the central Arctic interior and became known as the Caribou Inuit. (Rasmussen 1926: 133-134, 144). Birket-Smith concluded the Caribou Inuit were "a survival" from the time before Inuit

[2] For example, this strategy was used by the province of New Brunswick in *Regina V. Paul* and *Regina V. Joshua Bernard* to block provincial Aboriginal people from gaining access to the New Brunswick forestry industry. See Blakney (2000) for background.

had adapted themselves to the sea (Birket-Smith and Calvert 1940). This conclusion has subsequently been overturned. More current theories suggest that the Caribou Inuit are descendants of the Copper Inuit from the Coronation Gulf area because the linguistic relatedness of the two dialects (Csonka 1995; Burch 1978).

Regardless of their origin, Birket-Smith proposed in 9 CE, the Thule culture, biological ancestors of today's Inuit, moved across the continent from Alaska toward Greenland. In the process, the pre-existing Dorset culture was either absorbed or replaced by the newcomers. Little is known about the Dorset except that they were culturally Eskimoan and emerged from a pre-Dorset small-tool tradition. They were fishermen and hunters of seal, walrus and whales. At times they also moved inland and hunted caribou. What distinguished the Thule from the Dorset culture was the former hunted whales and possessed dogs which provided an adaptive advantage by making long-distance travelling and hunting possible. Dogs could also smell through the ice and detect seals. When coastal hunting was at its best, the Thule maintained relatively large, permanent settlements with stone and turf dwellings framed with whalebones (Birket-Smith and Calvert 1933), the remains of which can still be seen on Sentry Island, near Arviat, and in the McConnell River area.

Climate change in the 15th–16th centuries caused considerable change in Thule socio-cultural institutions and their economy. As the whales decreased, settlement dwellers disbanded into smaller groups and ranged more widely in search of caribou and other resources (Williamson 1974; Fossett 2001). By the 1920s, there was no indication that the Caribou Inuit, ancestors of the Kivalliq Inuit, ever had a connection with the sea except for the small groups that came to the coast for 1–2 months in the spring.

Stevenson (1997) proposed that the Caribou Inuit came from the Coronation Gulf and moved inland into the treed area of the upper Kazan River Valley where they spent several generations as a riparian economy before moving onto the treeless tundra and then back toward the coast. Stevenson's (1997) theory would mean that the Caribou Inuit had to adapt to a very different set of environmental circumstances as they went from coastal to inland and back to coastal economies over several generations. They would have to make major adaptations in terms of food, shelter, clothing and fuel. Then, all the cognitive clues by which they understood and predicted the natural cycles would have changed: when caribou would rut, char spawn, geese nest, and seal den (Fossett 2001). They would be unfamiliar with daylight and night cycles, precipitation, wind direction, temperature and the topography. They could not accurately predict times of freeze-up, spring break-up and animal movements. Weather changes would affect their transportation, ability to navigate and to construct snowhouses. New technology would have to be adapted or adjusted to procure animals under different environmental circumstances. They would have to switch from air-hole sealing methods used in the Coronation Gulf to flow edge hunting after several generations inland and not having even seen a seal. New architecture was needed in the absence of whale-bone. Clothing styles and materials would also change. Food preservation techniques had to change to suit new temperatures, humidity, food supplies and construction materials. Adapting to these changes would have required major investments of energy and time. However new strategies and ideas were adapted and incorporated because they fit into the wider cultural context. Change was gradual, allowing cultural institutions time to adjust and the development of new TK was contextual and based on their own experiences.

Several Inuit sub-groups emerged from the Thule culture in Kivalliq region: those with a coastal tradition, those with an inland tradition and an intermediate group that focused primarily on the inland economy but also used the coastal economy. The names of these groups have changed over time, as have their economies. Here I have adopted the major groupings used by Inuit in Arviat. The Aivilingmiut have the smallest population but are the most prominent group in terms of wealth, status and adaptation to the Arviat settlement environment. Most originally came from the Repulse Bay area to trade with whalers and the Hudson Bay Company (Hudson Bay Company) as far south as Churchill, and had the longest history of contact with non-Inuit. They relied predominantly on seal, whale and other ocean mammals and they periodically hunted inland. The Ahiarmiut were inland caribou hunters who moved or were relocated to the coast as a result of famines in 1950s. The Padlirmiut lived primarily inland and were also well-adapted to the coastal economy. They are considered the intermediate group in terms of both status and affluence (Burch 1986; Marsh and Marsh 1987).[3] Padlirmiut are indigenous to the area between Maguse River and McConnell River and compose most of the Arviat population.

[3] Williamson (1974), Burch (1986) and Fossett (2001) make note of similar economic groupings; however, the names of the particular extended family groups change depending on the point of reference used. For example, Williamson (1974), in reference to Rankin Inlet, names the three groups: the Aivilingmiut from Repulse Bay with a primarily coastal economy; the Padlirmiut referred to as primarily inland caribou people; and the Qairnmiut formerly from Chesterfield Inlet who use both the inland and coastal economies and have had long-term relations with European and American whalers. However, during my research, Padlirmiut were adamant that their people originated in the *Padliq* area near the mouth of the Maguse River. Williamson (1974) and others misinterpreted Inuit and claimed Padlirmiut came from the inland Hudson Bay Company's *Padlei* Post area, called "Kingaryualik" in Inuktitut.



Inside the muskox management zone, curious muskox watched us from on top of an esker; May 2, 2004

Pre-settlement economy[4]

> Prior to the coming of the wage economy … the only preoccupation was the necessities of acquiring food. That was the basic way of life; everything was associated with the acquisition of food. – Jimmy Muckpah

Like people in all societies, Inuit expended much energy on survival. Wildlife movement was hard to predict. Although at times Inuit in certain areas thrived and their people had plenty of food, at other times there was much hardship and starvation. Animals were rarely concentrated and moved both seasonally and daily.

> It was not just one time that caribou migration didn't go through. That's how it's been all the time. Sometimes caribou don't come around and we end up experiencing starvation and hardship. In fact people starved, they died when caribou didn't go through their area. – Job Mukjurnik

> Animals behave as one … Even the fish don't seem to be around the same time as when the caribou don't come. It makes life very difficult and makes us think, "How are we ever going to survive?" We were light spirited even in these hard times. We always tried to be happy as a society. We were to behave like Inuit. – Job Mukjurnik

To succeed a hunter needed an extensive hunting territory and intimate knowledge of each of the species to be hunted. In the above quotation, Mukjurnik referred to the complex interrelationship between species. The focus on interrelationships is a key feature of TK. In complex systems, nested ecosystems components interact at different scales and through variably timed processes. Inuit, by gaining an intimate, detailed knowledge of their environment seek to manage the uncertainty inherent in non-linear complex systems (Berkes 2008). In contrast to scientific approaches that "seek indicator specificity and produce a small number of indicators", TK uses a "broad suite of simple indicators" that give knowledge-

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, all quotes in this section come from Arviat elders who spent their early life on the land.

holders holistic feedback on the state of their environment. (Berkes 2008:200, 201). From the environmental feedback, Inuit were able to develop simple prescriptions that became encoded in their belief systems and social institutions.

Pre-settlement Inuit groups were nomadic and highly mobile within their own territories. However, the movement was not random. Family groups followed the annual migration patterns of wildlife, hunted cooperatively at water-crossings, and took large amounts of caribou at a time, switching to other country food when caribou was not available. Hunting groups were formed on the basis of inter-personal relationships, creating their own rules, values and social institutions (Burch 1986).

> At that time we felt fulfilled leading a full life without as compared to today where if you don't have a job or don't have money, it does not look like a full life. But at that time, people were out, families and individuals were always catching, preparing for the future, making provisions a few months ahead. … They cache them or put them away under the rocks. I was able to locate those food caches just from where they said they were … by having been over in those areas ourselves. Once you learn the locations and the place names, the territory and geography then it's very easy to find out from the directions given. – Joseph Akatsiaq

Inuit created and developed various caribou hunting methods after their move inland from the coast. Rasmussen et al. (1930) listed several methods witnessed in the 1920s: Inuit used bows and arrows, inuksuit (singular : inuksuk; stones piled to resemble humans) and cairns to channel caribou to river crossings; pitfalls dug in snow; and narrow paths dug through snow into a narrow box in which caribou could not turn around.

In 2004, Ahiarmiut elder Richard Tutsweetuk spoke at length regarding the continued importance of inuksuit for marking inland caribou migration routes and warned Inuit not to step or pitch their tents too close to those areas. Inuksuit were also used to mark existing

caribou river crossing areas and identify good fishing spots. Fish indicators tend to be right at the beaches or just far enough away so the forming ice cannot knock them down. The sharp point jutting out from the side indicates where fishing holes are located. [5]

Feast or famine was more common in the Kivalliq than with other Inuit groups (Rasmussen et al. 1930). Enormous amounts of caribou were eaten when available and nothing was put away for the future. "[T]he next few days they would starve" (Rasmussen et al. 1930:43). This situation was probably more common during the summer months because meat would spoil and could not be cached until late September.

Perspectives, values and cosmological beliefs

Inuit orientate themselves by giving attention to the smallest details (Carpenter et al. (1973). For example, trails were examined at a distance and, when in heavy fog along a coastline, attention was given to the sound of waves and wind direction. Hunters in unfamiliar areas constantly look backwards to see how the country would look on the return trip. Some elders have the ability to remember and guide people through territory that they have not seen since their youth. For example, on one occasion I was travelling inland with my hosts and two elders, and we became lost for two days when inclement weather engulfed and obscured the landscape. My host was leading this part of the journey, and thought he was following a river system southwest from Kingalyualik towards North Henik Lake. In reality, he had turned northwest into the muskox management zone near Baker Lake. It is unclear whether the elders knew they were off track because of the Ahiarmiut practice of letting a person continue until

[5] See Norman Hallendy's 2001 study of Inuksuit.

he himself acknowledges a mistake has been made.[6] However, when the weather cleared, the elders recognized they had been in the area as young children and were able to redirect us over the mountains and back towards North Henik Lake.

Notions of enclosed space were foreign to the Inuit (Carpenter et al. 1973). When building an igloo, they did not start from the outside looking in, but from the inside looking out. Their concept of space had no sides or boundaries, but was seen as process and direction. Space was defined more as what could be heard, as opposed to what could be seen. Perhaps this concept of space could be related to the expressed need of Inuit to be mobile, and their aversion to being confined to the hamlets.[7]

Concepts of health, in-group harmony, respect for elders and courage were highly valued within Inuit communities.

> When we were living on the land as Inuit, we ate only caribou and this made us healthy. Children were healthy when they ate it … But when they started eating store bought food, young people, they didn't eat much caribou. That's why they end up going south too much [to hospitals] because they have not started eating caribou meat like we did in the old days. People in the old days lived very long lives on the land. – Marc Ahikashwa

> … [T]here was not as much illness of both body and mind when we were considered to live in poor conditions of snow, and skin, and lacking many things that we now take for granted as being necessities of life … Now naturally we were not immune to having colds, especially in spring time … But we did not seem to be visited by other serious illnesses... -Elizabeth Nibgoarsi

> We have to see that we don't get people into trouble, that you love everybody, that you don't give difference to others … In fact we never used to talk about what bad things a person had done to someone else because the person we talked about, it usually makes its rounds and eventually it's going to reach the person that one has begun to talk about… And also if we don't provide

[6] Discussed further in Chapter Three.
[7] Discussed further in Chapters Three and Four

> assistance, there is going to come a time when we will not get any assistance ourselves. – James Kunne
>
> When the hunters come with country food that they catch they invite everyone that is in the campsite because they all have to share. Being friendly with others, they had to cooperate with any lifestyle that they had. – Eva Mukjurniq
>
> When enough people gathered in one place, there was a large igloo built. People saw this as a place to have a drum dance …We used to walk over to invite individuals so that we could express our joy through the drum dance … Putting food in the middle of the igloo and with our fellow Inuit we would get them to come over and have a feast with us. And we used to sing a song — it's telling a story, not a rambling, meaningless song. This song is composed of what the singer has done, some things that he has experienced. It might be regarding something wonderful that he has experienced, whether he had help, health, fear, joy or something like that. – Mary Anautalik

Education and social control were accomplished through the drum dances in which social structure and boundaries were reaffirmed (Mary Anautalik). Inuit elders often used simple, mundane examples to teach high-level concepts (Levi-Strauss 1968). For example, in 2004 elder James Kunne talked about elastic ice to convey shamanistic concepts to me.

Sharing was highly institutionalized and essential to the survival of family and extended families (Williamson 1974; Fossett 2001). Job Mukjurniq explained if a hunter was not willing to share, food in his cache was taken away by the camp boss for redistribution to extended family in the neighbouring camps. In winter, the camp boss would accompany needy families out to the meat cache and distribute food. By building obligation and reliance on the big camp boss for survival, the camp bosses received respect and obedience from the camps. Thus, social control was maintained.[8]

Frankness and the open and free exchange of information among the camp members were needed for survival. Elders repeatedly mentioned the importance of "having an open

[8] See Mukjurnik's comments later in this section on leadership and power of Ahiarmiut angatkuit.

mind about discussing any issues that … have the potential to cause some problems" (Richard Tutsweetuk).

> You try and live a cooperative life with the rest of the people instead of trying to butt heads with them. But try to have an open mind and have friends and talk with people. – Bernie Sulurguk

Assertiveness or conflict was not valued and was met with withdrawal in the form of saying nothing, avoiding commitment or by staying away physically (van den Steenhoven 1962; Briggs 1970).

> People have different personalities and live different daily lives. Some Inuit … you have to watch out for. You have to be aware. They may be up to no good. It may be that they're even dangerous. It may be that they are out to get what they can out of you, or maybe for some reason get you into an accident or whatever. And those you have to be aware of and watch out for. And then some people are harmless. They are sociable. You can get along with them, and some you cannot. All of them have different personalities. For example, some speak and do things with the absence of guile, and some are outright liars. If the persons you are with for a while are sort of avoiding glances then you would already know maybe there is some guile going on—deception. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq

Williamson (1974) noted that Kivalliq Inuit cosmology is concerned with Sila, a life-giving force also referred to as weather; Nuliajuk, the powerful goddess of the sea; and the importance of the sun and moon to fertility and shamanistic practices. O'Neil and Kaufert (1995) noted the moon's influence on childbirth. According to Ahiarmiut elders, the moon also affected the abundance of animals and served as an indicator of when the caribou were coming. A morning star was another indicator of the imminent arrival of caribou.

> When the moon is straight up that is an indicator that there will be no caribou … We have our own names for the moons. Some people don't even consider the way the moon is either upright or leaning against. They don't even consider them! When there are no caribou, we would feed our children from our breast…when there was no more milk in our breasts they would bleed … – Eva Mukjurnik

> The reason caribou don't come at certain seasons … you look at the moon and receive a sign from the moon. When it is upright it indicates something about caribou. That's the way our ancestors knew. When it's not upright but leaning that way, that's an indicator that there will be caribou. So they would watch the moon and how it is situated. That's what I learned from my ancestors. – Luke Anautalik

> When a star comes up, we look at that star and we determine the lengthening of days. We follow that star that appears before dawn. We used that star as an indicator concerning caribou. We were free to shoot or capture them. – Luke Anautalik

The concept of the soul (Frederiksen 1968) and the significance of naming were a part of Kivalliq cosmology. Souls of Inuit were identified with and attached to all other cosmic forces. A soul simultaneously lived within the human and was also part of the larger cosmic soul that permeated all living things. The significance of naming was an extension of this belief. To name a person was more than giving her a label. It evoked in her the essence of others that bore the same name and of the collective personality. It provided the spiritual and functional means to relate that person to both the rest of society and to the metaphysical environment. Gender was not considered in choosing names but the character and qualities of the person after whom they were named (Williamson 1974). This practice continues today within the Kivalliq.

The Kivalliq Inuit placed great emphasis and value on intellectual abilities and metaphysical understanding (Birket-Smith and Calvert 1929; Rasmussen et al. 1930; Williamson 1974; Fossett 2001). Intellectual and supernatural strength was needed to manipulate the elements, and the angatkuq (shaman; plural: angatkuit), as the most intellectually inclined and experienced, embodied the fullest extent of this knowledge. Angatkuit were often highly valued for their special knowledge and ability to predict and

identify sources of disharmony with the spirit world and restore balance. The angatkuit were not necessarily the best hunters or the leaders, but still had a considerable influence over the lives of the people. They were said to have power to heal, foretell, discern, deal with taboo problems and some used their power in malevolent ways. Angatkuit were believed to be visited by helping spirits

Job Mukjurnik stated that Inuit quickly came to recognize the character of the angatkuit. Some were considered to be good, but others who "became too much of a wizard tended to drift to the unacceptable". Inuit went directly through the angatkuit to invoke the powers inhabiting the land .When caribou were scarce and Inuit were being "culled through starvation" (Mukjurnik), they would go to the angatkuit and let them know that there was nothing to eat and ask where they would find the caribou. Mukjurnik said the angatkuit were able to tell them where the "edibles" (caribou) could be found.

> The angatkuit were able to give this information without moving from their geographic area. They remained in their own lands. But when they exited the tent or the igloo, they could see what is on the horizon, they could see visually over long distances and over the ages, perhaps 100 years at a time. They do this by being suspended high in the sky. In fact, it was said that the angatquq of the sea and the angatquq of the land once met each other up in the sky while craning to see over the ages. They were real "spirituals" and miracle workers. – Job Mukjurnik

Social organization

Prior to contact with Europeans, there was no sense of class, stratification, or categorical superiority (Vallee 1968). Yet, Mukjurnik suggests that there were big camp bosses over several smaller scattered camps consisting of extended family groups. Individual camps were led by smaller camp bosses, who were often the best hunter in the family or a less powerful angatkuq. Individual camps usually consisted of one or two nuclear families.

> … [T]here were not hundreds in the camp but just tens. Not a whole lot. Just a few here and 10 miles or so away there would be five more...probably because it was manageable. – Elizabeth Nibgoarsi

Vallee (1968) put the size of the camps at about three nuclear families, whereas Fossett (2001) put the size of the camps at seven or eight families. Both agreed that there was no easily discernable leadership among the Kivalliq groups.[9] Inuit camps were fluid in composition; therefore, authority rested within the family. Often it was the best hunter who was most influential. Other times, the angatkuit held the most sway because of the belief that spirits were directing them. In either case, the control was indirect.

Williamson (1974) said most decisions were made by a tacit consensus, but Mukjurnik put more emphasis on the influence of the big camp bosses and the angatkuit. Although compliance was voluntary, past experiences usually proved that the advice of the angatkuit was the wise choice.

> Different tribes lived in widely scattered camps, but the Issumatajuak [top boss] would send messages to the other camps, telling them where the best hunting areas were located. Some areas of the land are "cursed" because in the past a family may have starved there. It is not always possible for everyone to know history where bad events have happened. The angatkuit were able to recognize things of this nature and that some land areas tend to take peoples' lives away. In the same way that thin ice can be dangerous, some land areas cause fatal illnesses or brings bad luck. – Job Mukjurnik

The elders were other sources of authority within the camps. Old people were highly respected as repositories of all accumulated knowledge and wisdom. Jolly and Krupnik (2002) said Inuit elders knew how to recognize resource-threatening circumstances, the consequences and possible responses to environmental circumstances. They observed changes in weather,

[9] Stevenson (1997:233-235) stated among some Cumberland Sound Inuit family groups the leadership was characterized by a well defined hierarchy, while among groups the leadership was quite diffuse and egalitarian.

ice conditions and wildlife, and had the power to interpret and analyze their observations based on experience.

Willmott (1968) suggested the demands the Arctic on Inuit ingenuity and creativity resulted in flexibility of community organization, family organization and kinship terminology. This flexibility had implications for the Inuit ability to adjust to changing social and environmental situations. Trott (1982) argued that the concept of flexibility suggests a movement around assumed but unarticulated norms, and therefore flexibility was a product of other social relations. Inuit attitudes toward the environment indicated "because there was no help for it" they must fact the situation without regret (Fossett 2001). The flexibility in Inuit culture and knowledge was geared toward dealing with complexity and constantly changing circumstances (Omura 2005). Omura proposed that TK involved the accumulation of experiences, an inventory of what to do in different situations. Generalized theories and rigid procedures would be totally inadequate for survival. TK as process

Legal concepts among the Caribou Inuit were also flexible. Van den Steenhoven (1968:80) said "there are no fixed procedures and all depends upon the 'then and there' of the situation". In 2004, Arviat elders still asserted that there were no rules external to Inuit culture that could be enforced from the outside. This brings us back to Bourdieu's notion that players in the cultural arena only follow or play by formal and tacit rules when it is in their interest to do so. Attempts by those outside their culture to impose regulations did not make sense to Inuit within the context of their culture.

> In the old days regulations had absolutely no bearing on [the lives of Inuit] because there was no enforcement. There was no consultation, people didn't know about it. People lived away from the communities. The only government was the police and sometimes store manager, but they hardly ever go out

> anywhere. The men of God, the missionaries weren't going to tell on their good subjects anyway, so who is there to complain? – Rhoda Karetak

> We lived on the land. There were no rules concerning animals or living things. There were no rules. We lived freely. There was nobody dictating what a person could do to the animals. Everybody was free to live. We lived on our own and we managed everything on our own. – Luke Anautalik

However Anautalik's statement should not be construed to mean that were *no rules* whatsoever because within Inuit society—particularly among the Ahiarmiut to which Anautalik belonged—there were many rules of proper conduct and how to treat the animals, and many gender role requirements and restrictions placed on women and men.

> In any case, we … [were] not to bother going after any wildlife for the sake of getting it when there was food around, for example, not to bother catching fish for sport … just for the sake of having the right to get food. It doesn't mean that you must pursue them relentlessly and get as much as you can …They did not shy away from telling us in black and white: "Do not do this to the wildlife because that is just not done". Even little birds they told us not to throw rocks at them or try to trap them or get them because we are not hungry. They are not bothering us therefore we should let them be. – Elizabeth Nibgoarsi

> I can tell you about certain things that we were not supposed to do. I was not supposed to eat the bone marrow of caribou and I went ahead and ate some anyway. Afterwards I partially hurt my legs … And there were some people, especially women, who weren't supposed to eat the eyes or eat the heart [of caribou] or … their eyes will go bad or they will have heart trouble. In fact people did develop those and it appears that … there is a cause and effect … explanation why those things happen – Lucy Tutsweetuk.

Mukjurnik said there were rules and appropriate behaviours for living on the land. The big area boss was "considered to have the most discretion and wisdom. But we were responsible to keep him informed so he was able to give us appropriate direction".

> The area boss did not come to us with advice but we would go to him and say that we wanted to travel to a certain place for the summer. He would then say if it was a good choice or not. If not, another choice could be suggested. Sometimes the boss would choose a place that was already inhabited because they would know whether caribou would migrate through there or whether

> foxes would be plentiful. Those who did not follow this advice would often go hungry due to the scarcity of wildlife. – Job Mukjurnik

Mukjurnik contended that if the issumatajuak were still in place they would be in charge of provisioning, disciplining, supplying and educating their own extended family groups and households. Inuit elders attribute much of the current social misery to lack of leadership over the family groups.

To be complete on the land, Martina Anoee emphasized the requirement to have men and women fulfilling their respective gender roles: the man was needed to hunt and to provide for the family, while the woman had to care for the children and prepare and sew the skins. If a woman had to hunt, it was seen "more in relation to the acceptance of difficulty".

> The way it was controlled was … each one was taught only half so that the other half would be provided by the husband or wife or vice versa. – Martina Anoee

Perhaps the most effective means of social control was ridicule. To settle conflicts, two opponents would take turns insulting each other in derisive songs, leering, provocative movements and laughter. Ridicule could take place in public or during informal activities. In severe cases of non-sharing, theft, a quick temper or promiscuity, the group ostracized the offender, but this occurred very rarely (Briggs 1970). In 2004, ridicule was still used frequently by older Inuit in Arviat to settle scores with rivals.[10]

Traditionally, the main form of social grouping was according to *family groups.* Within this arrangement, status and role differentiation was based on "sex, age, birth order, domestic or camp leadership and relations to supernatural beings" (Vallee 1968:110). Domestic authority was based on seniority. As long as elders were healthy and able to manage

[10] Discussed in "Politics of Everyday Life", Chapter Four.

a household, their authority was acknowledged. However, when they became old and infirm, and when resources were scarce, they were allowed to terminate themselves for the good of the family.

Traditional role differentiation re-emerged in sharp focus when I travelled on the land with elders and their middle-aged siblings in 2004. Although less noticeable and mostly ignored within the community, the elder's knowledge, role and seniority was strictly acknowledged and deferred to on the land. For example, the elders gave all directions. The instant the senior male or female elder said it was time to move to the next place, all food preparation and other tasks were immediately dropped and the qamutik (wooden sled) hurriedly packed for travel. On the land, the middle-aged woman did not talk in presence of the men, but sat near the corner with her eyes downcast waiting to be told what to do. She only spoke to the female elder when the conversation was initiated by the older woman. Yet in Arviat, this same middle-aged woman was assertive within her home, church and community.

Family roles were focused on cooperation to procure resources; able-bodied men hunted large game, tended long-distance trap lines and fished. They built snow houses and, with women's help, put up tents and wooden frames. Women were more camp-bound, preparing food, sewing, gathering brush, tending fires and young children, and gutting fish. These roles were not rigid. For example, both older and younger women fished and hunted caribou, although not as much as men. Some women tended trap lines. Women whose husbands were incapacitated and did not have sons old enough to hunt tended to take on these roles (Vallee 1967).

Some Ahiarmiut, such as Helen Kunne, said women never hunted but always stayed with the tent and cared for the children, cooking, sewing and gathering willows. Others, such as Mary Kalluak said that, although women seldom hunted alone, women and men have always hunted together.

> My mother used to hunt and she used to go with her husband or she would be alone. She would also make igloos, she could. And she would also go along during the summer, they would all hunt together. But when the mother had a small infant, they usually stayed home during the winter. – Mary Kalluak

Yet a female Padlirmiut elder said when women hunted alone it was considered improper.

> If you are a woman and you go out hunting, it would be embarrassing because then it would appear that maybe she is looking for a man or maybe she's looking to get laid or looking for a boyfriend. It was embarrassing. – Martina Anoee

> Some others [men] were just not naturally gifted. They were just terrible hunters. They were not capable of hunting—period. But they were men. So then the wife would try and be the provider. She jigs fish. They were not taught to hunt caribou or polar bear. It was not until some of the sons became old enough that they began to eat something other than fish, which is caribou or so on. But that was the way it was. [On the other hand] maybe there were some women that never amounted to more than just baby production. – Martina Anoee

> There was more certainty about the division of the responsibility of the sexes … Women did not do men's activities. They … did not have to do manly things on top of what they already had to do … there was a clearer division of responsibility and not duplication of activities. – Martina Anoee

Because of selective interactions between the camps, most marriages occurred within the group, and were seen as taking place between families. Cousin marriages were often preferred. Marriages were economic and sexual unions recognized by others and necessary for survival. Betrothal could take place in infancy. I spoke with several Ahairmiut women who were given to their husbands as young children but were reportedly kept as virgins until their

menses began. Personal attractiveness was not a consideration; rather the consideration was whether the man would be a good provider and the woman an efficient homemaker (Dailey and Dailey 1961).

> When I was a youth, I was taken in hand as an apprentice in igloo building and I was taught that if I was able to learn to build an igloo or a shelter then I will be given permission to have a wife. The ability to build a shelter and the ability to go after animals go hand in hand. Now from the implements we had we were … able to acquire seal and fish and were able to travel in adverse weather because of the ability to build an igloo. – Jimmy Muckpah

New infants were usually given the name of a recently deceased relative in the belief that bestowing the name would also endow the child with some of the deceased person's qualities and spirit (Birket-Smith and Forde 1959). Thus, the naming process stressed the idea of continuity.

Along with the name, blessing-like pronouncements were made by the mother-in-law, aunt or other women. According to Helen Kunne, they often began "This is the way your life will be...". The pronouncements were usually related to the qualities of the namesake; if a child was named after an aunt, they would say that the infant would be better in doing things than the aunt and the blessing would focus on and accentuate all of the good qualities of that aunt. When Helen's daughter was born, the daughter's aunt presented the infant with a small jackknife saying "it's for when you are going to catch caribou and when you start hunting. You will use this to cut caribou". James Kunne, in reference to this daughter who is now an adult, said she is very resourceful at providing food for her extended family. She does not hunt in the traditional way, but when country food is scarce in the community she is very skilful at using her job with the local airline to locate caribou, musk ox, and char in other communities and having this food flown in to supply her family in Arviat. Helen and James

associate her ability to procure country food with the pronouncement made when she was named.

Children were socialized primarily by parents and grandparents. Boys helped mothers around the house until they were gradually introduced to men's jobs, and girls were gradually introduced to female tasks.

> Children, whether you are a boy or girl, they begin to expose them to weather and the environment right away and even take them out on hunting trips so that they get to know about warm and cold, wind and so on. One of the things for example, is to regularly have their children go check the weather. Never mind if it looks cold or cloudy during the day … they might learn something 'cause by the evening it changes. So that is what children get exposed to at a very early age. – Martina Anoee

> The way I learned this was by watching and actually doing. I don't know why but that was the way we understood life. We did what we had learned to do without having to be told all the time, "this has to be done" or "can you do this or that?" Because by then it seems that we already knew that we had to provide part, instead of not doing anything. It was natural for the boys to go with their fathers or the male hunters and for the girls to be with their mothers or the ladies who where doing work on skins and sewing, and cleaning and what women do even at an early age. – Martina Anoee

> There was the joy of learning, when she put you in a position that you have to do it. Sometimes when I waited for her to give me directions, she became annoyed and said "Learn to think for yourself". I thought it was the hardest thing to do. I was always watching my mom to see what she will want me to do and to learn her habits. But when she realized I was trying to discern her thoughts, she tells me to think for myself. – Helen Kunne

To show respect children and adults alike would never refer to their relatives by name, but rather, they referred to how they were related. The relationships also suggested a set of behaviours and obligations among family members.

> I was called "cousin" and I was called "daughter-in-law" and "sister-in-law". In fact, my father-in-law was called "my nephew", and "my husband". William [Helen Kunne's son], because he is named after his older brother, I still called him "nephew". And I would call my children "my grandchildren". Right up to

> today, me and my husband, my parents and his husband, this is how we call each other. – Helen Kunne

Parents took a non-authoritarian approach to their children (Brody 1975; Briggs 1970). They believed small children did not have the capacity to obey, but the capacity grew with the child. Parents who became upset over childish behaviour were seen as being foolish.

> Naturally the advice and admonition provided by grandparents [and parents] were not severe and constructed in ways that the children … would be told, not with anger, but with loving involved in it. – Martina Anoee

I heard some Arviat elders refer to childrearing in this manner. However, I also noticed a difference in child-rearing practices among the family groups (see detailed discussion in Chapter Four). For example, Elizipee Muckpah's statement mirrors other Aivilingmiut in Arviat. (The time-depth of this philosophy is unclear because Aivilingmiut have a longer history of contact and socialization with Qablunaat).

> Like I said a while back about how to raise a child, there should be more scolding, more punishment so that they'll be wiser when they get older, to be dependable. – Elizipee Muckpah

The adoption of Inuit children was a common practice on the land and an institution that changed considerably when Inuit moved into the communities. Guemple (1979) said it was not uncommon for the firstborn child of young parents to be adopted by the grandparents, and this practise is certainly the case in Arviat today. However, traditionally, Inuit adoptions were described by Arviarmiut elders as temporary arrangements that usually involved giving assistance to an aging grandparent, or other such arrangements.

> The grandparents maybe for short periods of time, say summertime or fall, are permitted to temporarily adopt a grandchild that they particularly love, or their favourite. Not strictly adopting them per se but just caring for them or having them for a while. At that time they would use them as assistants, especially with boys because if it is a grandmother the boys can provide [meat]. As we

> said before they had already been with their fathers and already were learning men's stuff, so maybe the parents of the child would not particularly be missing an apprentice anymore. Somebody who is an apprentice, a child that is loaned to the grandmother temporarily to provide something, maybe to move some meat or set up a tent or big stuff. And if it's a girl they could also have as assistants. It's like having assistants who are willing and fleet footed and energetic anyway. They will say, "Can you hand me that skin?" or Can you remove the covering from the meat rack?" or "Can you bring me a cup of tea?" or "Put more wood on the fire". Stuff like that. The grandparents provided a useful service by telling us how to not scrape your skin, for example, or hurt your foot, or fall through the ice and so on. – Martina Anoee

Settled life: The early years

From the 16th century onward, Inuit lives were altered in varying degrees by elements outside of their cultural domain, such as the arrival of European explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries and by government administrators from the south (Brody 1975). Early contact with Europeans did not have much effect on Kivalliq Inuit, and for half a century trade remained essentially unchanged. Inuit traded whale oil, blubber, baleen, narwhal and walrus tusks for bayonets, hatchets, ice chisels, knives, scissors and needles—all items that would increase their efficiency in hunting, clothing and food-processing. Contrary to European–Inuit encounters in Cumberland Sound and Labrador, trading did not lead to socializing and increased entrepreneurial roles. In the Hudson Bay region, business was quickly carried out and then Inuit returned to other interests (Fossett 2001).

The fur traders possibly had the most influence in altering Inuit lives. Families were encouraged to hunt fur-bearing animals for European and southern markets, so traditional settlement practices were altered as the Hudson Bay Company relocated Inuit or advised them to move their camps nearer to favourable trapping areas. Trading posts were established near relocated Inuit camps, and the increased use of firearms and a need for mechanical

equipment and supplies created a dependency upon trade goods because, in the Kivalliq, the time and energy involved in subsistence hunting and in trapping were mutually exclusive (Brody 1975).

> The Eskimos bought all sorts of things. The Padlirmiut and the inland people were reasonably wealthy, because it was nothing for a family to come in with two hundred foxes at the end of the year. Prices paid for a white fox pelt fluctuated according to their demand "outside" but often reached twenty-five or thirty dollars each. An Eskimo's individual take could total a large sum of money indeed, when you consider that they had all the food they wanted from the caribou and had no concern at all about such things as home mortgages and fuel bills. Trapping for foxes thus gave them a tremendous lot of pin money such as no white person in the north country could ever expect to earn. But the concept of saving for a rainy day was never a part of Eskimo thinking. If they had the money to trade, they would use it (Marsh and Marsh 1987:106).

Thus, Inuit populations contracted inward around the posts to be near supplies and also for relief during epidemics or food scarcity (Damas 2002). I suspect that many of the elder's practices may have changed during this time. At an Ahiarmiut elder's workshop in February 2004, an elder reported that:

> When someone gets a caribou near the tent we would go there and skin it and carry it home. We'd drain the blood and after that was done we'd put it on our backs and carry it. We would make sure the blood and guts aren't left on the land and we would cover it up and make it disappear. Intestines, blood and stains we would never leave them lying there. We would bury them. – Helen Kunne

I suspect that the Ahiarmiut elder's practice of covering the entrails and blood of their kills so as not to disrupt the caribou migration was greatly reduced at this time in favour of leaving the wastage above ground to attract and increase the fur-bearing scavenger population around the posts. I also suspect that the rapid dependency of Inuit on trade goods was not solely due to the pressure of the Hudson Bay Company. Caribou migrations had always been unstable, and may have periodically been the cause of starvation. Vallee (1967) found

evidence suggesting that the more reliant an inland family was on fox trapping the less likely they were to die of starvation because of their ability to purchase food when the caribou were unavailable. Yet, fox cycles and foreign markets were also unstable.

Other changes in wildlife movements were noted in the 1950s. For example, the walrus that frequented Sentry Island near Arviat (Birket-Smith and Calvert 1933) receded north and were replaced by beluga (VanStone and Oswalt 1959). However, the fact remained that whatever resource potential might have existed, Inuit needed a source of cash to purchase firearms, equipment and supplies (Vallee 1967).

However, government was concerned that Inuit would become too dependant upon imported trade goods and the rudimentary health care offered at the posts. Government feared that a situation similar to the reserve system in the south would develop, and that the effects of epidemics would increase as Inuit clustered around trading posts. Many government officials thought that Inuit would be healthier if they remained in their own camps (Damas 2002). Many believed that, since the Hudson Bay Company was encouraging a switch to trade-based economies, it should also be willing to provide occasional relief. Government had difficulty determining the actual state of the Inuit because the interests of administrators, missionaries and traders caused them to have very different perspectives on events associated with the Inuit (Tester and Kulchyski 1994).

Thus, previous to the 1950s, government policy was one of dispersal and attempting to keep Inuit self-sufficient on the land. Some groups of Kivalliq Inuit (such as the Ahiarmiut from Ennadai Lake) were relocated as many as three times in “acts of social reform” to keep Inuit from clustering around the posts and inland weather stations. Described by

administrators as "'voluntary migrations' designed to reaffirm the value of self reliance", the relocations were seen by Inuit as "enforced migrations to places that were not of their choosing" (Marcus 1995; Tester and Kulchyski 1994).

Family allowances, which came into existence in 1940s, were intended to raise the living standard for children. However, northern administrators feared that Inuit would stop hunting if that amount of cash were given out each month. The allowances were tied to children receiving formal education, so this too would tend to bring people into settlements. Therefore family allowances in the north were to be given out only when food supplies were scarce, and were often issued in the form of food rations based on southern conceptions of proper nutrition. The allowances affected Inuit social structure in unexpected ways: children were seen as an additional source of income and were often adopted by older, childless couples who would otherwise have very limited means of support (Guemple 1979:33; Tester and Kulchyski 1974:72). Similarly, the role of elders was greatly enhanced when old age pensions were instituted. In many cases, the value of pensions exceeded the total income of all the sons, daughters and grandchildren combined, so the elder's contribution was much sought after for store-bought goods (Vallee 1969:83; Tester and Kulchyski 1994:72).

In the 1950s, the policy of dispersal subsided in favour of centralization that was seen by administrators as inevitable (Damas 2002:49). On the land, caribou populations had receded and the fox fur market had collapsed. Inland trading posts were closed, causing severe hardship among many Inuit who increasingly gathered around the remaining coastal posts for relief and to obtain family allowances and pensions.

> What do you expect? You get a man coming in from the land after breaking his back for months just to get something to eat. He might be practically in rags,

> and what does he see when he gets here? He sees Nick and some of these other characters zooming around in their 18-horsepower kickers [motorboats] like they were Cadillacs. They're all dolled up and full of good grub. And where do they get the money? From emptying honey buckets for the Whites and mostly sitting on their butts—no sweat for them. Can you blame them for thinking twice about going back to the land? (Anonymous Qablunaaq, quoted in Vallee 1967:45).

Centralization in the Kivalliq region was uneven from one area to another. During World War II, people contracted to Southampton Island's south coast (Coral Harbour) from Repulse Bay area because of the American air base. In the 1950s Coral Harbour Inuit emigrated to Churchill and Rankin Inlet for employment at the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line installations. People were drawn to Chesterfield Inlet by encouragement of the Catholic Church and because of the hospital and school there. People later left Chesterfield Inlet for Rankin Inlet because of employment opportunities at the nickel mine (Damas 2002:103-104).

The tragic events leading up to and culminating in the Kivalliq famine (winter of 1957-1958), caused many to die from starvation and were the most publicized reason for centralization (Mowat 1951, 1959; Tester and Kulchyski 1994; Kulchyski and Tester 2007).

> The starvation and hard times around the Ennadai area was too much. Those of us living around the Kingaryualik area did not go through such desperate times … We were enormously better off than the Ahiarmiut. You know how those people used to take actively, regularly, and without remorse, take things that did not belong to them. They would go to the mining campsite and take whatever they want. In our culture, stealing will only make you poorer. – James Kunne

Harsh criticism of the government from the Canadian public and from abroad for its neglect of Kivalliq Inuit caused the government to hastily divide and reconstitute families and kinship networks, and to move them to coastal areas for relief and monitoring. James Kunne and others repeatedly expressed confusion as to why they were moved from Kangilliq (North

Henik Lake) to the coast when they were obviously so much better off than the destitute groups.

> We were really well off. In fact, we had around 100 caribou cached away. They [Government] were going to start gathering all the Inuit living in scattered areas, together into one place, so that was begun by the process of x-raying them. They should have moved the people in stages—the poor ones first, and the well off later. While we were well off, they took us down to Arviat too so our caribou cache went for nothing, and we became numbered with the poor and destitute, having to depend on welfare like all the rest. – James Kunne

Government hoped that by dividing the inland families and dispersing them among the coastal families, the inland Inuit would learn new subsistence strategies and quickly adapt to their new setting.

Well-intentioned southern intervention did not have the expected positive outcomes. Inland Inuit were expected to fish, hunt and trap in an unfamiliar area, and to adhere to unfamiliar trapping, fishing and hunting regulations (Kulchyski and Tester 2007). The relocation of some traditional leaders to other communities led to despondency, and social disruption ensued because factors important to Inuit, such as wildlife resources, kinship networks and group cohesiveness, were not considered. Inland and coastal Inuit were settled together, but the groups kept to themselves and inland peoples did not integrate well into the coastal economy (Tester and Kulchyski 1994).

When Inuit moved into settlements, there was an obvious separation between parts of the settlement occupied by Inuit and non-Inuit. The non-Inuit part of the settlement had houses, roads, missions, a school and the office of the Northern Service Officer, whereas the Inuit parts had matchbox houses and tents (Dailey and Dailey 1961). Most Inuit continued to live in canvas tents during late spring, summer and autumn. In early winter, they switched to

the snow house with a canvas top, and full snow house in the winter. Many Inuit located their tents near the Anglican or Catholic mission, whereas those more resistant to missionization lived by themselves. When a tent site became littered, they moved to another spot nearby (VanStone and Oswalt 1959).

The family groups were somewhat egalitarian among themselves, but when they came together as a result of government-initiated programs, a hierarchy or value judgment emerged concerning the competence, industriousness, intelligence and emotional balance of the groups (Williamson 1974; Fossett 2001). Vallee (1967) suggested reasons why some groups succeeded in adapting to settlement life. Vallee described those he considered successful as physically and emotionally healthy Inuit families who were put there for reasons beyond their control, such as a shortage of caribou. Their families were dominated by young men who were adaptable to change, and were able to learn new skills. Vallee (1967) concluded that families who lived on the land and had access to material resources after moving to the settlement demonstrated that they could adjust to a sea hunting and fishing economy, although they still took advantage of opportunities to hunt inland. However, the Kunnes' experiences and observations would suggest a more complex answer and diversity among Inuit ability to adapt.

James Kunne, being an exceptional hunter familiar with a large territory, was quick to adapt to settlement life. However, part of that adaptation had to do his ability to continue hunting and long distance travel on the land. The Kunnes witnessed many Ahiarmiut in the settlement going without food and not attempting to hunt or provide for their families.

> The men lost their interest to go hunting and took to trying to get caribou meat from friends. The men used to come to get their shares from Kunne's catch whenever he arrived from a hunting trip. – Helen Kunne

Difficulties intensified later that winter when Kunne found several of his caribou caches had been raided by others.

Settlement economy

Two distinct subsistence cycles emerged within the settlements. First were the families who moved inland along the river systems in late August to hunt caribou. Most received limited credit for food, supplies and the allotted 100 rifle shells from Hudson Bay Company. A few hunted seal for dog food before going inland over winter. In the lakes, they set nets for trout or jigged fish through ice. A few ptarmigan were hunted and arctic fox were also trapped. The second group were those who remained in the settlement all year, occasionally venturing out to hunt, fish and trap close to town (Van Stone and Oswalt 1959:4-6).

A major difficulty within the settlements was to find sustainable employment. Some sought employment with the Hudson Bay Company, the school and police. Others relied on social assistance or quasi-relief from the church missions. Summer employment was unreliable. Unskilled jobs were undesirable, especially when the unemployed were rounded up by police to work. Labourers with skills left the settlements for work in the mines (VanStone and Oswalt 1959:6-7).

Mining communities like Rankin Inlet had successfully employed and trained Inuit. Twenty-five percent of its workers came from Eskimo Point [Arviat]. While there, Inuit were able to improve their skills and gain salaries equivalent to that of Euro-Canadians. The mine created a sizable cash flow. However, Rankin Inlet ran out of ore in a few years and the mine

closed. Most other settlements created in the 1950s were based on government administrative structures that brought an influx of transient southern civil servants to join earlier waves of transitory miners, traders, prospectors and transportation workers (Fried 1966:41; McPherson 2003:9).

Working for Euro-Canadians posed its own set of challenges for Inuit because employers emphasized punctuality, reliability and efficiency. Inuit who accomplished these were rewarded with continued and extra employment opportunities. Inuit absenteeism and lack of adjustment to routine work time-schedules were frequent complaints of employers who said that many Inuit were "merely putting in time, passively and disinterestedly" (Dailey and Dailey 1961:79; Jansen 1979:52; McPherson 2003:10). The employer complaints described above are what Scott (1985:28-29) would classify as "foot-dragging", one of the everyday forms of resistance used by relatively powerless groups against what they see as exploitation of their labour and resources.

Inuit spending habits tended to put extra money into luxuries. Inuit purchased more southern convenience foods, and preferred meals that could be consumed immediately and completely with little preparation. By 1958, clothing styles changed and Inuit dressed according to southern styles, although kamiks (skin boots) and the amouti (woman's coat with large hood) were still worn by women (Dailey and Dailey 1961:75-77) and caribou clothing was retained by men hunting on the land (VanStone and Oswalt 1959).

A steady source of income encouraged gambling, although gambling patterns were still geared toward the redistribution of money through kin-based groups. Gambling seldom occurred outside the extended family group and Inuit were hesitant to win big because they

would be causing hardship for their relatives (Riches 1975; Jansen 1979).

Within the cash economy, money became seen as private property and not shared. Relatives still laid claim to equipment or goods purchased with the money, but the disposal of cash was largely left to individual choice. Country food and some types of equipment were still seen as shared property, and relatives expected access to them when the need arose. Thus, the settlement economy produced two sets of ownership: shared goods and private property (Jansen 1979).

Religious change

The missions that came into the Kivalliq were often tied to the economic interests of the Hudson Bay Company trading posts. Many missions were established in the communities either in the same year or within one year of the posts. The association generated a common joke in the north: "H.B.C. stands for … 'Here Before Christ', (but only just)" (Williamson 1974:73). In many settlements, the missionaries stayed with the traders, shared materials, attitudes and information, and used their buildings for services. The approval of the missionaries became more important as Inuit became more dependent upon the traders.

Prior to the settlement period, the "one who was thinking" was the informal leader, and his ability to lead was tied to his success as a hunter. However, when people switched to trapping, members left to pursue their own trap lines and food allowances offered by the Hudson Bay Company. In the settlements, traditional authority was replaced by Hudson Bay Company managerial authority (VanStone and Oswalt 1959:10). Southern religion began telling Inuit who to pray to, who they could marry, what food they could eat, what music they could sing and listen to, what work they could do and when they could do it. Southern

religion told them what part of the settlement they could live in and what schools their children could attend. When husbands went away to tend trap-lines, women and children became dependant upon the missionary and the trader (Ellis 1966:16). In effect, southern influence unwittingly took over the role of traditional leaders.

Traditional religion weakened after the collapse of the fur trade and withdrawal of the caribou. Yet, for some Inuit, there may have been sufficient similarities between shamanism and Christianity for the latter to be an acceptable alternative. Both had a life-giving, life-influencing deity, and both offered a means of manipulating the physical environment through prayer, rituals and restrictions. Inuit valued frankness, honesty, faithfulness and love, to which the missionaries added moral and religious fervour. Missionaries also developed a system of writing so that Inuit could learn the scriptures rapidly, and reading provided intellectual stimulation (Williamson 1974:75).

The Christian missions caused changes of another nature because they introduced a new naming system that had significance for social assimilation. All Christian names were associated with either names of saints (Catholic) or biblical names (Anglican) and substituted Inuit responsibilities and roles associated with traditional naming with responsibility to the church (Vallee 1967:70-72). Yet, in what Trott calls one of the greatest acts of resistance, Inuit refused to give up their naming system and in the end incorporated Christian names into their own system (Christopher Trott, personal communication, March 2009). Hostility grew, particularly between Inuit who held traditional beliefs and Anglican missionaries who sent out (Inuit) catechists with “hell-fire, damnation and torture” sermons that were followed up in the evening by a missionary who preached Christian love and joy (Williamson 1974:78).

Nevertheless, the influence of the angatkuit still permeated the society based on unarticulated feelings of rightness of behaviour and practice. Perhaps it was this conflict, or the constant feuding between the Catholics and Anglicans over Inuit souls, that left the way open for emergence of the Inuit Pentecostal groups that featured evangelical-style Christianity and ethnic exclusiveness. These groups involved the formation of cells around a charismatic leader who held a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible, fervent free-form praying, public confession and tearful repentance of sins, and loud rhythmic music to stir up frenzied emotion (Williamson 1974:79). Inuit interpreted the Pentecostal stress on observances as continuous with "the traditional emphasis on conforming to rules laid down by the spirits" (Vallee 1967:181; Laugrand and Oosten 2007). However, Inuit were less enthusiastic about adopting moral standards of conduct that were not considered taboo under the old system (Vallee 1967).

Social organization

A cash income made families less interdependent than in the past. Now, money was usually spent only within the nuclear household. Healthy males were expected to supply cash instead of caribou and the women supplemented this cash with their own income earned as domestics for non-Inuit (Vallee 1967:76).

Within the settlements, the wage economy affected the basis of marriage because the old division of labour had broken down and women were losing their former roles and their equality (in terms of necessity) with men (Vallee 1967:76-77). In addition, men no longer needed wives to survive. Instead, many were strongly motivated to live as non-Inuit and in many cases removed themselves from the residences of their kin, which had important

implications for their status. Inuit did not know how to place these bachelors within the community because residence reinforces the rights and obligations between kin (Dailey and Dailey 1961:54). Men in the settlement no longer had the time or inclination to teach sons to hunt, so the youth gained few subsistence skills. On the other hand, girls still were still taught by their mothers (Dailey and Dailey 1961:51).

According to Ahiarmiut elder Luke Anautalik, social disruption occurred in the settlements when unattached men who did not hunt had unrestricted access to many unattended females. The situation soon led to capable hunters remaining home to be with their wives.

Further family disruptions occurred when the children and grandchildren were compelled to attend school and were exposed to school discipline and, at times, corporal punishment.

> When I was still producing children and they reach the age of five they have to go to school and that is when I let go of my children. The schools raise them now. My role has been reduced to providing lunches. They go home and sleep and I produce their clothing … When they come home they have homework. All I can do now is try to encourage them since I can no longer instruct them in things that I used to do. – Helen Kunne

On the land, Helen Kunne's children were taught to call family members by their relationship to each other, but in the settlement children were called by their given names. "Our relationship as a family would be closer if we start calling each other by how they are related". On the land, children were admonished to treat their relatives well. However, in the settlement, children and grandchildren frequently came home with blackened eyes.

As the children grew, they became more unruly at home, yelling and threatening their parents and grandparents. Parents, in retaliation, would threaten "If you keep on being bad I

will give you to the Area Administrator" (Williamson 1974:161). Adolescents showed no interest in hunting or fishing, and arranged marriages were met with resistance. Women now found traditional life unattractive and wanted to stay in the communities where they were able to become articulate and influential in daily affairs of settlement life (Williamson 1974).

Daily and Daily (1961) and Williamson (1974) focused on what they saw as the negative aspects of community life in those early years, but Joe Karetak, Arviat resident, recalls positive aspects of being a young boy during the 1960s.

> There was no TV. There was radio, but not anything but CBC. There was the school, the churches, and there was the store we went to. That was about it. All that was conducive to young boys going out with their father. If we were not hunting with our father, we were hunting within our community or … on the outskirts. So as soon as you walk out you are already in the elements, so obviously your adrenalin and your interest is being fed. You are either hunting ptarmigans, rabbits or whatever … We had to walk everywhere, of course, so physically we were exercising a lot, getting a lot of air. We were always getting our adrenalin pumped up very high … It's very exciting, very difficult and you've got your little mind working very hard to succeed. You're pushing yourself very hard all the time and you are learning from others how they are succeeding, if they are succeeding, or how they are not when you see them attempting. So you are developing your strategy all the time. … As we were getting older, we were going further than when we were kids, but it's the same trend, the same drive. – Joe Karetak

> I think when we were getting older the community was growing quite rapidly. The activities changed. TV by the seventies and right away there was a whole lot of changes. Like there was nobody outside anymore … a lot of them that would have been out with us were now staying home. During that time we were mostly on an Inuit diet. There was nothing much flown in …We had caribou [daily], where as today, we could go days without having caribou or traditional food anymore. – Joe Karetak

Vallee, writing about the situation in Baker Lake, said two kinds of Inuit emerged within the communities (Vallee 1968): the *Nunamiut* (who chose an independent life on the land) and the *Kabloonamiut* (who preferred to live in the settlement and follow southern

customs). Kabloonamiut were often born in other communities and moved with their non-Inuit employers. Some were sent to the South as children for medical reasons or for high-school education. Their mobility produced a far-flung network of friends and relatives, and they tended not to identify as strongly with a particular region or subculture as did the Nunamiut. There was strong distaste expressed by the Kabloonamiut towards the Nunamiut and vice versa (Vallee 1968). Similar distinctions and tensions between the mobile Inuit and the more traditional Inuit were noticed in Arviat in 2004.

New criteria for prestige and esteem were developed within the communities: the ability to master skills required to mix easily with both the traditional Inuit and non-Inuit, and fluency in English and ability to perform work valued by non-Inuit. In other words, Inuit had to master both the physical and social environment. The Kabloonamiut gave rise to a Pan-Inuit group who were articulate and claimed to speak for all Inuit to the non-Inuit (Vallee 1968), a feature that became important leading up to the land claim years.

Meanwhile in the communities, Inuit became frustrated that they were not consulted regarding policy decisions that concerned them and in a forum in which they would be heard. Most policy decision-making occurred within the higher levels of government in the south. Instead Inuit engagement in the direction of their lives and culture was taking place through the establishment of local Eskimo councils throughout the north:

> In the context of the times, this Council was an extraordinary development. It illustrates that Inuit were quite prepared to speak up about problems, to offer solutions, to participate in planning, to question officials, to take part in different forms of democratic decision making than those embedded in their own culture. With careful preparation they were eager for the opportunity to do so (Kulchyski and Tester 2007:238).

Through the councils, Inuit frustration was expressed and changes were able to occur at the

local level. Resistance was also expressed through writing of petitions by the Eskimo council. For example, in 1953 in the Kitikmeot Inuit petitioned the Government of Canada regarding their dissatisfaction towards the staking and holding of mineral claims, and the need for Inuit to secure mineral rights on their land (Kulchyski 2008: Chapter 7).

As the gap between Inuit wants and their ability to obtain their wants became wider, co-operatives offered the opportunity for members to work together and produce items for both their own use and for the outside (Iglauer 2000). Inuit were encouraged to exploit anything available, such as fish, game, seals and whales, and to develop their own skills in carving and print- and garment-making. Co-ops were valuable because they provided an outlet for Inuit to make their own decisions and not remain socially, psychologically and economically dependant on outsiders (Vallee 1966:45-46).

Since the mid 1900s, Inuit were increasingly losing control over their land, lives, families, communities and the future. They saw escalating mineral exploration and development happening on their lands. They saw industry as a partner with the federal government, and both as being undependable and non-supportive of Inuit concerns. "They discerned the sham of consultation and the lack of prior notice or willingness by developers to see them as partners or genuine advisors" (McPherson 2003:xviii).

> The Inuit response to development ranged from irritation to outrage, and it spawned political organization and protest. The Inuit were quick to understand the manifold aspects of development, including potential benefits. The government was dedicated to development and became visibly motivated and inclined to negotiate whenever it was threatened or significantly delayed. An aggressive tone and agitation for land injunctions or freezes became development-oriented tools in the Inuit struggle for self-determination, even through such issues as game and fish management, culture, and language preservation were uppermost in their minds. Their identity was associated with land, but Inuit also recognized that a traditional livelihood was not going to

> sustain their children, who would need to learn new skills and acquire the wage-labor jobs that developers could offer (McPherson 2003:xvii).

In the 1970s, Jensen (1979) reported that many non-Inuit and Inuit residents were apathetic towards settlement politics and administration because of the practice of referring decisions to policy makers outside the community. Both Inuit and Euro-Canadians taking part in the formal, bureaucratic settlement councils (which were different from the Eskimo councils) expected that the decisions would be deferred to other administrative levels outside their region. Although Inuit were encouraged to take an active part in these settlement councils and administrative officials attempted to "instil in the Eskimo a sense of community and involvement in that community", Inuit response was indifferent (Jensen (1971:30-31). While Inuit engagement was happening in their own forums through their own initiatives, many refused to engage in the formal bureaucratic councils — but not all.

Hybrid constructions: The Nunavut Land Claim

> … having to adapt to the realities of a changing world, Inuit have been doing what they have always done in the past: learning about these new realities, using them and adapting them to their own needs. – "The clash of economic cultures" unpublished Government of Nunavut document (Rankin Inlet, 2004)

The Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) is unique among land claims in that it was an Inuit strategy to claim not only portions of the land occupied by Inuit, but the whole territory through the creation of Nunavut. Nadasdy (2003) in *Hunters and Bureaucrats* claimed land claims and joint management processes were limiting to Aboriginals because of the linguistic restrictiveness, but shrewd Inuit politicians and negotiators used the land claim process to limit the power of the federal government and to incorporate new concepts of the land into IQ. The NLCA was actually a way of asserting IQ—the Inuit way of doing things—over territorial governance, policy, social programs and natural resources. Inuit succeeded to a degree that overtook all previous claims and, according to Brian Wong, DFO land claims expert (personal communication, Ottawa 2005), the NLCA came very close to granting Inuit full self-government; it governs not only the beneficiaries, but the entire population within the Territory of Nunavut. The NLCA limits the federal government in ways that no other claim has ever done:

> …we didn't realize that until we began the implementation process. I'm not sure that anyone understood that we were limiting the government's power … – Brian Wong

An Inuit negotiator's perspective –Thomas Suluk

Suluk was born on the land south of Arvait, but sent away at age five to a TB sanatorium in the south. While there, he was educated in English. Seven years later, a complete stranger

came to the hospital and announced in Inuktitut that Suluk's mother was dead and that Suluk was to live with her now. Suluk was returned to Arviat during the early 1960s when relocated inland Inuit were having great difficulty adapting to settlement life. At age 14, he left Arviat to attend the school in Fort Churchill. Unless otherwise stated, the reflections and opinions expressed in this section are those of Thomas Suluk and were gathered from conversations with Suluk between 2004 – 2006 by Blakney:

Thoughts of a separate territory for Inuit originated in the 1960s and can be traced back to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND)-run school set up at the ex-armed forces base at Fort Churchill. Previously, Inuit had been educated in a haphazard manner in various little federal or church-run schools scattered throughout the North. In 1964, Inuit children from northern Quebec, northern Baffin Island and Kivalliq were brought together for the first time under one roof for the purpose of gaining a unified education. According to Suluk, the Churchill school was often credited with forming the political minds that eventually became dominant leaders in government and northern politics. Students included John Amagoalik, James Arvaluk, Simon Awa, Peter Irniq, Meeka Kilabuk, Jose Kusaguk, David Similak, Thomas Suluk, Eric Tagoona, Thomas Tiktak, Senator Charlie Watt and Sheila Watt-Cloutier.

As young Inuit in Fort Churchill awakened to the coming development, encroachment from the South, the exploding Inuit population and the end of what Inuit perceived as a relatively rule-free life, they sensed the need to control how and how fast it happened. Development was seen as a way of becoming a part of the culture of Canada and a way to participate in its employment and economic wellbeing. Inuit reasoned that when governments

moved into an area, construction and services were developed and money became available.

For Inuit, the business of government was relatively new. In the 1960s and 1970s Inuit were administered by a representative from DIAND. In the mid 1970s, the federal administration set up the Eskimo Housing Association and began to involve Inuit in running their own community affairs (see Kulchyski and Tester 2007). Eventually, a system of advisory Settlement Councils with appointed members was created based on the southern band council model. These Councils allowed Inuit the opportunity to begin dealing with the municipal administration. The HTOs were another offshoot from the Settlement Council and the Housing Association. These three organizations have existed in practically all communities since the mid 1970s. Eventually, the Settlement Councils were incorporated by the NWT government under the *Municipal Act* and, if Inuit wanted to run more of their own affairs, settlements had to attain hamlet status and have the capacity to do their own bookkeeping, payroll and other administrative tasks.

Members of the Settlement Councils were also members of the HTOs, so Inuit became aware of the mining and exploration companies' activities and of the surveying activities of the Government of NWT. Settlement Council members began to discuss the disturbing happenings on the land, but they were quickly told that it was not their function to administer these things. It was the federal government's jurisdiction.

> Over a period of time there were continued assertions by the representatives of the federal and territorial governments that municipalities and HTOs do not have a say as to how the federal government does its business outside of the municipalities. Naturally, the Inuit who had heard these things began to travel to the Settlement Council meetings in other communities to discuss these issues. – Thomas Suluk

As time passed, the need grew for Inuit to discuss their concerns through their own

association. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) was formed in 1971. The ITC was an Inuit association with no specific constitutional responsibility except to develop positions as to what the Inuit would agree to and under what conditions. This included hospitalization, education, the need for communication, the need to conduct administrative affairs in a fair and orderly manner and other issues that were bedevilling DIAND in the North. Through ITC, Inuit were able to participate in the administration of federal statutes in an advisory capacity.

Also, at this time, the notion of pre-existing Aboriginal rights to the land was developed[11] and used as a forum to discuss natural resources, mining and territorial issues in the North. Suluk and others travelled from community to community talking to Inuit, saying:

> Well first of all you have to claim that you own the land and that you haven't given up your lives totally to the government yet, and you have not agreed to be assimilated yet. You can say you have not given up the education of your children or the takeover of your lands because you were not aware of the governments from England, Denmark or Sweden, including Americans and Canadians when they were doing all these things. But now that you know, the usual way these people know or give concessions is by making a claim. – Thomas Suluk

These discussions led to the concept of claiming the land. Inuit leaders believed it was in the interest of Canada to come to friendly terms with the original people who had equally legitimate ties through their ancestors with other interested countries, such as Denmark, Sweden and the United States. One of the main interests of Inuit was trade and as long as the whalers were not restricting Inuit activities in relation to hunting and their livelihood "it didn't matter who or what nationality these people were, other than the fact that they had goods to trade and they are basically friendly" (Thomas Suluk).

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11 **See** Calder **v. British Columbia (Attorney General) [**1973**]. The Calder case examined the existence of Aboriginal rights over land historically occupied by the Nisga'a in northern British Columbia.**

Suluk and others who went to the communities had to put Aboriginal rights and the concept of land claims within a historical context Inuit could understand.

> When educated Inuit began talking about land claims they had a difficult time getting the people in the communities to go for it because the average Inuk did not want to be involved with government. To resolve this difficulty many fieldworker-negotiators on the Nunavut project took a very religious approach and related the land claim and the future formation of Nunavut to the Children of Israel coming out of Egypt into the Promised Land. For that time—a different time—negotiators found a way to communicate and touch base with the people in a manner they had come to know: the world from the perspective provided by the two mainline churches, the Catholic and Anglican. So they were able to connect with the people by being diligent about prayer, and paying attention to morals, confronting bad things, and condemning bad actions wherever they were found. – Thomas Suluk

The religious foundations for this new approach had been started years before while Inuit were still on the land. According to Suluk, when Inuit moved to the settlements, the realization increased that the older beliefs and ways of life connected to the land were inadequate for the new pressures and situations they faced. Inuit did what many other indigenous cultures did when living under the pressures of colonial situations: they appropriated elements of the colonial religion and adapted it to their new situations by blending it with their old beliefs (Worsley 1959; Wallace 1970; Lawrence 1971; Lanternari 1993; Spence 1996; Trott 1997).

> In the early settlement years, the new religion [Christianity], became seen as a positive force because it gave the people a sense of security at a time when they no longer felt safe or secure in the new settlements. Many Inuit now had to travel long distances to other communities and interact not only with other family groups but with Qablunaat administrators and governments. – Thomas Suluk

> In this time of stress they needed inner strength to carry them through … In those years, things had not come up yet about abuses in residential schools and in churches or by ministers of any of the churches. They were not considered to be strange but were accepted. – Thomas Suluk

Some Inuit and academics today refer to Christianity as a force that kept the people back but, in the years before the land claim settlement, many Inuit saw it as preparing the people for the coming of settled society.

> It prepared a lot of people, I think. For example, the son of God, Jesus, even though he has been gone for a long time, those things he said kept a lot of people going, and that's the whole idea—to keep going … So going out into the world, and becoming pilgrims … The two mainline churches, the Catholic and Anglican, those two I think prepared the people a lot, which is why there hasn't been that much backlash against them – Thomas Suluk

According to Suluk, religion gave Inuit faith in powers beyond what people or governments had. Adaptation to settlement life, the challenges of the land claim process, the task of developing their own government and administering their own lives required much faith and vision to see into the future and gain an understanding of what life would entail. Like the angatkuit described earlier by Job Mukjurnik, the land claim negotiators needed to have a vision for a whole geographic area and for the generations to come. For the negotiators, this ultimately involved looking backward to biblical history and using it to accomplish current goals.

> And all the preaching done in the two basic mainline churches, Anglican and Catholic missions, they have always talked about new things being possible, new worlds and being able to change from this to that over time and having faith and having a vision. So in that sense we had used the coming of Nunavut and the coming of the settlement of the claims as similar to what the Bible teaches in terms of things that have not happened yet but could happen – Thomas Suluk.

During the period of land claim negotiations and planning for the coming government, the popularity of the Anglican and Catholic churches began to wane and a new religious counterculture emerged in the form of the Latter Rain Movement. Latter Rain is a branch of

Pentecostalism, and emerged in Saskatchewan during the time of social unease following World War II when North American populations were struggling to recover from the trauma of the Nazi era, the unleashing of the atomic bomb and the rise of communism. Pentecostalism allowed a sense of security in what seemed like a chaotic world (Riss 1987). Years later, as Inuit were going through the chaotic processes of switching from a land-based culture to a settled society and engaging with government over land claims, the arrival of Pentecostalism in the North gave many Inuit the same sense of security and empowerment. A number of Inuit political leaders became Pentecostals or were influenced by their discourse.

> When those two [Anglican and Catholic] were on the way out, the modern one came—the Pentecostal. Then there was the beginning of the land claims thing and government thing which is all very earthly. Nothing to do with heaven about land claims here. So then there was a counter movement that supported a lot of people who were going through a lot of stress and who were not at home anymore within the safety of their homes and communities and their tribes, 'cause they are out across their territories and across the nation and dealing with governments and stuff so they needed a lot of belief and all that. – Thomas Suluk.

Inuit leaders had a difficult time selling the idea of land claims and their own government to their people who were just beginning to learn what it was like to live in settlements. Inuit thought it ludicrous to have to *claim the land.* The land was part of them and they were a part of the land. The land was intricately connected to Inuit identity and they could not understand why should have to claim something inseparable from them. Inuit were afraid that if they agreed to give up their Aboriginal rights for a land claim, they would no longer be real Inuit. To answer Inuit fears, negotiators looked for a model that would a fit with the wider context of cultural beliefs. Adaptation was the key for survival and the negotiators saw the land claim as necessary for the long-term survival of Inuit. To facilitate acceptance of

the land claim, the negotiators used the interconnected concepts of identity, religion, politics and the land.[12]

> We even went so far as saying "the Jews and Israelites did not stop being Jews or being recognized as Jews … Even though they had been dispersed for the last 1900 years … they … eventually came back together, and they still consider themselves Jews and Israelites and are recognized as such even after 1900 years. We [Inuit] haven't started to even count [year] one yet. So you are not going to stop being an Inuk unless you say you are not an Inuk anymore". So we used everything to try and bring it [land claim] into being, and every example we used, it was accepted. It's just a matter of putting it into a language they can understand. – Thomas Suluk

Inuit negotiators spoke English and travelled, so Inuit usually asked them to pass on their comments to governments. According to Suluk, Inuit found it easier to deal with the territorial government on issues of community administration, but with issues concerning the countryside, animals and sea mammals, Inuit had to deal with both the territorial and federal governments. The frustration arising from these arrangements brought about the notion of not just claiming parts of the land but the whole territory.

In 1973, the ITC began an Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study to establish Inuit Aboriginal Title in the north and to serve as the geographic basis for what was to eventually become the Nunavut Territory. Both Inuit and the federal government wanted to proceed cautiously, and agreed that more time was needed for Inuit to develop their concepts and positions. Inuit hired top American lawyers to draft a land claim proposal for DIAND. In 1976, ITC presented the first *Nunavut Proposal* based on the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. It called for the creation of the Nunavut Territory, which included the Inuvialuit in the Beaufort and Yukon North Slope areas. However, when the Nunavut

[12] The land claim discourse of Inuit negotiators was heavily imbued with Judeo-Christian religious imagery.

Proposal was presented for review by Inuit in general community meetings throughout northern Quebec, eastern NWT (now Nunavut) and the western Arctic, Inuit became upset and said they were never consulted on any of those things.

Discussions turned toward consultation with each community, and negotiators were faced with the dilemma of different regions in very different stages of industrial development. The western Arctic and northern Québec had much more industrial development taking place and the need to settle their claim was considered urgent. However, in the eastern NWT there was little development. On this point, Suluk said: "The western Arctic and northern Quebec took a quick route to negotiate with the federal government, thus coming to an agreement nearly 15 years earlier than the eastern NWT".

Inuit in the eastern NWT (at the time referred to as Nunatsiaq) were not willing to rush into a quick settlement because they realized that just having a bit of responsibility in the municipalities and having partial responsibility under the NWT game ordinances would not be inclusive. Nunatsiaq Inuit realized that they were a tiny minority within NWT's non-Inuit majority and, as such, they could not affect policy decisions in a way that made sense to their people. They concluded that Inuit needed either to take over the government or to become the government. They proceeded to develop basic principles, such as:

> "Inuit will have the right to own land". "The Inuit will agree how they are to be governed", etc.. But when these principles were presented to the federal government, they responded with, "Well, how are you going to administer? Who is going to administer?" and "What is being administered?" – Thomas Suluk

The federal government required the document to be presented in a formal format complete with articles, sections and subsections. Thus, Inuit set up a special commission and hired

Canadian lawyers who understood the laws of the country and how to turn Inuit principles into a legal agreement.

> So it was a period in which Inuit and governments met back and forth and said "You can do this", and "No you can't do that", and "If we can't do this then we won't …", a kind of confrontational type of things. It was apparent that it was going to take a while. – Thomas Suluk

In the late 1970s, ITC got impatient with the fact that the development of this new proposal was not accomplishing any more than the first Nunavut Proposal. Thus, Suluk, as chief negotiator for ITC, fired the commission and all their research staff.

> In ITC's eyes nothing had been accomplished and it was going to take forever to go through that route. So ITC launched a mini rebellion by dismissing the commission and taking over with the intent to quickly negotiate the land claim with the federal government. – Thomas Suluk

Suluk's appointment as chief negotiator required not only the redevelopment and expansion of the earlier principles, but also the reshaping of the Inuit political structure in the North. He wanted to move things forward, but was repeatedly slowed by the communities who were saying:

> "We were not included", "We don't have a member", and "We did not elect you to speak for us". So we had to begin the whole process again. – Thomas Suluk

ITC had to get every community's permission, which was accomplished by much travelling, talking, consulting, teaching and debating. It soon became apparent that land claim consultation would be a very long process.

> Though my main task was to be the senior administrator and free others to concentrate more on the consulting, over this period I doubled as a chief executive officer, a negotiator, a fieldworker and so on, because up until that point, we had no one in senior positions that knew the voices of the communities. There were no senior administrators who had done fieldwork themselves and they were inflaming the hunters and communities in general,

> with their new policies. To make effective policies you have to know the people, meet with them and talk to them. But Inuit didn't speak English and the government didn't speak Inuktitut so the process took a lot longer. Since there was no integration, senior administrators had to hire fieldworkers or underlings to do their work for them. – Thomas Suluk

A discussion paper *Political Development in Nunavut* was released in 1979 at an ITC conference in Igloolik. It proposed division of the NWT and creation of the Nunavut Government modelled after the existing NWT government. This proposal caused the federal government to ask where the boundary line would be drawn. Thus, the next decade was spent deciding the boundaries, making proposals for wildlife, deciding Inuit rights that would be entailed under the Canadian Constitution and how this content should be phrased in legal terminology. Inuit also had to come to terms with the Dene and the Inuvialuit because the latter two groups wanted to remain part of the western Arctic territory.

Suluk was elected to Parliament in 1984 on the platform of moving the division of the NWT through Parliament. Earlier in 1984, John Monroe, Minister of DIAND said the federal government agreed in principle to the division of the NWT, but an agreement on the boundary between the east and the west had to be settled. Over the next several years, Inuit, western Dene and the NWT government debated, negotiated and held two plebiscites to decide if they wanted to divide the NWT and the placement of the boundary.[13]

The debate moved into the realm of the Government of the NWT and the NWT Legislative Assembly, which gave breathing space for Inuit in Nunatsiaq to develop their organization. The Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was formed for the purpose of organizing and setting up the future Government of Nunavut. When the Conservative

[13] See Legare 1998 for history of the political development of Nunavut.

Government lost the 1988 election, Suluk left Ottawa to take up leadership with the TFN. Suluk said it took much diplomacy to convince ITC that this group would take nothing away from the other responsibilities of ITC.

> We developed a political position with the people themselves and talked very diplomatically with the large [Inuit] organizations saying that we were just an administrative structure and that we will disappear once the properly constituted authorities became recognized, namely, the Government of Nunavut. So that position was advantageous and was acceptable to the government, the Inuit and the other political Inuit organizations. – Thomas Suluk

TFN began the difficult task of developing positions in a language that was legal yet still understandable by Inuit, two levels of government, the civil service and international groups. It required cooperation between Inuit, southern Canadians and international organizations —"with the exception of Greenpeace which was seen to be the anti-fur movement, anti-sealing people and [they] were considered the political enemies of the Inuit". – Thomas Suluk.

> TFN required people that were able to talk and look credibly like Inuit, those that were fluent in English but were able to function like an Inuk. Not just people with black hair and brown skin, but people that could build an igloo, shoot, skin and eat a caribou. They were required to be fluent in both worlds. They had to drive, know Canadian law and be able to speak at times like a fiery evangelist in both English and Inuktitut. –Thomas Suluk

The first general agreement included co-management of wildlife, Inuit hunting rights for subsistence, and the first "right of refusal" (the right to enter into a business transaction first before a third party was contacted). Financial compensation was not considered at this time.

> Financial compensation, though repeatedly mentioned internally, was not given to the public relations people until later because it required more finesse and Inuit negotiators might get too riled up when confronted by excessive questions. – Thomas Suluk



Sites in Arviat - 2004



View of Arviat from the Hudson Bay



Inuksuk outside Arviat



Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church



Government of Nunavut Education building



Several dog-teams are chained around the perimeter of Arviat and on Hudson Bay in winter



Arviat's major hotel - Inns North



Anglican Church



Arviat Health Centre



Arviat Elder's Centre



New quad-plex construction – social housing



Old fishing boat succumbing to the elements



Flag pole situated in the geographic centre of Arviat. Notice Israeli flag placed above Canada and Nunavut flags



Arviat Cultural Centre - seal skin clothing display



Kivalliq Inuit artefacts — miniature bows, arrows, skin scrapers, sun visors, containers, spears



Traditional Arviat wall hangings tell a story



A sewing coop, teaching women how to make clothing and wall hangings to sell in the South



Section of a wall hanging created at the co-op



Anglican cemetery near the point outside Arviat



Stories forgotten - no one in Arviat remembers how the boat got there or to whom it belonged



Inuit garage - a humorous jab at the Qablunaat



Youth perform during Commissioner Irniq's visit



Square-dance at the community hall



Arviat airport at sunset

Inuit leaders decided other issues, such as education, social issues and housing, should be dealt with by a formally established government. As long as there was provision to divide the NWT, Inuit decided that social issues could be left to the future Government of Nunavut. This decision alleviated a lot of Inuit concerns and the negotiators were able to concentrate on natural resources, land and fisheries issues, particularly the right to manage and hunt bowhead whales every two years.

Land claims were intended to deal with larger issues, creating buffers between Inuit, the rest of Canadian society and the world; a cushion was needed from the impact of rapid development. Yet, Nunatsiaq also required the development of infrastructure, public transportation and access to less expensive goods and services; thus, there was a need for Nunavut.

Inuit leaders envisioned the day when the government would be run by their children, well-trained in administrative skills and integrated into the Canadian democracy with certain and specific rights guaranteed through the land claim. However, Suluk ended his recollections on the land claim years with on a sober note.

> One of the criticisms, expressed in Inuit circles at least, was that the original aim, hope and direction of empowering the people to make a living and compete in the modern world has basically been given to people with no vision. – Thomas Suluk

Suluk's experiences of being torn back and forth between two cultures and languages, and seeing the control of traditional lands being lost to prospectors and southern administrators, caused him and other bilingual Inuit to earnestly desire a self-governed Inuit territory. Many unilingual Inuit in the Kivalliq had difficulty grasping the concepts of 'claiming the land'. The Kivalliq negotiators seized hold of religious imagery and stories

taught by missionaries and applied them to the recent history of Inuit and their struggle to gain freedom and control of their own territory. They realized that "the power of ideas and ideology lay more in the realm of images than in concepts", and "there could be no intact revolutionary will without exact pictorial representation" and that this "capacity of images was, except on rare occasions, blocked by ruling-class representations" (Taussig 1987:199–200). "[T]o articulate the past historically means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up…" (Benjamin 1969); the principal of montage carried over into history.

In the Chapter Three, I examine the dynamics between the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of life in contemporary Arviat. At times, I've heard non-Inuit describe Arviat as a community that has lost much of its traditional culture. They base their judgements on the disruption and relocation of Inuit in the 1950—1960s, Inuit use of modern technology, equipment and vehicles, Inuit appreciation for southern imported food, social dysfunction, or the loss of IQ through the passing of elders. My observations and experiences would suggest that the difficulties experienced by Arviat Inuit have more to do with the clash and mismatch of cultures than the loss of it. Traditional knowledge and culture is strong, but operates at a different level than is easily recognized by non-Inuit.

Chapter Three: The politics of everyday life in Arviat

> In recent years we have seen Inuit gain control of their school systems and work to replace Qallunaat teachers with their own Inuktitut-speaking teachers. Frustrations with the Criminal Justice System have given rise to a system of community justice committees based upon the principles of healing and restoration. Concerted efforts are underway to restore Inuktitut, especially in the workplace. Most significant of all, Inuit have settled their land claims and created their own government. They now control a wide range of provincial-type government services. – Anonymous 2004

The NLCA was designed to provide a measure of security and a buffer for Inuit who were quickly becoming overwhelmed by the pressures of dealing with a highly bureaucratic system. The following section provides a montage of Arviat in the early 21st century, and the lives of beneficiaries for which the claims were developed and affect. It also sets the social, cultural and economic backdrop for the drama unfolding over marine and terrestrial resource management issues and concerns.

Physical environment

Arviat is located on the western shore of Hudson Bay approximately 200 km north of the Manitoba border. The area is surrounded by wet tundra carpeted with short spongy plant cover, clusters of low shrubs, peat and thousands of stagnant pools. Only 5% of plant biomass is visible above ground; the remaining 95% is underground in the form of rhizomes and roots (Pielou 1994).

In the summer months, most residents stay near the coast with its continuous wind and strong breezes, away from the incessant masses of mosquitoes and biting flies that inhabit the tundra. The autumn, winter and early spring were preferred for hunting because of the access that the snow and ice covered tundra gave them to the land. Storms and blizzards frequent

Arviat in winter, closing all schools and businesses with the exception of the Northern Store, which remains open in all weather.

During the relentless winter storms most Inuit remain in the house listening to CB radios, working on skins, watching TV, playing cassette tape players or listening to a family member playing religious hymns on a small organ. Perhaps a son would play Eric Clapton tunes on a guitar. The CB, radio and TV were almost always on, competing for the attention of the occupants. Community members became restless and ventured out to visit nearby relatives. Visits from grandchildren were common in the evenings and on weekends. It was not uncommon for these adventurers to become "lost" on their excursions, only to find themselves on the tundra after the storm had died down.

The storms affected the emotional wellbeing of Inuit. During a break after several four- and five-day storms in February, I went to visit the Ahiarmiut elder, Mukjurnik with an interpreter. When I arrived he was dozing on the couch, but quickly sat up. Still a bit groggy, he began talking about a young hunter and his son who had gone missing three days previously in the storm. Since they were originally from Rankin Inlet, they did not know the land well around Arviat. Mukjurnik began talking about the weather in a solemn supernatural way, saying that the winter had been long and fierce and it would not let go until it took someone out with it—obviously referring to the young hunter and his son. My interpreter told Mukjurnik that Alareak, an Arviat elder had just died at noon that day. Mukjurnik's eyes became distant as he thought back through time. There would be no interview today. Later that afternoon, the weather warmed up and stayed above freezing for several days. The hunter and his son were found alive. If my interpreter attributed supernatural causality to the above

events, he did not say. The incident of the storm, the lost hunters and the elder's death were never mentioned again in my presence.

Arviat is relatively isolated from the South. There are no roads leading in and none linking it to other Kivalliq communities. Southern traffic enters by plane; the local people frequently travel between Arviat, Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet by skidoo or bombardier. Arviat residents also travel to Churchill (approximately 200 miles south) on skidoo or bombardier to pick up supplies, to hunt or to buy inexpensive liquor, which was prohibited in the community during the time of my research. During the summer months, barges travel up and down the western Hudson Bay coastline bringing in lumber, vehicles, building supplies, dry goods, flats of soft drinks and other convenience goods for small businesses.

Arviat is the main center for the decentralized Government of Nunavut's Department of Education. A regional branch of the Government of Nunavut's Department of Environment and a regional branch of the Nunavut Planning Commission (NPC) are also located in the community. The Mikilaq Youth Centre, run by novice nuns, is located in the old Catholic Mission building and is well supplied with a bookstore, pool tables, air hockey, table soccer, TVs, videos, computers, board games, puzzles and a music area with guitars. Other features of the hamlet include Northern and Co-op stores, a lumber/hardware supply store, an elementary and high school, Arctic College, Health Centre, Elders Centre, small office buildings, swimming pool, arena, hotel, bed and breakfast establishments, a bakery that cooked by order only, several convenience stores, a construction company, dump and reservoir.

Arviat's water is piped into the hamlet reservoir from small lakes to the west, trucked to the homes and pumped into holding tanks in heated compartments under the houses. There

was no cost for water to beneficiaries, but non-Inuit paid approximately $600/tank. Inuit often have their water tanks run dry and have to wait several days for refills. The discoloured, sediment-laden reservoir water has an unpleasant taste and is used only for bathing and cleaning. Many Inuit buy bottled water, Pepsi and other soft drinks for drinking. If no other water is available, tap water is used for tea. Inuit with ATVs and trucks travel five km to Wolf Creek to collect fresh water in four litre plastic jugs. In winter, Inuit take skidoos and qamutiks to the creek and chop large blocks of ice to haul back to the hamlet. The ice is stored outside until needed, and then large chunks are brought inside and melted down in industrial sized pots on the stove.

Loose dogs have always been a concern in Arviat. In a 1967 Arviat newsletter (the editor was Kalluak), Inuit were admonished not to let their dogs injure children or chase caribou. Residents were told to chain their dogs or the dogs would be shot. In 2004, Inuit women were still afraid of moving about the hamlet because of loose dogs. A few families kept sled dogs for racing or for pets, but most dogs were kept to warn of polar bears, rabid foxes or other wildlife wandering into the community. The RCMP regularly brought in, and administered, free rabies vaccine to all community dogs, but not all owners cooperated. Rabid dogs are common.

Catholic and Anglican graveyards are situated on a ridge at the outskirts of Arviat. The rockiness of the point necessitated shallow grave sites. Rocks were piled on some graves, and some were topped with sod from the tundra. Many had plastic flowers, pictures, tributes, poems, caps, rosary beads, scripture verses printed on a display case, or a ring or necklace belonging to the departed person. Many of the recent graves contained teenagers, children and

infants. Several older graves had collapsed, revealing human contents. Other graves had been pillaged by polar bears and foxes that scattered the bones about the site. Yet the natural destruction incurred by the gravesites seemed to be accepted and no attempts were made to repair the damaged gravesites. Through the naming process, the soul of the deceased seems to move on to another body and the contents of the grave hold less significance.

Social environment

Population estimates of Arviat varied considerably and the subject became political when it was realized the allocation of resources in Nunavut was tied to population numbers. Since the creation of Nunavut, Arviat had been in fierce competition with Rankin Inlet to gain dominance in the Kivalliq region. The outcome means financial and economic resources, government jobs and health services. In 2004 the manager of the Government of Nunavut's Department of Economic Development in Rankin Inlet told me Arviat's population was 1700 and Rankin's population was 2400. *The Atlas of Canada* (2007) website estimated Arviat's population at roughly 1800, the senior manager of the Government of Nunavut's Department of Education in Arviat stated the population stood at 2400 and Tyrrell (2005) stated the population was 2700. Most government-based information puts the Inuit population of Arviat at between 85 – 86%, Tyrrell (2005:9) held that 95% of Arviat's population was Inuit, with the remaining 5% consisting of "qablunaat teachers, nurses, government employees and others".

Housing pressure was extreme with many small, two-bedroom homes having 10 or more occupants. I listened as young couples with children complained that they were required to live with their parents and grandparents because of the lack of homes and the lack of well

paying jobs that would make homes affordable. The social costs resulting from the lack of privacy could be observed in the high rates of domestic violence, child and elder abuse/neglect, and poor education due to the lack of study space (See also Tester 2006).

In Arviat, Inuit homeowners who were not subject to overcrowding were under extreme pressure to sell, rent or subdivide their homes or to have grown children and grandchildren move back in with them so that more houses would be opened to other families. Those who refused became the target of vandalism, ridicule, harsh criticism and other incidents aimed at levelling the social conditions. Recent attempts by the Government of Nunavut to withdraw subsidized staff housing and allow the rental rates on staff units to go to market value (Bell 2005) has contributed to an increase in Qablunaat leaving the North because of the inability to find alternate affordable housing. The housing situation subsequently caused great difficulty for the Government of Nunavut in attracting qualified replacements for the departing employees.

Reports by the Government of Nunavut Housing Corporation and NTI (2004) and Bayswater Consulting Group Inc. (2005) emphasized the need for both rental and social housing in Nunavut communities. Tester's (2006) report on Inuit housing linked Nunavut's housing situation to other social indicators and the rate of criminal offences in Nunavut. He then compared these statistics with the rest of Canada (see Table 1).

Table 1: Comparison of criminal code offences: Canada and Nunavut
(Adapted from Tester 2006)

Criminal code offences per 100K population	Canada	Nunavut
Homicide	2.0	13.5
Attempted murder	2.2	23.6
Assault	731.8	6628.7

Sexual assault	73.1	941.2
Other sexual offenses	8.2	40.5
Drugs	304.1	914.2
Break and enter	859.9	3548.8

In a study of the severe housing situation in Cape Dorset, Tester (2006) found that many residents believed overcrowding was a factor in the social/personal problems they were facing, and overcrowding was possibly related to the overall higher rate of criminal offences in Nunavut Territory (Table 2). Other stressors related to crowding involved the disproportionate amount of time people spent inside due to severe weather, excess wear and tear on the home from people remaining inside and the rapid deterioration of homes due to harsh weather. Poor design and building materials used may also be factors.

Table 2: Perceptions of problems related to overcrowding (Tester 2006)

Personal/ Social problems	% of participants facing personal / social problems	% who said less crowding would lessen problems
Being angry	25.9	29.3
Drug use	17.6	4.9
Depression	15.3	17.1
Problems with school	15.3	19.5
Problems with work	10.6	9.8
Violence	10.6	14.6
Drinking	4.7	4.9

In Arviat, Thomas Suluk commented “We are in a melting pot situation in a lot of communities”. Many of the Inuit I interviewed commented that Arviat was their first experience living together in a permanent community. Kivalliq Inuit had previously lived as

nuclear family units consisting of parents with two or three children. As soon as the children reached maturity, they were matched to a partner from a neighbouring camp, and went off to start their own family. They lived relatively independent lives often within a day's walk of other family members. Extended families still worked together to support each other and provide for their own members. However, concepts of sharing did not include outsiders, except for strategic reasons such as building alliances between families. Outsiders (other family members or Qablunaat) were regarded with caution and reservation. Sahlins (1972) described exchange between close family members as generalized reciprocity that involved giving without expectation of return. Giving between extended family or community members was more balanced and involved exchanges of equal value. However, between strangers, people sought to gain at the expense of the other person. My observations of interrelations between Arviat Inuit suggest that the same family preference for interdependence, nuclear family structure and alliances prevails today within the hamlet.

On the land, Inuit visited and gathered with extended family members often to share work or to hunt and fish. A key purpose of these meetings and interrelations was for families to stay connected and to share news and concerns. Today in the settlement, the CB radio allows much of that connectedness to continue. Local Arviarmiut know the channel frequencies for different family groups. There are separate channels for hunters, elders, youth and other groups within the community. CBs are used to spread information, experiences, stories, and also propaganda and misinformation. Everyone is aware that others are listening in on their conversations. The elder Suliryok explained that in the days before settlement:

> … the adults didn't get together just for the sake of getting together. They usually had some serious things for the future to discuss and what kind of

> dispersal pattern they are going to adopt or who was going to end up with whom. Or for deciding the affairs of their particular group, whether they would stay together, or stay together for 10 more years, or whether they going to disperse or whatever it is. The children were asked not to listen to what the elders were saying because they would deal with some really serious stuff. But they were children and they are together so whatever was concerning the parents would concern the children … CBs have replaced it and that is the way now. – Bernie Suluguk

Matilda Suluguk agreed that family/sharing networks on the land were constituted basically the same as CB networks today and she added: "Even at church I stood up … there is an opportunity not just to talk to a faraway God but also to the people".

"All things in Arviat are done according to families" (Thomas Suluk). Families worked to support each other and provide for their own members. One extended family dominated positions within the Department of Education, whereas other families were strongly represented on the Kivalliq Wildlife Board, the Hamlet Council, in Nunavut housing, the construction contracts, bootlegging, the drug trade and in individual religious denominations. This division of powers was also noted by Trott (personal communication, March 2009):

> …in terms of the political institutions, Hamlet and HTO, I have noticed in both Arctic Bay and Pangnirtung, a very careful attempt to balance power among the families. It is almost like a checks and balances system, although I do not think it is done consciously.

TK was also controlled and often considered the special expertise of individual families. For example, for wildlife, most Arviat families defaulted to Job Mukjurnik's Ahiarmiut for knowledge of caribou, Jimmy Muckpah's family for seals and trapping, and Luke Krinniksi's family for beluga. Other families and individual hunters also had knowledge of wildlife. Since knowledge is based on personal experience, those with the most experience

are going to be the most knowledgeable. On the other hand, knowledge is rarely concentrated in any one individual, lest it be lost. When knowledge is held diffusely, large bodies of knowledge will never be lost.

Knowledge was not necessarily freely shared among family members. Some younger Inuit (40–55 year old) expressed anger and bitterness towards older, knowledgeable elders and the few fluently bilingual Inuit who had been gathering and documenting TK since the 1960s. The scornful retorts to inquiries regarding these people were that they "take, take, take but never give back to the people". The complaint was that the gathered information became the private knowledge of immediate families and was used to leverage high paying government positions or access to other resources. Southern researchers documenting TK and the philosophy of IQ were seen as a threat by these privileged Inuit, and community members were told by these individuals to stonewall, mislead and give faulty information to researchers (Names withheld).

Arguments and rivalry between the family groups were common and could be vicious. When Inuit lived in the camps, family groups lived apart and could often walk away from conflict. Contemporary rivalries between families may go back several generations but are more visible today because of living in crowded settlements. Similar rivalries exist in other communities, such as Arctic Bay and Pangnirtung. According to Trott, "many of these rivalries go back generations and simply get reproduced in the practice of everyday social relations" (Christopher Trott, personal communication, March 2009).

Competing families settled their scores in various ways. On the land, less powerful hunters had their caribou carcasses taken away by "bullies" (Angie and Mark Eetak). Senior

hunters often did not want their grown young sons to hunt without a powerful older male accompanying them. I asked one wife if "bullies" take caribou from a certain powerful hunter. "No, they wouldn't dare take meat from him!" she replied. Of another less powerful hunter, she laughed and said "they come and took whole caribou right out of his porch!" (Angie Eetak). This story was later verified by the unfortunate hunter who said the carcass was stolen while he napped. Nevertheless depending on who took the carcass, this incident could be a case of food sharing.

It was common for family leaders to use younger children to settle scores. An owner of a small business had to sleep in his storeroom because teenagers kept cutting holes up through the floor to enter and vandalize his business. On another occasion, the same business owner wondered why his fuel bill had escalated over the winter months, only to catch his rival's teenaged children siphoning fuel from his tank. Grandchildren were also drawn into the feud as the parents supplied them with golf clubs and balls and had them target their rival's vehicles and house windows with these items.

Retaliation could include physical fights with older rival family members or publicly ridiculing their children over the CBs for their uselessness and incompetence. Public exchanges could go on for many months or even years and could become venomous. On one occasion after a tragic event, a long-time rival railed against the other family leader over the CB saying "Oh the poor little sons of bitches. It's good that they committed suicide 'cause they weren't worth keeping alive since they were thieves like their parents!" (Name withheld).

The use of ridicule to settle scores is a long-held tradition among Inuit, who say that it

helps to diffuse anger and to stop unwanted behaviour by those at whom the ridicule is aimed. Ridicule may take the form of ai-yai-yai songs over the CB in which the chorus is changed and roughly translates “yak-yak-yak, you are all talk and have no substance” or “you never put actions to your words” (Thomas Suluk).

Aivilingmiut persistently laughed at and mocked the backwardness or “primitiveness” of the Ahiarmiut and, at times, the Padlirmiut. The Aivilingmiut, though not indigenous to the Arviat area, had the most interaction with traders and whalers. Many became bilingual and familiar with European-based systems and modes of behaviour. The indigenous Padlirmiut had less contact with European-based culture and, thus, became the middle-status group, alternating back and forth between being the victims and victimizers of the other two family groups. The communities of Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake had a similar situation, according to a long-time Nunavut resident. Groups, such as the Back River Inuit, who were the last to come in off the land, were placed at the bottom on the settlement-based social scale by other family groups and became the brunt of many jokes. Those in power fought to maintain their status and to exclude the Back River Inuit from getting the best jobs and vehicles or from using the best hunting places and equipment (Brock Junkin, personal communication, October 2004).

Incidents involving rival Aivilingmiut and Padlirmiut families, at times, escalated and engulfed the entire community. In the spring of 2006, the teenage grandson of an Aivilingmiut leader “got cocky” while goose hunting and was fined by the Padlirmiut HTO Chair for reckless use of a firearm. The grandson was angered, gathered together other young Aivilingmiut members and shot up the cabin of the HTO Chair. The Padlirmiut family was

outraged, verbal retaliation and threats ensued, and more HTO and community members' cabins were shot up. This battle continued back and forth for several weeks, escalating to the point that the Aivlingmiut family realized that the wider community was no longer amused and was turning against them. To gain the upper hand, the pastor/spouse of the Aivlingmiut leader proclaimed from the pulpit, over the CB and on the radio that the grandsons were shooting up the HTO and other community members' cabins because there was Satanism, shamanism, incantations and other things going on at the cabins and the grandsons were putting a stop to this evil. Finally, the Mayor of Arviat, who was a second cousin of the HTO Chair, went on the radio and in Inuktitut appealed for calm by citing the embarrassment the feud would cause to the families, their careers and their community's reputation if the situation became known to Qablunaat. After this appeal, an uneasy, superficial calm settled over the hamlet, giving the impression of orderliness.

> People had to be careful with their neighbours since some of them had bad temperaments—tough hombres. Other people might be short tempered, some people are very friendly, some are very ignorant and some people are quiet. I should never ignore other people but be vigilant so I could live a long life. This is how my father and great grandmother taught me. – Richard Tutsweetuk

Another factor contributing to the tensions between the family groups involved the hiring of Baffin Inuit by the decentralized Department of Education. As Baffin Inuit and their families moved into the hamlet and took up high-paying government positions, they were seen by local Inuit as upsetting the local, established balance of power. Not only did they become obstacles to local Inuit seeking jobs, their high incomes allowed them to purchase powerful boats, ATVs and equipment for harvesting beluga and caribou, which were then shipped to extended family members in Baffin. Arviarmiut were fearful that their beluga

would become depleted as had happened in parts of Baffin and that DFO would similarly apply restrictions on the Western Hudson Bay beluga. The established family groups wanted the new Baffin Inuit removed from the region.

In the shadow of the shaman

Within Arviat were individuals who announced their shamanic abilities in hopes of gaining attention and interview honoraria from Qablunaat. I was told no one but the occasional Qablunaaq took them seriously. There were also others who were covertly spoken of as having made a choice to secretly follow the old ways. These families were referred to as "incestuous" and "thieves" by other Inuit who decided to use the new religious approach to settlement life. I was told to avoid certain individuals and their families with comments like "Don't go over there because she is not well and her family will ask you to leave". On the other hand, when I met this supposedly shunned elder, through signs and gestures, she repeatedly asked me to come and talk with her, but my interpreters would not cooperate. This elder was only allowed to talk with Qablunaat through workshops where her statements could be monitored and interpreted by approved interpreters. The suppression of these elders was palpable. It was strategically important that their views and practices were contained within the Inuit population and not become known by Qablunaat. Remarks concerning these elders were cautious and strategically deployed.

It was popular for Arviat Inuit to say they attended all the churches regardless of denomination because they all worshipped the same God. Many Inuit said they were not particularly associated with any church but moved around. I noticed several families switching churches temporarily in response to special programs or services offered. However,

when the programs or services ended, families drifted back toward their original congregation. Overall, there did seem to be a difference in where the family groups attended. For example, at Glad Tidings Pentecostal church, I recognized many Aivilingmiut, particularly from Repulse Bay. At the Anglican Church, most of those in attendance were Ahiarmiut. The Alliance Church, referred to by Inuit as "the contemporary one", had only a small handful of adherents consisting mostly of fluently bilingual Inuit from Baffin and two local government-approved interpreters. Louis-Jacques Dorais (1997) made similar point in reference to Quaqtaq.

The Anglican service contained some of the same elements found in the Anglican services in the south such as absolution and the Lord's Prayer, but also incorporated elements typically associated with Pentecostalism. While I was there, the retired Anglican Inuk priest, Jimmy Muckpah, was filling in for a Qablunaat priest who was not feeling well. Muckpah preached in Inuktitut with all the gusto of an American camp-meeting evangelist. Tutsweetuk was asked to lead the closing hymn to which he spontaneously added several choruses. Accompanying himself with an Inuit drum, the driving beat of the choruses was amplified by the congregation's enthusiastic foot stomping. With great conviction that their words would bring reality into being, they sang about being released from bondage and overcoming oppression. They identified with choruses that emphasized freedom from administrative over-rule and the emotional, societal and financial pressures of settlement living (discussed in Chapter Four).

Inuit visiting other churches often made videos of the proceedings. One afternoon, I watched a video of a Glad Tidings service and heard the Inuktitut version of old Pentecostal

choruses sung fervently. As the service continued, elements of ecstatic worship such as speaking in tongues, interpretation and "dancing in the spirit" were evident. Two full-sized Nunavut and Israeli flags were taken up by church leaders and slowly, deeply waved back and forth as worshipers began crying and weeping amidst the flags, extemporaneous prayers and throbbing music accompanied with the Inuit drum—continuing the practice introduced by Donald Suluk.

Elder James Kunne confided that shamanism is like being out on the soft salt ice that keeps moving and shifting. "You have to keep moving because if you ever stop you will sink and die. Keep moving." Kunne's statement could easily have referred to the merging and morphing of shamanistic practice and forms with conventional religion and Pentecostalism, and their synchronization with the emergence of new constructs of the land.

The religious parallels between Israel and Nunavut are still envisioned by many Inuit in the Kivalliq. In 2004 a baffled Qablunaaq showed me a first draft of a Government of Nunavut document in which the unidentified Inuk writer personified IQ and likened it to the God of Israel. Later, the Inuk referred to *Israel Qaujimajatuqangit* and made strong analogies to Nunavut and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

> IQ knew there was a price to pay when one day the people (Inuit) would realize that there was a sinister, identity crisis developing in their own land. This loss of identity crisis could be liken to the time Israel was led out of Egypt in the old Testament. The Israelites had grown accustom to being considered slaves. They grew accustom to complaining against their Creator. The God of Israel or IQ (Israel Qaujimajatuqangit) knew that it was going to take a few generations for Israel to let go of the reigns of Pharoah and so therefore, Israel spent 40 years in the desert when it could have crossed the desert in about three days. – Unknown author (2004) [all sic]

> Inuit knew or fore-knew that the Qallunaat were a stubborn people with preconceived notions as to how a Culture should lead a lifestyle, a lifestyle

> relevant to a contemporary setting. In this respect, the Inuit decided to take the long route to prove that their intuition was right. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit decided to remain silent for a few decades. It takes intuition to communicate with the entity of IQ. It takes a spiritual journey to develop one's intuition. – Unknown author (2004)

Old beliefs are strictly contained by Arviat Inuit when Qablunaat are around or when the use of suppression is advantageous for gaining the upper hand. Southern religion serves as a power base for older bilingual Inuit. Kivalliq MLA Tagak Curley recently ran for the Premier of Nunavut's position on a platform that involved turning Nunavut into a religious state with a religious government. He received strong support from the Kivalliq, but lost to the more populous Baffin voters. It was interesting to note how the Kivalliq region, with its history of relocation and alienation from land traditions and ways of life, became a hotbed for religious activity and periodic extremism. Bilingual Inuit felt most threatened when researchers asked about the old beliefs perhaps because it touched the seat of their power.

Across the generations

In Arviat, there remain a few elders who successfully settled into the community. Inuit attribute their success to the fact that southern education and social assistance had not been developed when they were growing up, so they had the opportunity to learn basic land skills from their parents. Most of these elders have passed away leaving the *new elders* who were too young when they moved to the settlement to have their skills adequately developed for leading the younger generations (Joe Karatak, Government of Nunavut Department of Education).

According to Karatak, who documented IQ for incorporation into Nunavut's educational curriculum, many of the remaining "original" elders of Arviat (those who were in

their mid-teens or older when they moved into the settlements) do not have the same stability, drive or ability to set goals and accomplish tasks as the older generations that have passed on. Instead, they let situations happen without intervening. In his elders' workshops, Karatak discovered many Arviat elders had issues just under the surface that had never really been addressed. When these elders spoke of the old days, they were okay until they reached the time of the famine and the move to the settlement, at which point they would erupt without warning. Outbursts, disruptions and conflicts within the group ended the workshops on several occasions as the elders became divided and worked against each other. After repeated attempts, Karatak allowed them to vent their anger and frustrations before proceeding. He did not try to lighten, deny or to change the elder's statements, but to acknowledge that those things happened and that he realized the hurt and loss experienced by the elders. Sometimes, after this acknowledgement, the elders were able to continue on with the workshop. I had the same experience of sudden hurtful, angry outbursts in the Ahiarmiut elder's workshop I conducted in February 2004.

Intergenerational conflict existed and was most extreme between the original elders and those now considered the "new elders", those who were brought into the settlement as young teens or children. Most were born between 1945 and 1959. Many were sent to southern sanatoriums for tuberculosis, polio or other medical problems. They did not grow up on the land and most did not acquire the land-based dialects of their parents, instead learning English in southern institutions. The children and teens that remained in the community during the early 1960s were no better off and were deeply scarred by the neglect of their parents who were themselves overwhelmed by the extreme conditions of the time (Tester and Kulchyski

1994.

Referred to as the “lost generation”, these new elders were frequently mocked by the original elders, called “incapable” and dismissed outright. The new elders answered the comments and ridicule of the original elders with startling hostility, causing one original elder in my workshop to say: “We are terrified of our children” (name withheld). On several occasions I was startled when the eyes of this new elder generation suddenly flared with unabashed rage, then instantly reverted to a calm gentleness when they realized they were being observed.

The new elders were characterized as lacking the ability to deal with their past—they took the brunt of the sudden change by being plucked off the land and put into hamlets, mission schools, federal schools and torn away from their families. They were extensively impacted by missionary zeal and attempts to educate and modernize the “primitives”. They were demoralized by missionaries and teachers who degraded their families and talked harshly about their ancestors, shaman, or those who were disbelievers in the new religion.

Eventually, those who were not power holders under the traditional system, adopted leadership roles in the emerging religion to become powerful leaders in the settlements. In these religious roles, they received favour and status with the RCMP and the Anglican and Catholic priests, yet they remained conflicted within themselves. According to Karatak, the younger elders would try hard to do one thing, but then ended up doing other things completely contradictory to what they intended. This generation was described as not having the stability or ability to maintain any sort of position. When pressured, they would do a complete turn-around and back away from their stand. Karatak maintains that members of this

generation were unable to process information properly or to make connections between actions and consequences. The information they received became disjointed and they had difficulty completing tasks, opting to simply let the situation pass as interest waned.

I repeatedly witnessed members of this generation flip from a very moralistic view on life or the actions of others and then, within minutes, do the same things they had criticized. They would talk very sensually at one moment, and then suddenly snap into a very moralistic stance; one minute they professed devotion to God and church doctrines, the next moment they professed to be non-religious, scoffing at the idea of heaven and hell. One woman talked constantly about being "busy, busy, busy, always doing something", yet spending months idle.

Nadasdy (2003) made a similar observation in relation to the mission schools where children were harshly punished for speaking any language other than English. Many children lost their native language to the point that they could no longer communicate effectively with their elders and their own parents. Coping with life in the settlements became exceedingly difficult. Nadasdy's (2003) Kluane and the Arviarmiut had similar experiences:

> …their elders could not understand how they [the children] could have been away at school for so many years and yet have "learned nothing". Similarly … [the students] never discussed their experiences at mission school with their parents because "they wouldn't have understood" what they were talking about (Nadasdy 2003:45).

> Even now, decades after having left the mission school, many Kluane people still cannot speak of the experience without anger. Many attribute their problems with alcohol to their experiences in mission school, and nearly everyone with whom I spoke told me of one or more people whom they knew at school whose lives were ruined or who actually died (either by their own hand or from alcohol) primarily because they were unable to cope psychologically with their experiences at the school. Another effect of the mission school experience is what one person described to me as "mission

> school syndrome." At mission school, he said, children were expected to do what they were told and *only* what they were told. Any expression of independent thought or initiative was punished severely… He explicitly contrasted this to the initiative and innovation that characterizes—and is absolutely necessary for—life in the bush (Nadasdy 2003:44 – 45).

The adult children of the young elders find their variable behaviour very alarming. The original elders will have passed on soon, leaving the young elders to be the safe holders of wisdom and to lead next generation. Younger Inuit expressed concern over future cultural impact if the young elders are not able to lead.

The original female elders have other concerns of how the next generation will adapt and lead in the communities.

> It appears that the way we do things now that the roles have reversed, have taken an about-turn … In the past if you are a man and you do women's work it was embarrassing … But now there's no real problem with it because governments and schools are all clapping or giving awards and recognizing people irregardless of whether it was reserved for men or reserved for women. – Martina Anoee

Elders complain that many of the younger generation often have not mastered the art of cooking or butchering meat. In many homes, there was only one individual, usually the senior female, who cooked for the entire household. Thus, skill development of young family members is retarded and they have difficulty managing household tasks when they do finally get their own apartment.

Compared to the women, men had much more difficulty adjusting to community life. Traditionally, they were the hunter and trapper on the land. Today, many still hold to that image but do not have the opportunity or motivation to continue that life style. The traditional way of life has diminished and middle-aged and younger men did not have other models to follow. The lack of jobs in the communities, even for Inuit who were functionally bilingual,

fostered a continued sense of hopelessness. Many men left for their camps when life became stressful within the community. For those who remained in the hamlet, all too often their response to the stress manifested itself in drinking, substance abuse, domestic violence, stealing, vandalism and suicide. Women in the hamlets insist that they have to find new roles for their men to fulfill so they will regain purpose in life and take up their proper positions as role models for the children.

Middle-aged and younger women with children often turn to religion—particularly Pentecostalism with its focus on emotional experiences and healing—to give their lives meaning and to gain strength to handle the violence and harshness of circumstances within the communities. The women then, as Thomas Suluk sighed, "preach endlessly at the men to do the same".

Many of the families in Arviat consist of blended families with children from both current and previous unions. In addition, most families have also adopted children.

> I have two sets of growing children, along with a whole lot of adopted children, four children from other families who figure they may have better luck in life if they are with a different go-getter family. – Thomas Suluk

Often single mothers and some young couples put their first child and sometimes subsequent children up for adoption by other family members. When these adoptive children get older, are in a stable relationship or have adequate financial resources, they are expected to adopt children from other younger extended family members. Sometimes children are adopted from outside the family groups for the purpose of establishing and building social relationships.

Many parents did not have a real concept of what was required to raise a family. Inuit who began life on the land found that the material aspects of settlement life were a lot easier

because governments provided public housing. The matchbox houses supplied in the 1960s were easy to maintain and governments paid for the fuel and power when it became available. Thus, Inuit were gradually eased into low-cost rental houses and apartments. In 2004, low-income families paid $32/month to rent a small, two-bedroom home. Many families, knowing there was no real penalty for not paying their bills, ran up their rental fees for 30 – 40 years. These Inuit never adjusted to the settlement and the need to make regular payments for housing, utilities and phone bills. Their expenses were left for the government to cover.

> They still figure they can get through life from childhood to old age without much of an effort … a minimum of actual knowledge, minimum of actual physical work through life, living off things like child tax credits, family allowances, income tax refunds, a lot of income support. – Thomas Suluk

> The real results of having a big family and not having a complete education is that now they are having a hard time coping with everything that is required — to balance the family, the business, the bills, expenses, raising children, and being goaded into raising somebody else's children. So they themselves, not having been smarter in an Inuk way, were not able to spend their time hunting, and traveling. – Thomas Suluk

Raising children

It would be erroneous to assume that all family groups raise their children according to the same philosophy; however, there are themes and trends that emerge when talking to parents regarding how they raise their children.

Some Ahiarmiut claim that they do not tell their children what to do but let them make their own decisions whether right or wrong. I witnessed the philosophy of passive parenting on several occasions as young Ahiarmiut teens were allowed to remain out all night socializing with their friends and choosing not to attend school the following morning. Angie Eetak proudly asserted that they never scolded their son for fighting or skipping school

because they did not want him to become angry and rebel. The Ahiarmiut proclivity to not interfere with or correct their children annoyed the other family groups who complained adamantly:

> That's why Ahiarmiut children are always standing around idle. Groups of teens loitering around and getting into trouble. They have no constructive activities to take up their time. – Melanie Tabvetah

Padlirmiut parents tended to be more assertive in moulding their children's lives. Tabvetah, without hesitation, exhorted her children and others not to be lazy and to clean up their houses, to go hunting and get away from the TV, or to get a job and earn their own money instead of being lazy. Tabvetah is known for telling neighbours' children to get an education and work hard at their studies so that they will make Nunavut strong and be able to take care of themselves by getting good jobs. Tabvetah actively instructed her children and informed them when they made a mistake:

> Because if you go to school and you make a mistake you have to erase it and you have to correct it. The same thing. It's important to let her know that she makes a mistake before she thinks that, "Oh yeah, I'm doing it right". – Melanie Tabvetah

Many Padlirmiut parents were less abrupt than Tabvetah, but some indicated their 12 – 15 year old children had a curfew, and were required to do their homework before going out after school. On the weekends, their parents claimed that they thought of things for their children to do on the land or planned common activities for them.

The most forceful approach to parenting that I witnessed involved an Aivilingmiut grandmother, Kitty Akat, and several of her grandchildren and their friends. She found the young teens in her storage shed drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana, and ordered the teens to go home. When the teens refused to leave, she called the RCMP. The officer arrived

along with the local bi-law officer to remove the group from the shed. A few grandchildren were handcuffed and taken away, but most members of the group were retrieved by their parents before the RCMP arrived. Less than a week later, the grandmother sold the shed and had it removed from her yard. This incident stands in stark contrast to her brother-in-law's family who caused a village uproar in defence of their grandsons who where admonished by the HTO head for the reckless use of firearms (see above). The Aivilingmiut are the most powerful group in Arviat and are the most likely to use either physical force, intimidation or the RCMP to settle disputes.

> There are different kinds of love that they are taught. Some people say, "I love my child so much so I don't scold him." That is the love that they think about. But the older true love is when you start scolding and punishing when they do wrong or when you teach them to be a better person. So one [parent] scolds and the child learns and listens. But the other [child] that has no experience being scolded or punished, just doesn't know what that person is doing. – Elizipee Muckpah

Members from all family groups mentioned the difficulties associated with the "most loved" child. One Aivilingmiut elder said her brother was most loved and fed regularly whereas she was not. Many years later, with all the children and grandchildren grown, "the ones that are scolded or punished, they are more wise". On the other hand, the children who were treated as favourites "are uncontrollable" (Elizipee Muckpah).

> The way I was taught with children and how I was taught to raise my children was to treat my children as equals. Not favouritism with your children, cause this child that you really love the most will think that he or she can control more than the other siblings. The other one should not have to do more work than the most loved one. – Elizipee Muckpah

One day in April 2004, I wove my way through the tightly congested hall of the local high school on my way to a scheduled meeting with the principal. Six to eight students were

ushered around me into the main office and firmly told to sit and wait for their parents to arrive. Others were shown directly into the principal's office. In the outer office frazzled teachers rattled off a list of complaints to the note-taking receptionist: "fighting", "truancy", "late for classes", "spitting on teacher". Forty-five minutes after the appointed time, with more students still waiting in the outer office, I was able to jump the queue and meet with the principal, a Qablunaaq who had worked many decades in Arviat. I wanted to get an idea of how the children of the family groups fared in their classes. The conversation had to be approached from a very general perspective because of privacy issues, but some of the trends and challenges could be discussed.

In addition to overcrowding at the school, tension between land and settlement cultures, violence and the often-repeated scenario I witnessed in the outer office, parents were one of the main problems faced by school officials. The prominent families among the Aivilingmiut and Padlirmiut tended to be the most adversarial and did not hesitate to blame the school system, educational practice and non-Inuit teachers for any misbehaviour by their children. On the other hand, whenever the matriarch of an Ahiarmiut family was called in regarding the misbehaviour of her grandchildren, she usually responded with "…whatever you say. Do what you think is right". The responses once again reveal the relative power status between the family groups and the disempowerment of the Ahiarmiut. The prominant Aivilingmiut and the Padlirmiut families, with high-paying government jobs were dominant.

Nevertheless, the older generations were still concerned about their children and grandchildren's lack of traditional knowledge. They often criticized the young for being incompetent on the land, and their disappointment carried over into community

responsibilities. The older generations complained that even though their children were educated in territorial schools, they were not even considered responsible in Qablunaat ways of business or administration. They were criticized for not paying bills on time, not reading or answering correspondence, and for their inability to do basic bookkeeping and to fill out forms. Jean Briggs makes a similar observation regarding the diversity in childrearing practices across the arctic. Briggs' comparative study suggests that the Utku were somewhat similar to the Ahiarmuit and the Qipisa were more like the Aivilingmiut (Briggs 1979).

Levelling forces and social control

On Saturday nights in Arviat much of the Inuit population was tied to the local radio station, listening intently as the announcer called out bingo numbers. Bingo was a popular pastime and residents bought several packets of tickets at $10 each. Winners immediately rushed off to the Arviar Palluk radio station to claim their prizes. Meanwhile, in the main room of the station, dozens of Inuit stood feverishly ripping open tabs on Nevada Instant Win tickets, flicking the losing cards on the floor and proceeding to open the next "winner". Upon departure, participants shuffled through several inches of discarded tickets piled on the floor.

Gambling is an important activity for many Inuit and has a logic that is difficult for the southern middle class and other outsiders to understand. Gambling for the unemployed and under-employed, and even for many Inuit with high-paying government jobs generates a lot of excitement, laughter and camaraderie. I was constantly asked by Inuit if I had bought the latest ticket for the Honda or boat draw by the HTO or if I had the latest bingo tickets. It was clearly an invitation for me to join in the fun with them. On several occasions I feigned no interest and asked "What would I do with a new Honda?" Their eyes would light up and they

would say: "Maybe give it to your friends? *And Sherrie, you know we're your best friends.*"

Gambling also represented an opportunity for Inuit to access relatively large amounts of cash, hunting vehicles and supplies that they could not normally obtain. Within Arviat, traditional ways of distributing and redistributing all types of resources continue to function. Kulchyski (personal communication, February 2009) said the emphasis was on "social savings" instead of "material savings". In other words, those who have strong family connections and are tied into reciprocal family relations faced strong pressure and harsh criticism if they did not generously share their food, money, supplies and equipment. This levelling process worked to keep all members of the family at roughly the same economic level. Continuous requests for money, groceries and supplies made it virtually impossible for Inuit to save money because someone was always in need. Thus, winning the HTO Honda or boat draw gave them the prize without accusations of greed or stinginess.

Small businessmen faced many of the same levelling pressures mentioned above. Neevee's Coffee Shop was one of the few Inuit-owned businesses in Arviat. The clientele was totally Inuit. Over the year I spent in the hamlet, I was the only non-Inuk to come through the doors. Neevee's was a bustling business. Most nights the heavy door opened approximately every 15 seconds as small groups of children and young adults came in to buy evening snacks often totalling between $25 – $35 per visit. At 10:30 pm eight to 12 year old children were still flowing in, while teenagers stood around, gossiping among themselves and bantering with the owner and his staff until closing time. The owner confided that it took several years for the coffee shop to begin making a profit but now he took in between $4000 – 6000 above expenses per month.

Nevertheless, Neevee's owner had his share of difficulties. As a successful small business owner he was a target of jealousy and bitterness from Inuit and Qablunaat alike. Threats of "Lease your building to us or we will force you out of business", or "We're going to close you down" were as frequent as the incidents of vandalism. Finding competent employees to manage Neevee's was another major problem because many of the young adults who went through the school system did not have the skills required for running the store. "The … education system has not instilled a seriousness in the North that gives attention to doing things properly and on time" (Thomas Suluk).

The philosophy of employment in Arviat was embedded in the idea of redistribution of resources, and manifested itself in pulsed work terms for unskilled/semi-skilled jobs. Most non-government positions were unskilled or semi-skilled casual positions (for example, certified homecare workers) in which employees were hired for a three or four month term and then laid off so that members from other families could be hired the next term. The laid-off workers usually had no option but to go back on social assistance. There was no sense of permanence to the positions and Inuit were unable to make any long-term purchases or plans because there was no assurance when or if another work term would be offered. Although pulse employment distributed scarce jobs widely among Inuit, it also encouraged them to maintain a feast or famine lifestyle. Some, particularly hunters, preferred to maintain this subsistence mode, but others found it discouraging.

Under the land claim, Inuit were supposed to get priority when positions became available, but Inuit in the communities did not see that happening. Instead, they saw the higher-paying government jobs or those with their land claim organizations going to non-Inuit

from outside the community.

> I seen more white people coming in and that really upsets those who have applied for that position but never heard of that position being selected. The white or the out-of-town, they always get the job and that really disappoints our people. They say there goes another person. I applied for that job but I didn't get it. There goes another newcomer. And here, I've lived here all my life and I need to work. – Tamar Mukjurnik

> We need to have ability [opportunity] to learn by watching and doing, and if they're going to be that job I know they can learn and get skills to do whatever once they learn and practice, get the skills. They always want somebody who have many years of experience even though the Inuk have capabilities and abilities and talents that could relate to that job. But because we're living in the white man world, the modern world, that's how it's seen a lot today. It's always grade 12, grade 12. – Tamar Mukjurnik

On the other hand, Inuit employees who were able to fulfill the job requirements were highly esteemed by the non-Inuit community and received abundant public praise and acknowledgement, to the chagrin of those perceived to be less-competent employees.

According to Inuit, one of the popular practices of the Government of Nunavut in Arviat was to hire the best and most-respected senior hunters within the community to positions related to cultural preservation and the incorporation of Inuit culture within the school curriculum. This practise might seem to be removing the best hunters from the traditional economy, but Inuit deny this possibility. Instead, these hunters remained the best and most productive because their large incomes enabled them to purchase better, more powerful vehicles and the fuel to power them.

Unskilled/semi-skilled jobs paying $10– $15/hour were difficult to fill. Qablunaat employers complained that Inuit workers did not show up and when they did, would only work a few hours per week. The employers did not understand that low-income rent and housing was tied to income and, if Inuit were to work more hours, their rent would increase

considerably. By working only a few hours per week, Inuit would get a bit of pocket cash and still remain in the low rental bracket. This logic was behind many Inuit not applying for formal positions, and opting instead to work in the traditional craft industry. Income from carvings, wall-hangings, women's beaded parkas, fur clothing and boots was more difficult for the government Housing Department to track.

The arrival of researchers, tourists and game hunters prompted several families with low education (in both western and Inuit systems) and large extended families to support, to promote themselves as cultural and land consultants and guides for the outsiders. They bitterly questioned my interpreter in Inuktitut as to why *researchers like me* (to be read as "southerners with money") were not coming to them as customers. Researchers, they argued, should seek out cultural consultants automatically because they were starting a business to sell cultural experiences. "We are the ones that should be getting some income from what [researchers] are giving the elders" they complained. They interrogated my highly skilled interpreter as to why I hired him. They believed I should have hired them, regardless of their skills, because their family had greater financial need than that of my interpreter. The concept of paying for quality work was not understood by most Arviat Inuit who focused more on the redistribution of resources. On the other hand, researchers and other Qablunaat paying $20 – $50 for interviews and other piecework were viewed with contempt by some of younger and middle-aged Inuit who remained in the hamlet. They did not want small piecework but full-time term or permanent employment.

During the year I lived in Arviat, I heard many complaints about how people were poor and needed money for food, Pampers, milk and juice for the baby, and how expensive

the heat, light, power and hot water were. Inuit expected the government to continue to pay for all their basic housing, heating, electrical and water needs, as was done in the past. The Hudson Bay Company had provided basic needs for Inuit when they encouraged Inuit to trap foxes for the southern and European markets. In the 1950s, the federal government provided matchbox houses, heating and lighting when Inuit were pressed to move off the land and into government-created settlements. This arrangement later evolved into social housing. It did not make sense to many Inuit that now they would be required to pay for these things, especially without an offer of adequate employment to cover the additional costs. In the past, income was used for purchasing hunting supplies and pleasurable southern goods—never for basic living necessities. These spending patterns have not changed for many Inuit. While in Arviat, I witnessed a disproportionately large amount of money going to children for treats, bingos and Nevada tickets, cigarettes and other recreational substances, suggesting that the purchase of wants came before needs.

Aivilingmiut and Padlirmiut often remarked that the Ahiarmiut did not know how to budget their money or plan for the future. Instead they spent all they had in a couple of days and then sat back the rest of the month waiting for the next cheque to arrive, or they asked for food over the CB. My Ahiarmiut hosts were relatively well off and their home was well furnished, but there still tended to be a feast or famine situation.

This approach was possibly a learned behaviour that originated from living on the land and having to deal with difficulties of food storage or competition from bears, foxes, wolves and relatives. People ate what they could while it was available because they believed they could rely on the land future sustenance. Perhaps the cultural norm of sharing also caused this

modern-day behaviour. Saving was impossible because relatives asked for any food a family might have stored for the future. Stories of those who turn down needy relatives abound, and the names of relatives who acted stingily were repeatedly mentioned in conversation.

Elders particularly had difficult times managing their money because children and grandchildren repeatedly asked for money and lingered near the elders on "cheque day". A few elders had a bit more control over their old age and social assistance cheques and immediately deposited them into their Northern Store account, giving instructions to the store manager and the clerks that their children were restricted from charging anything to their account. "Otherwise our budgets could not be called budgets" (Dorothy Akatsiaq). In times of scarcity, Dorothy said she and her husband:

> …are magnets for eating out as far as their children, extended children and grandchildren are concerned. They come here regularly because there is always something prepared or cooked, or there is caribou or tea. – Dorothy Akatsiaq

During the second and third week of the month, frequent and frantic calls go out over the CB from Inuit asking for assistance. Dorothy related hearing Inuit plead:

> ...our income support money did not go far enough because everybody wanted more expensive sweet stuff. But now we have run out. So someone should forgo part of their income that they were going to use on gas and give it to us so we can eat and we wouldn't talk and unsettle people by talking this way – Dorothy Akatsiaq

> If you know Inuktitut, you would hear a lot of "Oh my baby has no more milk" or "I'll trade 5 gallons of gas for a pack of cigarettes". "We spent a fair amount and a length of time buying furniture but now we will let it go for a chance to smoke for a day." Things like that happen. – Thomas Suluk

Older Inuit said this was not their way but is associated with the social and cultural breakdown that happened when they moved to the settlement.

> They used to be told not to [beg]. While they had a scrap of food to eat or a bite to eat in the house, they should not go and ask or even let it be known that they are hungry or are without food. But nowadays they do. And as I said it is those that do it, where there has been a breakdown. – Elizabeth Nibgoarsi

When asked what might be a moderate income (enough so the family would not need to beg publicly) for an Inuit family of two adults and two children, a senior female on Arviat Co-op's board of directors said

> It is sort of hard to pinpoint what average it would be because the people are different. Some tend to spend money just like that [flicking her hand], while others are probably a little wiser. And the more important foods that the people usually buy are basic goods like tea because they are the ones that actually last longer. Fish or caribou meat, they're always available for their food. – Mary Kalluak

Violence and suicide

Feast and famine cycles also contribute to the high rate of crime and violence in the North. Thomas Suluk, who has served many years as an interpreter for the Nunavut courts, said the overwhelming number of cases going to court involve break, enter and theft, and sexual assault. Most of the charges are laid against members the four major Ahiarmiut families by members of other family groups, especially "those who have had more interaction with the whalers and traders"; the Aivilingmiut. One explanation offered for this trend was that the Ahiarmiut family leaders were not seen as being responsible in regulating and controlling their own members so the other family groups looked to the Territory to regulate them. "We have a government now, let them deal with it", is a commonly heard refrain. On the other hand, the Aivilingmiut and Padlirmiut were much less likely to charge members of their own family groups, opting to handle the issues among themselves through shunning, ostracizing, ridicule or retaliation in kind. According to Suluk, relatively few charges were ever laid

against the Aivilingmiut or Padlirmiut. This suggests that the Ahiarmiut, as the late arrivals to Arviat, are experiencing difficulty negotiating their space in relation to the established family groups. Inter-group conflicts and the tensions result in the social alienation of the Ahiarmiut, who respond with resistance and resentment toward the more established groups.

As a general rule, Inuit would not turn in or charge other Inuit for major or violent offences, including murder. Annie Ollie, Hamlet Council member, said that Inuit do not see sending offenders away as helping or healing the community. Instead, people will hide a violent crime from the RCMP and talk about it among themselves. They tend to rely on the Inuit understanding of crime and punishment; that misfortune and violence will be visited upon the children or grandchildren of the offender. Ollie explained that, during the year I was in Arviat, a young girl was killed in a Honda ATV accident. She was the favourite grandchild born to a favourite son of a grandfather who had murdered another Inuk. Everyone in the community knew about the murder, but no one turned him in. In another case the same year, a young man died sniffing propane, joining his brother who had committed suicide earlier. Ollie said the brothers' father was a disturbed person who terrorized and tortured other Inuit both physically and mentally by, for example, holding loaded guns to their heads and threatening to kill them.

Violence against women was somewhat tolerated in the north. A survey of Inuit legends would suggest that it has always been inherent in Inuit society (MacDonald 1998). Trott suggests that Inuit did not recognize their violence toward women until the Canadian law made it illegal (Christopher Trott, personal communication, March 2009). During my time in Arviat I witnessed the effects of several physical assaults. One evening an Inuk

woman came to visit me. I heard her cheerful voice call out as she entered the house and I went to greet her. I gasped when I saw a huge purple, blue and black bruise completely covering the left side of her face from above her eye to the bottom of her chin. She appeared surprised at my response and quickly said "Oh its okay, its okay". Her 18-year-old son had become angry and repeatedly punched her in the face. "But its okay, *he* forgave *me* [for making him angry]" she assured me.

Inuit do not necessarily see violence as being endemic to their society. I spoke with a highly respected elder about the frequency of violence and crime in the hamlet. He hinted that, in the past, Inuit society had regulated and controlled their people to the point that most perceived offences had been eliminated. However, with the breakdown of Inuit society and the coming of southern values, unruliness had re-emerged because adequate societal controls were missing.

> In the past, dogs used to break free from their chains and break into the food larders, but now they don't because the local governments have instituted proper controls. Now however, the dogs … have been replaced by people who do the breaking and entering and stealing instead. So perhaps in the past these vices were eliminated to the point that only dogs were doing that. But now those vices have come back. Now we as elders and advisors are participating in the court system and from there we understand that a lot of young people are now doing the breaking and entering and stealing and trying to get something for nothing. – Jimmy Muckpah

Incidences of suicide in Arviat were frequent and often went unreported as such. According to the head nurse in Arviat's Health Centre, there were six completed suicides in 2003. In 2004, while I was in Arviat, there were four determined suicides and possibly others that were masked and reported as accidental deaths. Early the following year Arviat lost three more young teenagers to suicide. In April 2005, I received a phone call from a distraught

grandfather who had just lost his granddaughter and her boyfriend to suicide. The grandfather said that the conflict and tension between the old ways and the new had caused the young teens to give up. In the old days, he said, children were married off or promised while in their teens but today that was not allowed. Today children must go to school and were not allowed to marry until they are 16 or 18 years of age. There was also a problem with overcrowding and so many people living under one roof. The teens felt that no one cared. When his granddaughter and her boyfriend were told they could not live together as man and wife they felt that there was nothing left to live for. They were 14 and 15 years old, respectively.

In mid-2005 Tom Jackson, from the television series *North of 60^0*, visited Arviat and held an open-line radio talk show. Recurring comments from the listeners concerned children and suicide. A strong sentiment expressed by Inuit was that they should take their children out of the schools because the education system did not adequately prepare children for adult life and its responsibilities; formal education accentuated the gap between the two ways of life, and did not provide an adequate bridge for the children to become successful in a contemporary community. The gap between the two ways of life was too vast.

Understanding the "other"

Misunderstanding and disinformation abounded between Qablunaat and Inuit in the North. Many Inuit had only a vague concept of life in the South which was based on popular TV shows. Isolation of the non-Inuit in the community contributed to the misunderstandings.

Brody (1975) and Tester and Kulchyski (1994) mention the self-containment of Qablunaaq community in the North. The same could be said of Arviat where Qablunaat, particularly nurses, teachers and government employees have lived in Arviat for many years,

yet most have never been in an Inuit home or even to a public community event. Their only dealings with Inuit were on a professional level, as necessitated in their day-to-day job requirements. There was no personal interaction and much of their knowledge of Inuit life and culture was based on hearsay from other similarly self-contained employees or from what they read in the *Nunatsiaq News* and southern-based newspapers.

Yet, Inuit try to bridge this gap by applying and adapting the Inuit way of doing things to southern scenarios. For example, when I mentioned to a hunter that my husband and I were renovating our house, the hunter advised me to get the wood and building supplies from the city dump because Qablunaat throw away a lot of good things and that is where Inuit get their building supplies (wooden packing crates and scrap 2″x4″ lumber to build their cabins).

Misconceptions are evident at the organizational level. Inuit, like many in the south, did not understand that most southern institutions were isolated from each other and rarely shared information. Most Inuit community members did not understand that universities and the federal government were separate institutions. Nor did they understand that Fisheries and Oceans was different from Indian Affairs, the Environment Canada, Canadian Food Inspection Agency or Health Canada. Inuit referred to all non-Inuit Government of Nunavut employees, southern researchers, scientists and federal officers by one collective name — Qablunaat—and the attributes observed regarding one were often attributed to the whole, as happens to Inuit. Non-Inuit were seldom referred to by their individual names but by "Qablunaaq" or, if Inuit had to differentiate between Qablunaat, non-Inuit became the possession of a particular Inuk; Suluk's Qablunaaq, or Irniq's Qablunaaq. This was *not necessarily* negative. Inuit seldom refer to family members by their given name (see above)

but by their relationship to them. For example, “paniga” and “uiga” used for “my daughter” and “my husband”, respectively, are most often used in place of the given name.

Contemporary Inuit on the land

The roads, houses and people within the hamlet are coated with dust and grit. Vehicles pass at alarming speeds. People are in a hurry and cannot stop to talk. They must deal with the ever-present noise from vehicles, machinery and overcrowding. In contrast, the countryside greets them with a soft carpet of exploding color beneath their feet and a decongested skyline. The people are engulfed and absorbed into the profound quietness of the land. On weekends during the warmer months, much of the hamlet was vacated as families gathered up their younger children (teenagers tended to stay behind in the hamlet), and headed out on the land for a day.

The demeanour of the families changed on the land. Inuit seemed peaceful and content. I was greeted with smiles and Inuit stopped to engage in relaxing conversation. There were many senior couples and younger couples with their children packed tightly around them, meandering leisurely throughout the countryside on Honda ATVs.

In April and May many Inuit went to out to their “spring camps” (iglunguaq: literal translation “play camps” or “in imitation of” houses) located a couple of kilometres outside the hamlet. There Inuit cut up and dried caribou meat in the same way as their ancestors once did. Younger children and grandchildren often accompanied them. Families brought CBs to communicate with their teens or other family members back in the hamlet. They also brought radios to listen to the news and talk shows. Thus they had the best of both worlds because it allowed them to put a little distance between themselves and the crowed, noisy hamlet, yet

still keep in contact with their extended relatives and be aware of what was happening in the community.

A favourite camping area for Inuit, and where many have cabins, lies approximately 30 km north of Arviat towards Padliq[14], at the mouth of the Maguse River. In the 1980s, residents of Arviat began to build a road up to the Maguse River. Each year, various residents extended the road piece-by-piece, taking it in whatever direction the current builders wanted it to go. Without the use of culverts or bridges, small streams flooded the road and eroded the gravel. To slow the erosion and flooding, other Inuit residents go out on warm summer days to alter the course of the small streams so that the tundra can drain and ditches can be cleared. In this way, Inuit say they make the streams run nicer instead of in a dispersed fashion, allowing Honda ATVs to access the land without tearing up the wet tundra.

Some Arviarmiut would like to see the Maguse River area developed for tourists. On the other hand, the Maguse River area is a popular hunting area for caribou. If the area were developed for tourists, outsiders could raise tensions over hunting and the use of firearms.

Each year in May, the hamlet sponsors a fishing derby designed to get settlement-bound Inuit out of their homes and onto the Bay or further inland for those with transportation. The hamlet offers substantial prizes such as new skidoos, ATVs or $1000 for the largest arctic cod and lake trout caught. The derby generates a lot of excitement and Inuit begin talking and planning their winning strategies as early as March.

Arviat Hamlet Council members decided that fishing derbies could be used as teaching tools for Inuit who would not normally go out on the land. The derby is promoted to

[14] Padliq, the place where the Padlirmiut originated, should not be confused with Padlei, site of the former inland Hudson Bay Company post.

show Inuit that it is possible to have fun and enjoy the land without having to rely on expensive skidoos and fuel. Local Inuit enjoy socializing and the exercise involved in fishing through the ice for arctic cod on the Bay. Those with transportation go inland for the much larger lake trout. It is an opportunity to teach the young people about survival techniques and the proper clothing to wear on the land. "They should wear skin clothing since the [manufactured] fabrics are useless to keep one warm" – Marc Ahikashwa

> So all these little fishing derbies with the Arctic cod — they look miniscule eh? What is the fun of going for miniature dwarf cods? Well it's the activity, the social activity and the fact that they are finding out a lot of things that others had just been talking about in schools, in print, or on TV, and that its more fun cutting your own pole, going out on the ice and catching a real cod, cooking your own and how much it costs. [It teaches] that you need a constant supply of gas, fuel, food and somebody to baby-sit, getting grub, and there is a whole lot of other people trying for the same thing. Then the stocks become depleted, supplies become depleted. …so it is a fast track to reality. – Thomas Suluk

The fishing derbies contribute to the emotional health and wellbeing of the hamlet-bound Inuit, but there are some difficulties. Recently hamlet officials and elders have become concerned that very few, if any of all the hundreds of cod and lake trout that are caught in an attempt to win the top prizes, are taken home and eaten. Most are left beside the fishing hole, becoming easy food for foxes and other scavengers.

Another difficulty arises from less-experienced hunters becoming tired of being told they are incompetent on the land. In defiance of those who criticize them, they go off on long-distance trips thinking they can maintain a sense of direction without getting lost. This resistance and defiance to the criticism of older Inuit contributes to the rise in search and rescue efforts. In the past, Inuit tried to make it mandatory for less-capable Inuit to have an experienced guide accompany them, but the practice was hard to enforce and became resented

by both groups.

> Having Inuit guide less capable people was something which others used to try and impose, but people have now developed a sort of resistance to being just anybody's guide or being a 'gopher'. People have begun to think why the people who are thought to be good at doing something are always the ones to be chosen to provide service. – Thomas Suluk

> Now you have situations where people who were in the past able to mentally strong-arm others into doing their wishes [are] no longer able to do it now. Having to do it on their own results in cases like … your unfortunate trip to Padlei. …But this is the way when people … rely on having people who know with them as guides all the time so that they never really have to think or make an effort as to which way they are going. It used to be easy for them but now that they don't have any real guides then they get into situations like this. – Thomas Suluk

Country food is readily available on the land, but increased access by inexperienced hunters has resulted in stock depletion of nearby lakes and wastage of country food. This is an old complaint, but in the past concern was raised by the conservation officers. Today concern is coming from the Inuit themselves. The hunters are less skilled in using the meat in comparison to the elders who claimed to "waste no part of the animal". Increased access by inexperienced hunters resulted in the experienced hunters having their long-distance stash of fuel and supplies stolen. Lost people triggered searches, more wastage of gas and decreased productivity in the settlement as government workers took time off to assist with searches. Other difficulties arose when Inuit retaliated against the gas thieves and ended up in court.

Increased access by inexperienced hunters to the land is an unintended outcome of the NLCA Harvester Support Program (HSP). Started in 1993 with $30 million, the fund was invested and became self-sustaining. Each year, two million dollars was given to 27 communities and a few outpost camps. In Arviat, the HTO dispense $100,000 per year in outright grants and top-ups, where the recipient is expected to pay a portion. The purpose of

the HSP is to provide beneficiaries with the means to continue their hunting lifestyle and obtain country food. The HSP assists hunters in obtaining boats, motors, snowmobiles, ATVs, or small equipment like fox traps, satellite phones and survival suits. The HSP also supports community harvests to obtain meat for elders, widows and youth.

In Arviat, the HTO attempted to avoid giving away large equipment outright. If a hunter could pay $2000 towards a $9000 skidoo, it was considered a good deal as far as the program was concerned because in the past Inuit who promised to pay even 50% of the cost seldom paid.

> There is always the problem of collecting. People will cry "Oh poor", "Oh we're destitute". "Finances are hard". "There's no work", "We didn't have the education". "We can't make ends meet", "We have lots of children". "We have this expense". "We have to look after that". "Sorry". But being fellow Inuit organizations, naturally [Inuit] believed [the debts] will be forgotten and forgiven and nobody will be the wiser. …But naturally the political leaders are debating. There was an ongoing debate on how do you put more restrictions and how do you insure that this program will still provide assistance but also teach a little responsibility at the same time. – Thomas Suluk

For the first few years that the HSP was in operation, Inuit political leaders were called upon to provide direct teaching on the purpose of the program, but the leaders could not sustain that level of involvement indefinitely.

> ….[They were] continuously telling people to be prudent, diligent in what they agreed to and telling them to look after their machines and not to use them as the play things they are originally made for (but in the North they are considered workhorses and not playthings. Heaven forbid that they should ever be used as playthings!) In fact that was the way the whole thing was discussed — as working trucks, as their means of going to work, but in their case going to work means going out to the wilderness to procure some caribou or fish or camping or carrying on with their traditional lifestyle in spite of unemployment or lack of employment in the community, or finances. – Thomas Suluk

However, a HSP decision that the program should be administered on the basis of

"need" set off a competition to determine who was in the greatest need and who qualified for assistance.

> …[T]here was a big fight to say who is the poorest … The poor get something, so everybody had to say how hard pressed they are so even those who were working were saying, "Yes we are making some money but this is the way our finances are", and they are discussing their private finances all to sway the decision makers … The people, the HTO soon realized how tiring becoming a social worker was, because that was what they were doing – Thomas Suluk

In 2002, the Arviat HTO decided to avoid the politics of determining need and instead administered the HSP through the use of a lottery system; bingos, lucky draws and Nevada tickets. The lottery system turned out to be a successful money raiser for the HTOs who no longer had to deal with competitions between individuals and families to determine who was the poorest. Not everyone was happy with the new system because now anyone could receive boats, ATVs and skidoos from the HSP, whether they hunted or not, simply by winning the draw.

> Here you see people who got selected for Honda. They just drive around and drive late at night and bother the people. Who knows if they even go out to hunt and here there's hungry people, hungry… So NTI should look into it more — those who really will use them, not just drive around on them or keep them for few years and then sell it, or gamble for it. But those who are reliable should start receiving those. – Tamar Mukjurnik

As shown in this chapter, much of the traditional life of Arviat is dynamic and strong. Inuit still see themselves as connected to the land and that relationship still shapes how Inuit act and react with their wider environment. The approach of the shaman who combined the old ways with the new so that Inuit could adapt to the outside world still resonate with Arviarmiut. Some aspects of the new hamlet life were incorporated into existing cultural systems with relative ease because of their fit with the wider cultural context. Most elements

of southern institutions and values were changed when incorporated into Inuit systems as Inuit seized the southern symbols, questioned their integrity and remade them in the image of IQ. Although colonial forces sought to transform Inuit by making them believe, talk, write and interact in southern Canadian ways, Inuit took the symbols of religion, education, governance, law, communication, health and modes of representation and remade them to fit their own cultural context. However, adaptation and incorporation of the symbols are happening at different rates; change is not uniform and the parts are out of sync with each other. Much of the social dysfunction observed in Arviat was the result of the uneven change. In Chapter Four, Inuit perspectives on the connections between Inuit identity, health, wellbeing and the land are explored.



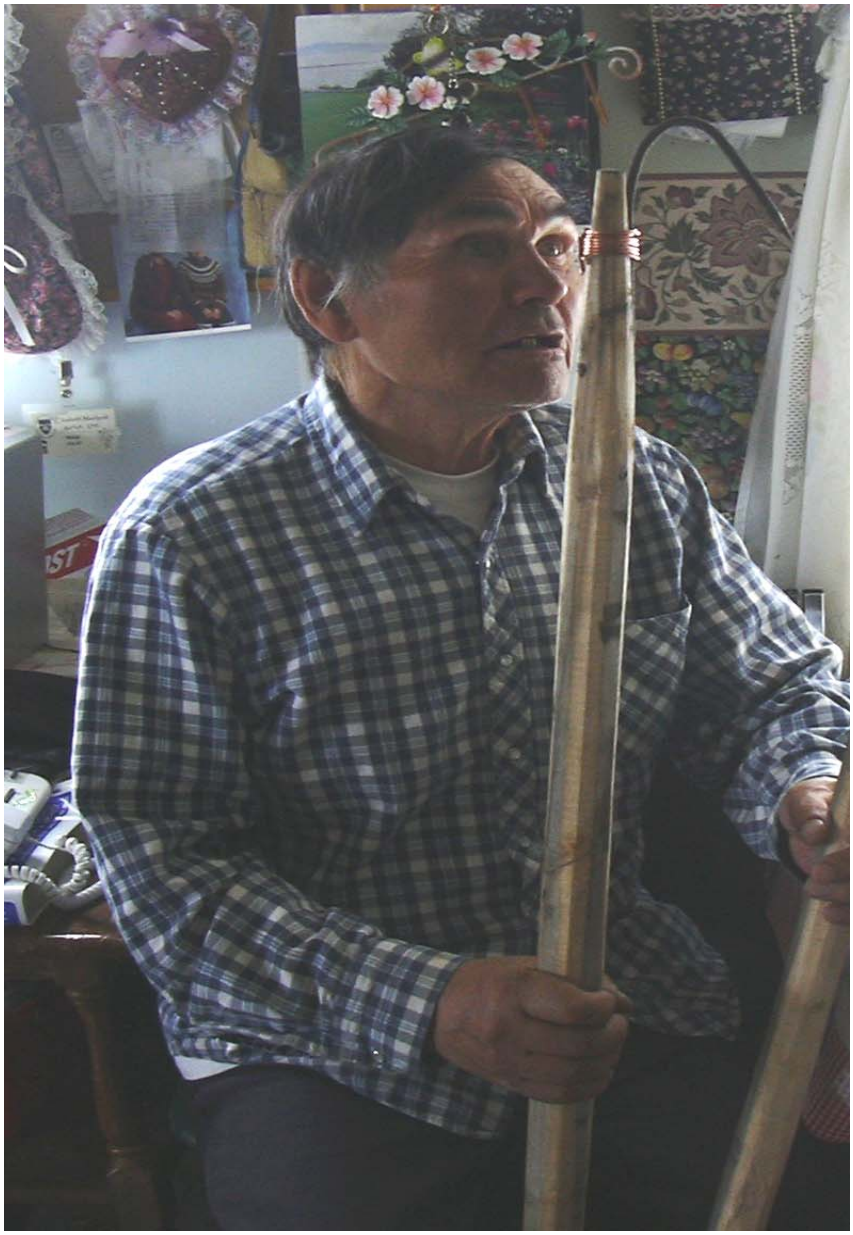
Mark Eetak melts ice daily for drinking and cooking



Blocks of ice gathered from Wolf Creek



In summer, drinking water is gathered in jugs from Wolf Creek



Jimmy Mukpah explains the art of seal hunting.



Eetaks enjoy a family outing to ice fish for lake trout.



Freshly butchered caribou is slightly air-dried before being packed for journey back to hamlet.



Being healthy involves hunting, preparing & eating country food



Frozen caribou stomach and brisket



An Arviat salad – caribou stomach contents with beluga chunks



Peter Mikijuniak jokes with friends saying he needs heavy cable to drag in his big fish catches



The fishing derby is designed to teach community Inuit how to obtain country food



Jig fishing for Arctic cod on Hudson Bay



Arviarmiut of all ages enjoy the fishing derby



Mark Ahikashawa demonstrates drum dancing for the younger generation



Double tent rings left from the ancestors



Pauline Pemik (right) and friend demonstrate throat singing

Chapter Four: A healthy life

Qablunaat perspectives on Inuit health and wellbeing

Concepts of health and wellbeing are not objective or static ideas, but change and adapt over time and space. All definitions of health are "laden with ideological nuances and can never be separated from cultural norms and values" (Adelson 2000:3). The western obsession with health is not with a knowable universal entity but a particular cultural ideal of physical fitness and longevity. Health is not an objective category in which a standard against non-health can be determined. Health cannot be determined through health-seeking behaviours, health regulations and promotion or the absence of disease. Population indicators do not reveal cultural determinants of health except as an indicator of regulatory norms. Health is political and takes on a charged meaning when one looks at the historical, cultural, social and economic context (Lupton 1999; Adelson 2000).

When high rates of social ills or disease are recorded, the population becomes labelled "at risk" (Lupton 1999). Cultural-symbolic thinkers say risk is used to establish and maintain boundaries between self and the *other* (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982). Douglas (1992) proposed that the risks that receive the most attention are ones that legitimize moral principles. While victim blaming facilitates social control, blaming outsiders enhances identity within the group. Both strategies serve to build unity within a group. Statistically bounded norms and risks allow the identification and labelling of populations requiring management and protection for improvement of the whole. Technologies of mass surveillance, observation, monitoring, and measurement allow information to be collected and analyzed by a host of other professionals. Thereby risk, becomes problematized, and rendered

calculable and governable (Foucault and Sheridan 1995; Lupton 1995)

Western health systems and constructs have had a positive effect on Aboriginals at times and in certain situations. However, according to Warry (1998) western systems are seen as complementary and parallel—not universal. Aboriginals are quick to return to their traditional systems when western systems fail, or prove untrustworthy.

Inuit perspectives of health and wellbeing

Aboriginal health in Canada cannot be understood without a consideration of the colonial and neo-colonial relations marked by discriminatory legislation, displacement, failed assimilation attempts, forced religious conversion and racism. Contemporary identities of the Aboriginals were formed in reaction or opposition to pressure of the dominant society (Adelson 2000). The people's relationship to the land and with each other changed over time, resulting in social disruptions, morbidity and death (Brody 1975, 1981; Waldram et. al. 1988; Povinelli 1993; Tester and Kulchyski 1994).

The discussion and analysis of Inuit health in academic literature (e.g., TK Young et al. 1988; Waldram et al. 1995; Warry 1998), Statistics Canada and government reports[15] focus on the high incidence of social ills and disease. Most discussions of Inuit social health involve poverty, unemployment, gambling, depression, tobacco use, substance abuse, youth suicide, family violence, elder abuse, sexual abuse, accidental death, teenage pregnancy and poor nutrition. Physical health discussions tend to focus on pathologies such as cancer, active TB, diabetes, otitis media, hearing loss, tooth decay, communicable diseases, premature births, infant mortality rate, fetal alcohol syndrome and sexually transmitted disease. These

[15] For example, see The National Aboriginal Health Organization website.

elements are important, but my discussions and experiences with the Inuit of Arviat strongly suggested that, if these health concerns were controlled or eliminated, Inuit would still consider themselves *unhealthy* for cultural reasons. Healey and Meadows (2008) began moving in this direction with an exploratory study on Inuit women's health. Their preliminary research suggested that Baffin Inuit women's loss of culture and language affected both their wellbeing and that of their community. The Aboriginal conception of health has as much to do with the land, social relations and cultural identity as it does with the body (Adelson 2000). Wellbeing refers to quality of life.

Joe Karetak (2005) combined video tapes from the Ahiarmiut workshop I conducted in February 2004 and his own research, and concluded Inuit perspectives on health and wellbeing involved having a strong culture, language, beliefs and cultural principles. It had to do with cultural identity, communities and traditional leadership models. Inuit were concerned about role definitions, family, kinship ties, shared values, oral communication and oral tradition (stories, songs). They value shared responsibility and holistic approaches to the world around them. Below, I have included comments by elders and senior hunters who did not participate in the original February 2004 workshop.

Using open-ended questions, I asked the participants what it meant to live a healthy life (translated Inuitsiarniq; a full life; wellness) and what they do to remain healthy. The concept of health was often understood as a happy and fulfilled life by the interviewees. Their answers varied considerably, but several themes emerged and all could be summed up in the elder/hunter Philip Kigusiotnaaq's emphasis on being Inuk.

> My generally good health, relatively intact in mind and body is by not living any old way, by doing anything and everything that comes along, but by not

> trying to be anything but an Inuk. Not trying to act like a Qablunaaq or an Indian from the Pacific … and to be an early riser and by being relatively active. Leading an active life. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq

> Being Inuk, the way I understand it is by being wary of what is going on outside of the house or dwelling … The whole environment. And by being aware of what people are doing. Not just being detached or disinterested but to be aware of who is doing what. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq

> [Inuit must] decide whether they want to be Inuit and act like Inuit … An Inuk is one who is self sufficient, one that is not reliant on so many others to clothe and feed him, to get him to wake up in the morning or to do chores, or someone that is controlling his or her children, and is with his or her children all the time. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq

Comments were made by other Inuit elders on:

Being self sufficient and resourceful; having the ability to provide for the family

> Now in comparison, a lot of us have large houses, we own them. But along with this new acquisition … comes a lot of responsibility and things that we never used to think about. Now it's a daily battle to try and keep up with fuel, services, sewage, water. Everything costs money now. But with some exertion you can get foxes to pay for these services. Now that the season for foxes is coming to an end—what next? Switch to carvings … In the past there was a whole lot to do. It looked like things are going to be easier [in the settlements], but it turned out that there is more work to do now to make a living compared to the past. – Jimmy Muckpah

Being mentally and physically active on the land (exercise)

> A person may not necessarily have a job, but has chores to do and those chores always involve doing things as opposed to sitting at home and waiting for social services to come in with a food packet or welfare cheque. Ordinary chores involves going out on little hunting forays. When you have chores it gets tiring, but you also rest. But when you're just doing nothing day after day after day after day, it is tiring. Not healthy. Our ongoing and persistent goal is to be healthy and remain healthy and we begin to become unhealthy when we feel that we are not mobile anymore. – Bernie Suliryok

> Even if you get tired physically but always have some activity going on … whether you are retired or working then that contributes a lot, almost 100% to leading a healthy life. If say, I don't have a job, I'll just watch TV whatever

> channel is on and daydream. That is when you will be really poor. – Jimmy Muckpah
>
> Some people figure now that to lead a happy life you have to be at the community hall all the time doing sports. Governments and teachers, now and in the recent past, figure that young people doing activities such as those, will grow up to lead a natural and quiet life. In contradiction to that … people who have gone on long, solitary walks or camping and just having the quiet solitude they seemed to be … more quiet and peaceful with less, or no stress at all. – Louis Angalik
>
> [Being on the land] seems like a kind of meditation and it involves doing some physical movement of muscles, walking, but it rests you and calms the mind and spirit … [In the hamlet] it seems things are going out of control or someone dies. You are being fed harmful information perpetually … but if you are sort of insulated from those things, then it is possible to lead a non-stressful life. – Louis Angalik

Obtaining and eating country foods

> When one does not live solely on country food, they need income support to purchase store-bought food. Eating store-bought food causes indigestion and it makes one crave for more. On the other hand, country food provides nutrition and one does not crave for more in a very short time. – Job Mukjurnik
>
> We ate caribou and fish because there were no other foods available. A caribou-only diet keeps one mostly healthy. It seems that they get sick regularly now when they started eating store bought foods. – Marc Ahikashwa
>
> I only need to drink hot caribou broth to feel warm. Eating caribou and seal meat is a lot better for people living in the cold climates and for those that have to work outdoors. I do not get the same nutrition from store bought foods. These practices of eating country food will make the children's teeth healthier. Nowadays store-bought foods can create cavities in their teeth. In the old days when it was time for children to let their teeth fall out, they fell out. But now, children get sent out to have their teeth removed due to rotting. Even older people are eating more junk food. – Richard Tutsweetok

Having patience in adversity

> A community can have happiness in spite of any adverse weather … We do not continuously have adverse weather. It tosses. These things will always pass. Leading a healthy life means having the ability to wait, to have patience when these conditions come … – Jimmy Muckpah

> Instead of a universal problem with one solution that fits all [it is beneficial] to have many little antidotes … The pouring of money into this or that may have a minimal impact, however it would still be better than not doing anything at all … there will always be some benefits and there will always be some negative impacts. – Louis Angalik

Maintaining proper relationships

> The main form of interaction of people confined to their homes is through the CB networks. It's like having a chat on the internet or something about people who are miles apart …The way they were able to communicate in the past was through actual human relations, social interaction. Now it is a whole lot easier to get the news and comments by either just listening to the radio and CB. It's like a pep pill for them, the CB … The listening and understanding lifts their spirits. – Bernie Sulurguk

> I think the secret to living a peaceful life is by having no secrets among ourselves in the first place … And having an open mind about discussing any issues that we feel may have the potential to cause some problems … Also, I think holding on to those things anyway would tend to cause worry and difficulty and worrying is definitely not a healthy thing. – Richard Tutsweetuk

> To lead a happy life is not to intimidate your fellow human beings. It is easy to see people who are not living happy lives because they are trying to pass on their intimidation and export their unhappiness to others. There is no spontaneous laughter connected to [their] happiness at all. It is easy to spot manufactured laugh as opposed to spontaneous happy laughter. – Jimmy Muckpah

> Healthy communities get together as a group. Not necessarily off in some resort area, or far off places, but just out on the inlet in the cabins not too far away. Just get together for a little feast, not necessarily for any reason … [it provides an opportunity for] discussions about this and that and plans develop. – Marc Ahikashwa

Having the ability to provide for others

> During feasts healthy families invited those families that were malnourished or had sickness to the feast. Thus sick members of the tribe were often healed through the provisions and generosity of the healthy. – Job Mukjurnik

> Work such as building igloos or making Inuit tents, the making of kayaks or drums … The making of clothes too. We just need to be provisioned with

> materials to do those things and then we would be able to become contractors on the provisioning. – Job Mukjurnik

Unhealthy and unfulfilled lives were exemplified by:

The incompetent ones

> Also, today whenever a hunter does not return from a hunt, people become tense and start organizing searches. This makes our lives more difficult. In the old days, no one worried for a hunter's welfare, even if there was no word for weeks on end. But now all the excess intervention has made our lives more difficult because the incompetent ones are still with us and there is little motivation for them to become competent. – Job Mukjurnik

Dependence on government and social programs

> So much free assistance for every little thing is being provided for people now, which creates a dependency or a seeming disregard for any kind of social direction or restriction. In this case, everybody getting together and making babies. Who cares how much it costs to medivac somebody to Churchill or Winnipeg. Or what about the young families that are now eligible for income support. Then there is housing things and education has to be provided and more buildings. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq

A life regulated by government

> If we returned to [Inuit] ways and hunt in the way we used to hunt, we can improve. But nowadays, we are being scrutinized too closely by the givers of quotas and restrictors. – Job Mukjurnik

> Now that life has been formalized and one must live according to all the laws and regulations, life has become more irritating. Being without money and the requirement to have a license or tag to hunt, these impede us now. – Job Mukjurnik

> Regarding health, when people, Inuit, have the freedom to come and go fishing or hunting or camping, then we feel absolute freedom. Without fisheries officers every mile, or wildlife enforcer every few miles, or caribou people checking every house for contraband, fish. Without hindrances. – Manual Akat

> When I'm going hunting it's to get something to eat. When Qablunaat hunt so they can eat, it usually involves making money first … they pay for a licence first and they are going to make money from what they are going after. But for Inuit it's considered a normal right that they do without consideration of

> monetary gains from them. So that is the difference I'm talking about. If Inuit are doing things in a very bureaucratic manner, that would create an unhealthy restriction to their lives. – Manual Akat

The elders bemoaned the current loss of mobility and control over their destiny, and attributed much of the current social misery to lack of social leadership within the family groups. Elders complained that many of their people were no longer capable on the land. They did not know how to make proper clothing, build shelter or hunt without getting lost. They had very few survival skills. Elders maintained these skills needed to be taught so the family groups would not be so dependent on government, social programs, Search and Rescue or the few experienced hunters. Job Mukjurnik believed the bosses and traditional education systems needed to be reinstituted, but because he and other family bosses were elderly and lacked mobility, they needed to be provisioned with the raw materials to teach their ever-growing family groups. However, the ability to store catches in freezers and the wider access to powerful hunting equipment and transportation undermined the authority of the family leaders.

Traditional education and social control was also undermined by the abundance of social programs. Mukjurnik inferred that, under the traditional system, there was a culling of hunters who were incompetent on the land; those who did not know the land, who harvested improperly, wasted meat and did not wear the proper clothing, died out on the land because of their lack of competence. However, today incompetent hunters survived because of social programs like Search and Rescue, draining resources from governments and social programs, and contributing to the unhealthiness of communities through stealing, violence, mischief, begging and being a general nuisance.

By imposing regulations and quotas on the strong families (successful hunters), Qablunaat were in effect taking away the ability of the healthy families to provide feasts or show generosity to the poorer members, making all families appear weak and sickly. Inuit no longer had control over their lives. Instead, they felt like they were government-controlled and this control deprived them of their ability to be Inuk.

The female elders mentioned many of the same themes, but also added an extra dimension to the discussions. Several indicated a sense of resignation to their current situation. They too missed the mobility and close family relations that were lost when families were split and relocated during the famine years. Ways of dealing with the stress included being patient and being able to stand in the face of hardship. Many men said that when things got stressful, they left the hamlet and went out on the land to hunt. The female elders and older women chuckled at this and said it was the women who were strong and knew how to deal with adversity and stress. They said women had to learn because of the children; someone had to stay and care for them while the men escaped to onto the land. Elizipee Muckpah said that "because when you [a woman] are the one that has to deal with it you have to try and think straight before you get into action".

> So the situation is different the way it was with what it is today. There are a lot of things that are not applicable anymore. So why hold on to the past? Times have changed. – Matilda Sulurguk

> …[M]obility of course, is a necessity, but we were advised by our parents that this did not necessarily include being busy-bodies, listening to gossip, visiting here and there. – Dorothy Akatsiaq

Female elders appreciated the warmth and comfort of their homes and would not want to return to living in igloos or tents. All of the elders seemed to enjoy the addition of some types

of "Qablunaat food" to their diets. They noticed that colds, illnesses and some types of diseases were more frequent since moving to the settlement and attributed them to crowding and availability of southern products. A frequent comment from both male and female elders regarded the heartburn and indigestion that comes from eating too much Qablunaat foods and the erosion of traditional food preparation skills. Their concern was not as much with the fact that Inuit had adopted southern comforts, technologies and foods, but more with the *quantity* of southern items and practices that were collectively weakening Inuit bodies and eroding their identity.

> As an Inuk person who can talk about life before we began to live in warm and comfortable houses [being happy could be looked at] from the housing and physical comfort level. If we look at it from that perspective then we can say it is from being given housing and stuff, and household goods from the government, or Indian Affairs or whoever, that we are now living comfortable, healthy lives … [But on the land] we had not experienced any serious illnesses. It's only when we moved to Arviat because of schooling for the children … that we began to have more interaction. Then we began to experience other illnesses. – Elizabeth Nibgoarsi

> Now in our case we love to go out to the land because it contributes to our mental state of mind … When there has been physical exercise involved such as being out in the weather, eating good food and drinking good water (as opposed to drinking canned water from the water tank, or water in the reservoir) but drinking water from streams and breathing fresh arctic air and having all the space above you, and the weather is turning good seasons, and you are also getting good sleep because you are getting physically tired, so it contributes to the good health of the body. – Rhoda Karetak

> As you may know we will never be a white person and we will continue to use Inuit tradition. I know that food preparation and how to be a good butcher, that knowledge is being lost. And now when we have traditional food, we have to have carrots—white-man food involved now too. If an Inuk tried to live on white-man food only, they would get sick more. The diet is poor because they put more vegetables into the traditional food. Like *maktaaq* with soya sauce or *maktaaq* with salt. So there is a mixture and this is decreasing the health of the people. Even myself, I'm like that now. Right now if we eat only caribou meat with no addition or a beluga whale with nothing in it, we get stomach ache

> now. We have to now add stuff to it, to the traditional food. –Elizipee Muckpah

Martina Anoee (below) makes one of several statements I heard from elders regarding measures taken to balance the population ratio of men to women in an effort to keep economic discrepancies between families at a minimum. Children were at times redistributed through adoption based on age and gender to relatives living at a greater distance away. At other times they were given to their future spouse's family to raise, as was the case for Angie Eetak. According to Angie and her older sister, Martha, babies were occasionally "put under the ice" by mothers going through extreme hardship and no longer able to cope. Rhoda Karetak (below) also mentions old people occasionally being left behind (to die) when they felt they could no longer contribute to the family.

> Now there is too much of a gap between the rich and the poor. [In the past] they try to keep the discrepancy between them as minimized as possible [through the] redistribution of catch or even population of men or women. Now some people have more of most everything: new houses, trucks, fast boats, $80,000/year jobs. And then you have practically destitute families, living on income support. Now the gap between the rich and the poor has just become too wide. It was easier at that time to provide meat and to redistribute it, but with money it is more difficult to distribute a $3000 pay cheque. Do they redistribute it? Of course not. So the situations have changed and the currency has changed. – Martina Anoee

An important aspect of Inuit health and wellbeing involved having cabins on the land. Many Inuit preferred to have more than one cabin to mirror their former life when they followed the animals and to allow for the different seasonal activities. As discussed later, most cabins are located within five to 10 kilometres of the hamlet and are a favourite retreat for families between May and September.

> A real healthy life is having three cabins here and there. Inuit don't like being restricted to living only in settlement and then having only one place to go.

> They would like to have maybe one place over here in the fall and another place over here in the spring and winter over here and maybe Churchill in the winter, because … those wildlife tend to come and go like the Inuit, whenever they please. – Rhoda Karetak

> It seems that the old people remain more active longer when they have cabins to go to where they can prepare and dry meat, because their lives have a focus and they are contributing, not necessarily feeling useless. You may have read in the past about older people who chose to remain behind in a cold igloo and not to be a burden. Put in today's context, when they have things to dry and food to prepare and can contribute, then they feel useful and therefore seem to be more active, livelier and happier. – Rhoda Karetak

One day as an April storm was clearing, through the window I noticed the barely visible silhouette of a person jogging up the street. "I wonder who that is", I mused aloud. Angie glanced out the window and without hesitation said "Qablunaaq". "How can you tell?" I asked. The definitive reply — "Inuit don't jog!"

> We don't exercise like white people, we don't jog, but the white people say exercise is when they go like this [stretching motions] that is white man's exercise. What exercise we talk about is to keep moving. What we mean by exercise is like lifting heavy rocks because we are going to do work. – Nancy Tasseor

> …[A]lways having some chores around the house to do, some tidying up and giving advice and looking after things. Household chores usually occupy the time. So because of semi-continuous physical activity, we don't get sick that often. So in that sense that would be considered healthy living. – Dorothy Akatsiaq

Inuit males and females between the ages of 45 – 60 had similar sentiments. Many had never lived on the land as children but had been moved south to hospitals, or left in the relocated settlements. Many were bilingual yet still were focused on the land and spoke of it as a place where healthy people went. They considered the hamlet a place of worry, stress, crowding, rules, and a place where proper relations had broken down. In contrast, the land was a place of discovery and mental, intellectual stimulation.

> The environment is always the most important for your mind, your body and your health. If you stay in one community, your mind is driven by so many works that don't come to your mind when you're in land. When you in community so much it control your mind from outside. Inland the things you want to do is there and nobody is changing it. When you are in the community too much, there is so many rules you have to follow and changes you are not happy with. Hunting has always made me feel better, keep me healthy, keep me happy. – Andy Kowtak

> Some Inuit … know that their love is gone cold … Years ago a person would just simply go and get water for a sick person. Or even cook without being asked to cook. Or for that person they would go and sit with them or the husband or wife or the sick person in the house. We don't see that kind of situation any more. – Melanie Tabvetah

> I think it is always the best to be out on the land, never get bored in land but in the house you get bored because there is nothing to do. All you do is sit and watch TV. No discoveries. – Andy Kowtak

Thomas Suluk attributes the lack of health to the stress of bills, continuous monthly payments, and the massive debt load that many Inuit are carrying. The idea of having to also deal with wildlife regulations and quotas is just one more pressure that affects the inter-related values that Inuit hold important.

> Many times when people think of leading healthy lives it is usually based on their ability to make a living in and around town and having a source of income whether from work, income support, child tax benefits, family allowances, old age pensions and other pensions. Without having some form of income coming in to purchase supplies, gas and equipment, it's difficult to be able to come and go… When a person has all of those, you can have mobility. –Thomas Suluk

> The way things are nowadays with the coming of civilization, those that considered themselves not living healthy lives were those that never get used to paying bills, such as power bills, telephone bills, monthly rent on houses. In fact all across the north, not just in Arviat, the majority of the people have literally thousands of dollars in rent arrears because it was not until even twenty years ago that people started living in public housing. – Thomas Suluk

> I think the main thing that had contributed to the stability of the people was their right to hunt, fish and trap was guaranteed within the land claim

> settlement. So there has been almost a major absence of conflict relating to wildlife and wildlife conservation… People themselves realize that having to manage wildlife resources and putting up with rules, regulations and policies is not a very healthy life to lead. – Thomas Suluk

Margaret Hannak emphasises that hunting is not simply the activity of getting animals. Hunting involves a series of inter-relations. Based on what Inuit said above, hunting represents mobility, economic independence, exercise, and relief from mental and emotional stress. It fosters the ability to plan and organize, provide for the family, learning and passing on IQ through the maintenance of proper family relationships. Hunting is related to Inuit identity and the building of self esteem through accomplishments. Hunting provides access to country food needed to build strong and healthy bodies. Through hunting esteemed cultural knowledge, survival skills, self sufficiency, resourcefulness and respect the environment (the power of the wind, weather, sea and animals) are learned. Melanie Tabvetah often stated that it was important to closely study caribou behaviour because it reflects how Inuit act (or could act) and how their society is organized. These are some of the sets of relationships to which Aboriginals refer when they say that traditional knowledge is culturally embedded and cannot be separated from its context. Hunting represents far more than just getting animals.

> Inuit must be given the ability to lead their independent lives up here in a manner that they see fit in relation to their activities, because their activities of hunting may not just be about hunting, maybe it's about something else, like the freedom to move or whatever. – Margaret Hannak

Males 30 – 45 years old had the following thoughts:

> One thing that is very dangerous is that we have a high performance body sitting around … When you're used to living in a high adrenalin state … it is constantly building up cause that is what it uses to energize the brain. Normally in a hunting society where the focus is always on 'going', you would actually deplete this… But in this community setting, it's over producing and creating this extreme… So this is partly where the high risk behaviour comes

> into play. Some people think: "What's wrong with all these kids today?" But you take that same person and put them in a different setting like a dangerous hunting setting, they are going to perform perfectly well and they are going to feel great and think: "Hey, I should do this more often". When they can't exercise in the natural element in which the body and the mind is made to perform under, and it's sitting in the wrong temperature and the wrong setting, anything and everything it does, doesn't work. It feels out of place and even if it does the right things it is asked to do, there is no pleasure and there is no satisfaction. We can't operate like that all the time. Looking at it from my experiences, when I started taking my children out more …it changed the boys just like that. They are a lot calmer. They are a lot sharper. They are not picking on each other. They're always planning to go out again. So they have occupancy; their brain is being occupied. – Joe Karetak

Karetak explained that, while the mind was acquiring information, it did not become knowledge until it could be used. If the mind was developed to take information and convert it to knowledge that could be used, but instead information was processed at a level far below the person's potential, the mind wandered and started generating different thoughts to entertain itself.

> We've gotten too reliant on other people's education instead of developing any of our own along with it. I don't mind all of the information coming in, but we have to produce an equal amount of energy ourselves, which is probably the knowledge part. All we are doing is collecting tons and tons of data, but are unable to use it. – Joe Karetak

Inuit were collecting data external to their culture, but they were concerned that they were not incorporating enough TK to keep their identity strong.

> Some of the natural practices that we don't do anymore are traditional song, traditional stories, and language. These things are crucial for you to do well here … Inuit song is tied into behaviour and tied into entertainment and tied into spirituality … which within itself can create a lot of motivation, stronger belief, stronger energy … A lot of the activities out on the land require a stronger language to understand … Without the language you still will know quite a bit, but you can't exercise it beyond yourself because you don't have the language to force your brain to go past your thinking level. And having a strong language means you can access a lot of information from an elder … So that is where identity is again affected. They [the elders] are holding a lot of

> your identity. The only way a lot of it can get transferred is through language. So a lot of knowledge is being stuck here … Stories. This is where my identity was affected the most … If all of the stories all of a sudden were being told in Inuktitut only, it would automatically strengthen everybody's language. – Joe Karetak

> Being connected to the land also means being connected to yourself and the elder person. "If I go out on the land I can sense the spirits of the people that were here before … So for me it generates thoughts that I normally wouldn't have, and changes my perspective on a lot of things, and my spirit is being fed, which creates more energy both ways. – Joe Karetak

Karetak emphasized the need for "writings, collecting data, recordings, videos, libraries, knowledge storage" to move TK into the future and to help the future generations. Yet he also added:

> I don't think that you can replace the land part … I think that you need to have a certain amount of that. Documentation is not going to replace the experience of actually going out. – Joe Karetak

> I think we have to educate the elders themselves on what they are encountering now. One of the things they do have is a very strong spirit and a powerful mind … [I]f you explain how things are today, the theories of how things operate is all they need to get it on. They develop an understanding of how things work and will surpass our position on it very quickly. We have more data without the knowledge to process it, but they have a stronger mind. Knowledge requires wisdom to use it. – Joe Karetak

Women in the 30 – 45 age range include Annie Ollie, who volunteers her time to work with women experiencing hardship. Ollie thought women in her age group were the strongest emotionally because of the hardship they experienced during the turmoil and social disruption associated with community life in the 1960s. She said many women had experienced sexual abuse as children, and when they got older they brought those experiences into adult relationships and experienced difficulty differentiating between their husbands and their abusers. Ollie defined health as being able to talk out those difficulties and to let them go. She

felt disconnected from the ways of her parents and said she longed for learning experiences of how to live on the land. Her generation frequently blamed the older generations for not retaining their knowledge and passing it on.

Other women in her age group said that their health and wellbeing was related to having more activity in the community.

> A healthy life style here now in our community is to have more activity with church and games, like volleyball or any activity, to have healthier lifestyle, and eat right foods like traditional foods consistently. [Also] getting into our Inuit games or family gatherings. There are Inuktitut games that aren't being played now. – Dianne Angmak

> A community is unhealthy when there is too much … doing sex or drugs or alcohol, gambling, that isn't healthy to me. And we were never brought up like that but now there's so many social problems now… I think it's about time to stand up and say, look you're doing wrong lifestyle. It's not good to your body, health and emotions … There were a lot of hurting children, abused, both emotionally and physically. – Dianne Angmak

> They [elders] used to go on radio every Thursday regarding our culture and how to live … and how to teach young fellow or young child to hunt and how the weather's going to be and how to sew traditional clothes and how to look after the cutting of caribou meat … The elders did a lot for us and it's about time to help the elders and use what they taught us to help the new generation. – Dianne Angmak

Angmak asserted that it was the government's responsibility to provide well-paying jobs, stores and other services for Inuit. They did not want "handouts" in terms of social assistance, but employment. "Cut down the social assistance and get into more jobs. Increase jobs more with the government giving us money" (Dianne Angmak).

Another area of social concern related to violence and abuse. Neither Angmak nor Ollie liked the idea of offenders being charged. They said that the offender should be referred to the elders first.

> …[O]ur ancestors always used to correct us and sit down and talk and start the healing. I think that would stop the violent abuse. Not talking to the RCMP or social worker but deal with the family and elder first. If it's too much then if they really need help they would go to social worker. But most of all keep the family circle strong. Like if you're related to someone keep it strong. Don't be a stranger, it's a part of the family. It's related. – Dianne Angmak

The younger women and men in the hamlet were more likely to define healthy living in reference to a healthy diet, better education, lifestyle changes and keeping the environment clean. On the land, however, the older generations were less concerned about the environment. Travelling inland, I repeatedly observed my Inuit hosts tossing food wrappers, cans, plastic bags and other non-edible garbage on the ground for the incessant wind to carry away. It was not uncommon to see paper and plastic bags rolling across the expansive tundra.

> I think the environment should be clean without having any garbage like plastic bags or tin cans that were used by those who were on the land overnight during the day or for a few days, if not weeks, that were left just on top of the ground without being gathered together in one like garbage heap. I think they need to be burned and or buried. – Tamar Mukjurnik

> It's not all bad, I think our health has improved because we know more about education and we are taught in the schools about healthy living, healthy environment, healthy community living and so on from the white science and the teachers, and more knowledge that has changed over the years… – Tamar Mukjurnik

> To have a healthy life, and to live a longer life to me it means like, not being lazy, or stay up all night or do lot of smoking, drugs, or alcohol. To have a healthy life you would use healthy food like caribou food, whale or beluga. Traditional food. But today kids are living on junk food like pop. Inuit … don't jog or exercise a lot … Lot of people are quitting smoking. I'm trying to … To me [unhealthy] is like not having a job to get what I need to go hunt. And every day our gas prices are going up. – Billie Mukjurnik

> You keep your mind and your feelings healthy through the CBs or radio. Communication is good … Also like public places, if they're open quite some time it's good, or it's fun to be around people too. – Melinda Sewaksiork

> When … I work at the store and I see a lot of people they're really happy to see me because I'm working and … buying stuff like groceries. I see more young mothers buy too much junk food … I know a few people buy more stuff for their kids than themselves. – Melinda Sewaksiork

The culture and politics of country food

The family groups of Arviat followed the diet preferences of their ancestors with varying degrees of adherence. Those who considered themselves Ahiarmiut still preferred a diet focused primarily on caribou (including caribou stomach contents), trout, geese, ptarmigan, geese eggs and musk ox. A few of the intensive hunters eat siksik and bear. Many Ahiarmiut families eat char and, more recently, beluga and small quantities of walrus brought in from Marble Island (near Chesterfield Inlet).

Padlirmiut focused primarily on caribou, beluga and char, rounding out their diet with geese, trout, mussels, ptarmigan and walrus. Padlirmiut generally do not eat seals which were hunted for their skins only. Seal meat was occasionally used for dog food—much to the chagrin of the Aivilingmiut. Regarding polar bear, the response was: "…when there has been no other meat to eat and the craving becomes strong, one is able to overcome the distaste for it" (Thomas Suluk). Polar bear were generally not consumed by Inuit in the Kivalliq. According to Gabriel Nirlungayuk, NTI Director of Wildlife (personal communication December 2008), polar bear consumption was usually limited to regions where caribou were scarce, such as parts of Baffin Island.

Aivilingmiut diet also featured caribou, but it focused much more on the sea: mainly beluga, walrus, char, bowhead and many varieties of seals, including ringed seals, bearded seals and ranger seals. Aivilingmiut ate a type of seaweed picked north of Arviat. Aivilingmiut commonly travelled to Marble Island or as far north as Repulse Bay for walrus.

They claimed to be able to identify the general locations where various char and seals were harvested by differences in the way their flesh tasted.

> I came from Coral Harbour in 1964. I consider the char of Coral [Harbour] more rich than from here [Arviat], therefore more delicious and tasty. The taste of seal that comes from Coral and here smell different. It's like the difference between chicken and turkey. But just because they don't taste the same doesn't mean we don't eat them, just that we can distinguish the difference between them. –Manual Akat

Elders and other family members maintained that they had enough country food to satisfy their appetites. There was often excess that could be dried or stored in home freezers or outside bins during the winter. Extra meat was stored in the community freezers in the spring and summer months. Elders and other community members have developed a taste for imported food, but this consumption should not be construed to mean that Inuit would stop hunting or accessing country food.

> In the past there used to be famines because people could not rely on secondary food ... but when ships began to arrive carrying vegetables or other sources of food, Inuit soon developed an appetite for it. But this did not mean that a reliance on caribou or fish or fur-bearing animals for clothing will come to disuse. Food contamination from airborne contaminants, rivers or from the soil, mercury poisoning, PCPs, etc. are not going to stop the people from continuing to get animals to supplement their diets. People would not deliberately eat something that was contaminated—we are not that stupid—but we know enough about what is and what is not healthy. Geese, migratory birds are said to contain contaminants but in spite of all these precautionary measures by governments and health authorities, people are still going to go out and get them to supplement their diets because they have always done so. –Jimmy Muckpah

However, an elder/hunter and a young mother mentioned reasons why Inuit would stop hunting and accessing country food.

> There is work involved in hunting, skinning, cutting up meat, preparing and storing it, or just leaving it out to age before even beginning to cook it. Rendering skins into clothing necessitates the fact that there is somebody who

> knows how to cut them up, sew them and turn them into usable clothing. Of course other restraints are storms, weather, physical fatigue. I was a hunter all my life but lately I've had to modify what I hunt since I became single. Foxes are difficult to properly skin and clean. There is more work than they are worth. Normally foxes require two people to process them, the man usually catches them and the partner does the skinning and cleaning. But for one person alone, the money paid is not worth the effort. Even the procurement of country food requires having a partner. – Philip Kigusiotnaaq
>
> Obtaining country food can be hard on those who are widows or divorced because their sons or son-in-laws or grandchildren might not go out to get meat. It costs lots of money to go out: the oil, the bullets, the gun, everything. If someone is on welfare, that is a real barrier. They want to go but they don't have enough money to buy bullets. They just lost everything. – Tamar Mukjurnik

Country food was exchanged through extended family groups to supply those lacking the means to hunt. Many senior hunters supplied all their adult children and grandchildren as well as their own sisters' and brothers' families. It was common to see senior hunters bring caribou home and, within 15 minutes, have as many as 30 adults gathered outside their homes with plastic bags in-hand to collect caribou sections. Some adults flung hind quarters or entire carcasses over their shoulders and walked home.

To an outside observer, it would appear that an overwhelming burden was placed on these hunters. However, these hunters obtained enormous prestige from their ability to provide for such large family groups. Senior hunters were often designated by the families to hunt for the entire group with the understanding that others would not be obligated to supply meat. In exchange, family members were expected to provide equipment, cash, supplies, store-bought foods, labour, caribou clothing and kamiks (seal or caribou skin boots) for the hunter.

Some hunters distributed the meat immediately upon returning home by announcing

their catch over the CB radio. Others put it away and distributed it over the following weeks or months as needs arose. In warm months, some families immediately gave most of the catch away before the meat spoiled. The hamlet supplied and maintained a community freezer that was two-thirds full during the warm months, but many families would not keep their meat there for fear of what they described as "theft" by other families.

The traditional distribution system was cherished by many because it facilitated family unity and socialization as members came together to eat or distribute meat. The families and hunters interviewed thought the giving and exchange system was manageable, and no family felt too pressed by their responsibilities. Yet, as the older hunters pass on and there are no capable hunters to replace them, the large extended families will feel more stress as they are forced to rely on an expensive, imported and highly processed diet.

Inuit belonging to established family groups in Arviat were content with the current country food distribution system. However, Inuit who were relatively new to Arviat wanted to see changes. They had moved to Arviat because of government jobs, and often did not have a large extended family in the area. Accommodating the newcomer's desire for country food was complicated by the fact that, historically, there has been strong resistance to the idea of hunters selling some forms of country food in Arviat—especially caribou. Many Arviarmiut found the idea of buying something as basic as caribou offensive, and an insult to hunters who provided meat.

> There is a significant portion of the population that is still alive that have ingrained opposition to any country food which costs something to get. They consider that it should always be free, although it's the hunters and their families who carry the cost involved with getting a caribou nowadays. In fact when somebody gets a white whale there is the expectation that others have a right to a share. So you may bring in a lot of whale blubber, but you are almost

> always obligated to end up maybe with five percent of your catch because of all the others. Then you would be patted on the back and told: "What a good hunter you are". But there are limits as to how long, how many times you can keep going and what you have to show for it. – Rhoda Karetak

Some Arviat hunters announced over the CB radio that they had char to sell for $10 – $20 per fish when there was a scarcity of other country food. However, if Arviarmiut wanted to purchase caribou, they had to buy it from Rankin Inlet hunters and have it flown into Arviat. Rankin Inlet hunters did not have the same reservations about selling caribou meat, and 2004 prices were $150 per carcass and $75 per caribou head. However, Arviarmiut had no inhibitions about selling meat and fish to the hamlet when there was a community feast.

> When we have a community feast we will usually purchase caribou or fish from the local hunters. Prices range, but on average $100 for a full-sized caribou. Char is usually $10 each. Maktaaq is usually donated, or a nominal fee of $50 for a large portion of beluga. – Todd Johnson, Hamlet Manager

Inuit who were not strongly integrated into family networks wanted to see the creation of a country food market in Arviat. Those working in government jobs desired to have country food sold in stores or markets in smaller portions. They showed resentment toward the limited amount of char and fish that was periodically made available by the non-Inuit Northern Store manager.

> Something that is totally lacking is a country food store. In Greenland and in Iqaluit are shelves where you can buy fish and char. At one time you could even eat caribou cut up as an appetizer in a restaurant. Because of a concern in the past when Inuit here were considered backward, Qablunaat raised a big stink about any Inuk that handled or presumed to handle food, so there has been very slow development of any industry. – Rhoda Karetak

> Sure you can obtain arctic char at the Northern Store that was caught by the manager himself and packaged in his own showcase. But what about caribou meat? Not everybody is able to buy a $150 caribou or perhaps maybe they just like to buy little chunks for snacks and so on. A total lack of development of this country food industry is missing. – Rhoda Karetak

Karetak continued, when asked about the barriers to opening a small country food market in Arviat for those individuals who would welcome it:

> Would it be developed only under the watchful eye of doctors and nurses and health people and cleanliness people, by super pure government? I'm sure there are many impediments relating to health regulations … In Greenland they have markets for their fresh catch. They have a very Inuk government. Here we can only timidly say it is an Inuk government whereas we know it is not. – Rhoda Karetak

However, other elders and seniors said that they would not be able to afford to buy country food from a store because they were not working or not adequately paid. Therefore, they would continue to rely on the family exchange systems.

Inuit said there were no regulations that impeded their access to country food except for marketing regulations. The land claim settlement eased tensions regarding regulations and opened access to those who would not normally hunt.

> Even women have become hunters. There used to be an embarrassing situation when women had to hunt but now—I got a caribou recently. Sure, a man and a wife combination, it's always been going on. But what's new is just single women hunting. – Rhoda Karetak

There were formerly goose hunting regulations that limited hunting to the autumn, but elders and hunters said they mostly ignored them. It was curious to note that no one mentioned muskox or polar bear quotas. I suspect that Inuit ignored these quotas simply because they have always hunted those animals, which seemed to be the case when we were travelling inland and came upon a herd of approximately 50 muskoxen. Without hesitation, the hunters unhooked the qamutiks from the skidoos and sped off after the fleeing herd.

The amount and type of country food that a family ate fluctuated during the year, and each household had different rhythms depending on how they earned income. Inuit developed

temporary cravings for certain types of country food. For example, Inuit only hunted geese in the spring (usually June) when the geese arrived from the South because at that time of the year "the geese are delectable … In spring I'll go 50 miles to get a couple of geese" (Thomas Suluk). However once the geese began to lay eggs, Inuit would not eat geese again until the following year. They gathered goose eggs instead. Inuit took caribou all year round, but Arviarmiut preferred autumn caribou when the meat was consistent and firm and the fur best for clothing. Hunters said the caribou meat looked "hot" or "soft" in the summer or spring.

The diet of Inuit with government jobs or other good sources of income consisted mainly of salmon, chicken, pork chops or ribs with vegetables. Still, some said they had to supplement their diet with country food to make ends meet, which was especially true for the older generation. "When we are low on money we tend to eat only country food, but when we have more spending money we decrease the country food" (Elizipee Muckpah).

During the winter, those on social assistance ate more country food, whereas other families, such as Muckpah's, earned income from trapping fox and had more money available for store-bought food. Frank Nutarasungnik, a younger intensive Padlirmiut hunter, reported that he, with his wife and four preteen children, ate 15 – 20 caribou per year in addition to beluga, char and store-bought food in 2004. Nutarasungnik supplied additional country food to his extended family and the Arviat Elders Centre.

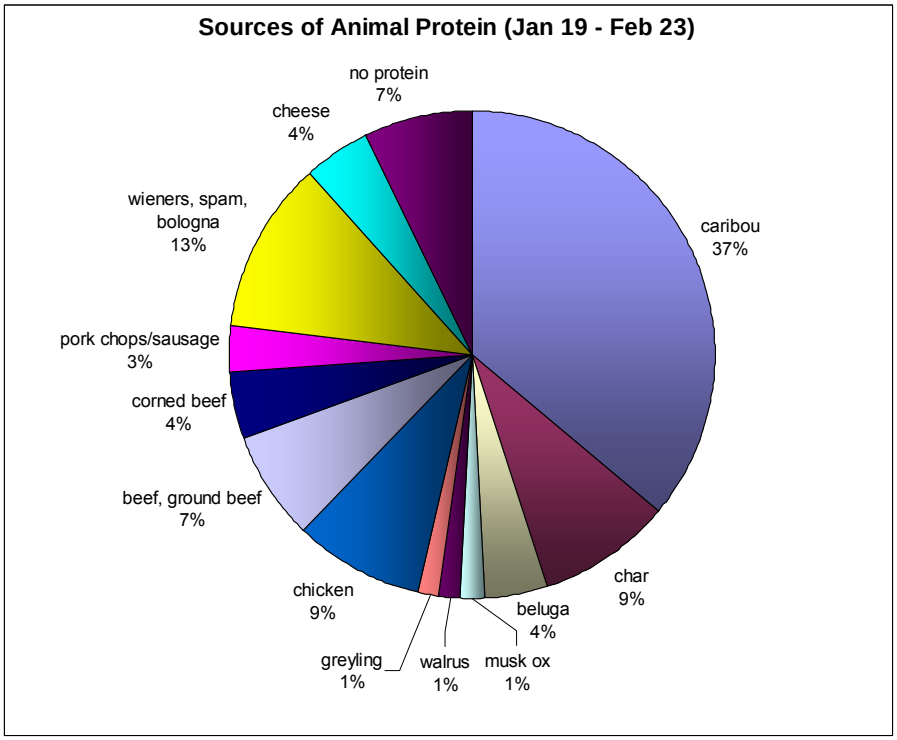
To gain a better understanding of what the country food diet of an active hunting family consists, I documented the types of animal protein consumed by one family of four (plus myself) during two time periods in 2004. While living with Angie and Mark Eetak and their two teenaged sons, I recorded and compared the number of lunches and suppers from

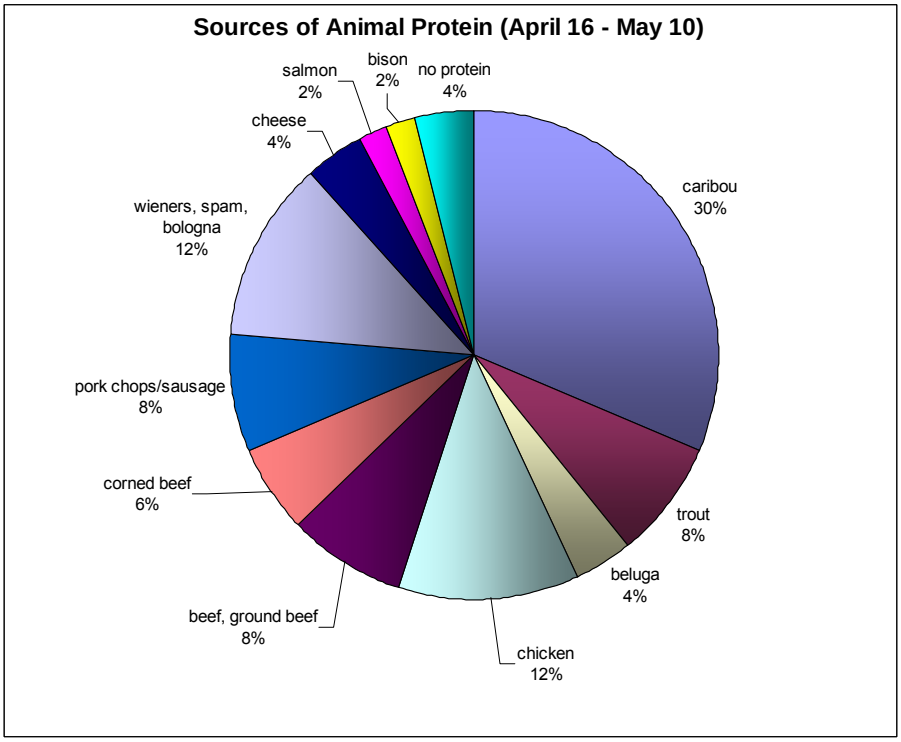
January 14 – February 28, 2004, and from April 15 – May 15, 2004 in which country food and store-bought animal protein was served. Figure 4 indicates the protein choices of that family, and gives insight into the seasonal variation of their diet.

Figure 4 does not include afternoon or evening snacks which often consisted of frozen or raw fish and caribou dipped in fermented beluga or walrus (igunaaq). Figure 4 is biased in favour of the amount of store-bought protein sources consumed. Angie said she was concerned that I might consume too much food because I was not accustomed to it. She would often purchase store-bought food with the extra cash I contributed to the family income[16], explaining she did not want me to feel lonely for the south.

[16] I contributed between $700-$800/ month to the family income during the time I lived with the Eetaks. The Eetaks used portions of this money to buy imported food.

Figure 4 Sources of animal protein of an Arviat Ahiarmiut family.





Most Arviat families relied on a combination of income from the traditional economy supplemented by social assistance and pension cheques. This combination contributed to a monthly cycle of feast and famine for low income families. When the social-assistance cheque arrived, much was spent on highly processed foods such as large boxes of pre-cooked breaded chicken pieces, bags of expensive brand name fries, pizzas and containers of ice cream. Relatives and friends came to visit and the people ate copiously when there was an abundance of food. Most of the food bought with social-assistance cheques was consumed in one or two meals. Leftovers were finished the following day, and the rest of the month Inuit relied on country food or the generosity of others. For hunting families, country food was readily available, but for non-hunting families without consistent access to country food, the diet during the last two weeks of the month consisted mainly of bannock and black tea with sugar. During these times, it was common for Inuit to beg from extended relatives, asking for food or other supplies. Others made mournful pleas over the local radio station and by CB.

First observations might suggest Inuit were not managing their food and lifestyle appropriately when a whole week or month's supply of food was consumed in a day. Closer examination suggests that these Inuit *were* budgeting their food, but the measure was not based on individual or nuclear family provisioning, but on wider kinship relations and systems of reciprocity.

Inuit walked into relative's homes, opened refrigerators and asked for caribou roasts, char and other country food when their own supplies had run out. The giving relatives would act likewise later in the month when the receiving relatives obtained their pay or family allowance cheques. However this system only worked for families whose members had

similar socio-economic status or complementary resources.

Extended family members who were persistently without food or money and did not participate in a relatively balanced reciprocal relationship with the larger group were criticized, treated with scorn and told there was no food available. Angie and Mark Eetak set aside small portions of sugar, no-name margarine and small packets of teabags in their cupboard for when the "beggar" relatives came to call. They said the offered food portions were all they had and relatives continued along the circuit to visit others who may have had something else to give.

A traditional family meal in many Inuit homes involved sitting on the floor around a large mound of caribou parts, both raw and cooked, caribou bones filled with fresh marrow, beluga maktaaq, and perhaps some frozen or home-canned arctic char placed on clean collapsed cardboard boxes in the centre of the kitchen floor. When prepubescent children were in the home, they were often naked[17] and ate their meals sitting on or around the collapsed box with the adults. Before one meal, I had paid the hunter/father gas money for a caribou hunting trip we planned to take the next morning. Immediately following the meal, the hunter took the money and went to the store to buy a carton of Pepsi and a jumbo sized bag of potato chips to treat his wife and children, and some snuff for himself. He said he would find other money for gas later.

Hunting families with middle-aged bilingual cooks often innovated with their cooking, and substituted caribou for beef in common southern-style recipes, such as spaghetti with meat sauce, pizza, lasagne and shepherd's pie. However, the loss of cooking and food-

[17] Many Inuit kept the heat in their homes turned up high, often exceeding 28°C.

preparation skills among young parents was a cause for concern. The skills of many young parents were limited to heating a can of soup or a box of Minute Rice, despite the fact that many had capable older cooks (usually a mother or grandmother) in the house. Extreme overcrowding and poor housing conditions contributed to the lack of knowledge transfer regarding food preparation and cooking skills. In many Inuit homes, the tiny cooking area did not accommodate more than one person at a time.

Hunters took a variety of store-bought food with them on the land, but cooked or frozen caribou meat was still a staple.

> Today if I were to go out hunting for food, foxes or fish. I always bring with me some southern food, like crackers, bologna, tea, etc. But bringing and relying on those only creates a heartburn in a lot of Inuit, so to calm that and insure that you will not be uncomfortable, hunters always bring along some meat [caribou] because that is always the best antidote for heartburn. – Jimmy Muckpah

Inuit enjoyed watching Qablunaat eat some types of country food and were quick to tell others how well their Qablunaaq was able to tolerate it. However, when truly Inuit foods were eaten by non-Inuit, the reactions ranged from surprise to shock. The eating of heads and hoofs often elicited a surprised reaction and a comment: “That is not Qablunaat food”. Caribou stomach was considered “too Inuit” and definitely was not to be eaten by Qablunaat. On one occasion, a middle-aged woman came to visit my host and was offered piaraujaq (cached caribou) and igunaaq (fermented beluga oil). The visitor’s face lit up with anticipation until she noticed me. Then she gave an audible shriek and exclaimed: “Nauk! Qablunaaq!” A similar discomfort was shown when I visited a bilingual senior. With embarrassment, he dismissed the caribou pieces sitting on a collapsed box in the kitchen saying “Oh, that’s dog food”.

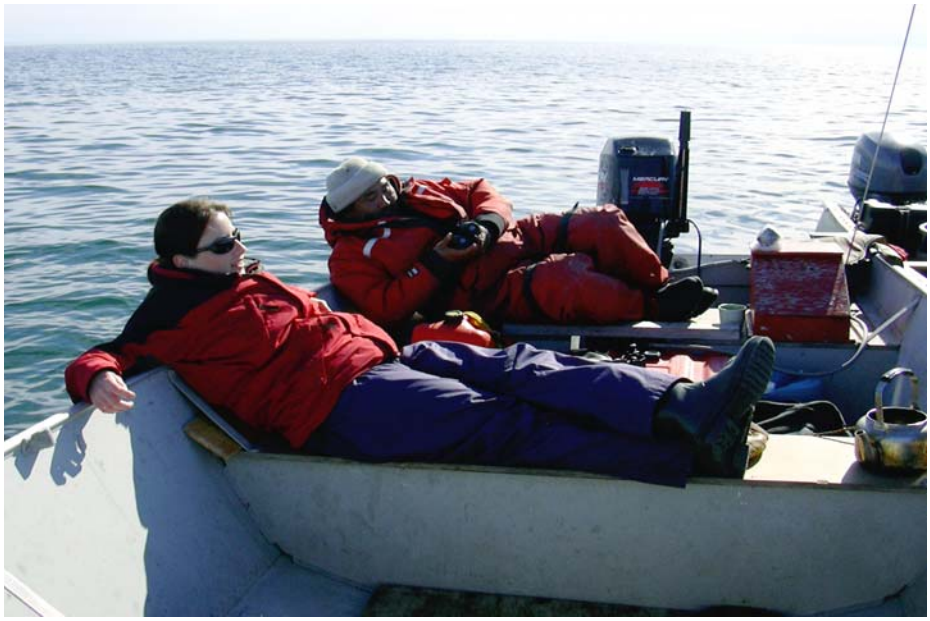
Chapter Five concerns the politics of beluga and involves resistance to co-management in Nunavik and Nunavut. According to Scott (1990:xi) the "degree structures of domination can be demonstrated to operate in comparable ways, they will, other things equal, elicit reactions and patterns of resistance that are also broadly comparable".

Inuit concepts of health, wellbeing and identity are strongly interconnected with the land. To be healthy is to be Inuk, and to be Inuk means having the knowledge and ability to relate to the land in Inuit ways: having physical, mental and economic means to be mobile on the land and participating in land activities throughout the year. It means being physically and mentally active from hunting and other land activities; being aware and maintaining proper relations with other Inuit and the land; having a strong mind and the ability to adapt TK to a dynamic landscape; alleviating stress, learning patience, enduring hardships through engaging in land activities; meeting daily needs and responsibilities through hunting, carving and sewing; increasing physical strength and identity by eating country foods, breathing fresh air, drinking clean water from streams. Ill health was associated with eating imported foods, remaining in the hamlet and being subject to externally created regulations, laws, rules and persistent government scrutiny.

These connections between the Inuit sense of health, wellbeing, and the land have strong implications for the co-management of beluga and marine mammals in the Kivalliq.



Frank Naturasungnik scanning the horizon for beluga.



Much of an intensive beluga hunter's time is spent dozing, listening to the CB and storytelling.



Setting char nets while waiting for beluga to arrive.



Netting beluga; a second boat will corral them into the net.



Intensive hunters wait on the point or anchor their boats offshore while waiting for beluga.



Isaac Levi readies his harpoon with float.



A large male is struck and races off with surprising strength and speed.



Isaac takes careful aim and repeatedly shoots the whale.



When a bullet found its mark, the beluga slapped its tail violently against the water.



Isaac begins to cut large slabs of outer skin with two - three inches of blubber.



Maktaaq is very oily and difficult to handle.



Too slippery to handle, Isaac ties the slabs of maktaaq together and drags it to the boat.



The gulls arrive for a feast before the carcass is washed out with the next tide.



This powerful boat landed and rendered four belugas in less time than we took to harvest two.



The second catch of the day was a young female. She too charged the boat before dying.

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Chapter Five: The politics of beluga

Padlirmiut and Aivilingmiut hunters turned their attention to beluga from August to mid-September. There were two main categories of beluga harvesters within Arviat. The first group was "intensive hunters" (Priest and Usher 2004) who spent most days out on the land or on Hudson Bay hunting and harvesting country food. Intensive hunters represented primarily the economically poor who did not have access to powerful equipment or sufficient money for fuel (Suluk and Blakney, 2008). As a result their harvesting capacity was relatively low, although they spent most of their time in harvesting activities. The second group of Arviat hunters was "occasional hunters" (Priest and Usher 2004) and, because of their sheer numbers, this group was not surveyed in Arviat. The occasional hunter group included those who hunted on weekends or after work (Suluk and Blakney 2008). It consisted mainly of government workers who had good salaries and were able to purchase high-powered boats, motors, equipment and fuel. These hunters were often reported by community members as going out after work or on a weekend and harvesting 10 or more beluga per outing because they had the resources to cover large areas of the Hudson Bay quickly. I went beluga hunting with the first group because they needed money for fuel, and knew I would pay $40-$50/trip for gas. The wealthier occasional hunters offered to let me accompany them on their boats while whale hunting, but became hard to find in good hunting weather; perhaps an example of what Kulchyski (2006) refers to as the yes that means no.

Hunters typically said they hunted with "anyone who wants to go". However, hunting partners tended to be other family members, particularly brothers, cousins or father – son

teams. Wives or sisters sometimes went on the larger boats to help process the carcasses. Relatedness was not a strict rule, but it was the preferred choice, making it easier to distribute maktaaq through family-based networks.

One method used by families to catch beluga involved using 50 – 100 yard-long-gill nets with a one foot^2 mesh size. The net was held in place by buoys and anchored. Two boats were normally used: one boat stayed near the net while the other gently corralled the beluga into the net. The hunter(s) then shot the whales quickly to prevent them from drowning, and dragged them to shore for processing.

Inuit traditionally hunted with harpoons and speared the beluga through the soft flesh just behind blowhole and into the brain to kill it. In 2004 Arviat hunters preferred to use a harpoon and a rifle. Most hunters attached a float (an empty five-gallon plastic gas container) to the harpoon, so the struck mammal can be tracked. The beluga was ideally killed with one or two rifle shots to the lungs. Some hunters used rifles only, but this was quietly frowned upon because of the number of animals struck and lost. During one hunting trip, I was surprised to see a small boat aggressively chasing three belugas. Two original elders excitedly fired their rifles repeatedly at the fleeing mammals. My Padlirmiut hunting partners looked embarrassed at what I had seen, and one quietly offered the explanation: “Maybe the elders hadn’t been out for a long time and got a bit over-excited?” (Frank Nutarasungnik).

Once the mammals were killed, a rope was tied around their tails and they were hauled onto one of the many islands off Arviat or onto the point. This procedure preferably happened during high tide so the hunter could tie the beluga to a rock and wait for the receding tide to beach it for harvesting. The maktaaq was removed and the hunters left the carcass for the next

tide to carry it out into Hudson Bay. Carcasses left on the point were occasionally harvested for dog food before being carried away by the tide. Arviarmiut eat maktaaq but they did not eat whale meat. When necessary, they said it was consumed to pacify animal-rights activists.

DFO field staff urged hunters to drag harvested beluga carcasses into the Bay away from the community but this procedure seldom happened because of the need for more gas, time and energy. Moreover, hunters with small boats did not have the power to drag a beached whale into the water, and it was unrealistic to expect them to wait for the next tide to dislodge the carcass so they could tow it out into the Bay, a process that would have occurred naturally anyway.

Frank Nutarasungnik, his brother James and I went beluga hunting in mid August. We had planned to go in the morning, but the wind and fog delayed our trip until afternoon. Once the fog lifted, we went to the point to join other resource-poor hunters waiting for the beluga to make an appearance. A few other small boats dotted the bay, anchored for most of the day to preserve fuel. The occupants sometimes talked softly to others in nearby boats but most of the time they crouched near their CBs, quietly listening to conversations of others while cleaning and sharpening their knives. Every couple of hours they took out their thermoses of tea and ate pilot biscuits. A few carried Coleman stoves to make soup, and silently motioned for others to come tie their boats, share lunch and discuss (in hushed tones) families, game and the strange ways of Qablunaat.

While waiting for belugas, hunters set their char nets close to shore where these fish tend to feed. There were not many char that year. Maybe, the hunters speculated, it was because of the noise from young people racing up and down the point on their ATVs.

Belugas apparently stay close to shore where the food is located unless they are scared into deeper waters. Thus, the men kept a close watch on the shoreline. Experienced hunters do not aggressively chase beluga but try to calmly move in close to them. They do not like to stress the animal because the maktaaq is not as good. “Sometimes when the calves are in the water, they grab onto the rudder of the boat and shake it around a bit” (Frank Naturasungnik).

Once a pod of beluga was spotted and the target animal was determined, the hunter holding the harpoon moved up onto the bow of the boat and, depending on his skill and balance, either stood or crouched with harpoon lifted high in the air and poised to strike. The hunter steering the boat did not look at the water or at the beluga but kept his eyes fixed on the harpoon. The harpoon was held in different positions to signify when the driver was to turn right, go left, straight, speed up and slow down. Attempting to watch the water or the belugas would inevitably throw the hunter perched on top of the bow off balance and possibly into the icy waters of Hudson Bay.

In early September, I again went hunting with Frank Nutarasungnik and Isaac Levi, another Inuk hunter whom I guessed to be in his late 30s. We made our way out to the point and were met by another small boat dragging a beluga back to the hamlet. The hunter indicated there were many belugas at the point and, as we neared the area, we saw a pod of 20 – 30 mammals. We moved quietly toward the group, circling around in front of them. It was important not to scare or frighten them. Nutarasungnik did not take a direct route towards the pod, but moved in and out from different directions, which the whales may have interpreted as curious behaviour rather than hunting or stalking activity. The whales called back and forth to each other.

Nutarasungnik singled out a small group of mammals while Levi attached the tip to his harpoon and line. As we neared the belugas they swam back and forth in front of the boat switching sides repeatedly. It was impossible to see where they were in relation to the front of the boat; it was necessary to watch the position of Levi's harpoon for directions. Levi targeted a large male and thrust the harpoon into its side. The beluga dove and swam with enormous speed dragging the float around the rocky point. Levi grabbed his rifle and shot the whale in the stomach to slow it down; ideally, the whale would then be shot once or twice in the lungs to end its suffering. On earlier hunts, I witnessed this technique being used by hunters. However on this occasion what followed was not the ideal kill.

Instead of shooting the beluga through its lungs, Levi shot at its enormously thick skull, which bullets could not penetrate. The first several shots did not appear to affect the whale other than release blood. However, as the hits increased, the whale started thrashing, twisting and spinning around. The shots continued as the whale leaped up into the air, twisted and slapped its tail hard on the water. In the process, the heavy metal harpoon shaft was bent double from being driven into the rocks on the bottom of the bay. The shooter kept finding his mark until the whale turned to ram the boat. The beluga's action surprised me but the hunters were prepared; they had experienced this reaction before. Nutarasungnik dodged the charging mammal and quickly raised the motor out of the water so the anguished beluga would not grab it. I was concerned that the whale would butt the little boat and overturn us, but the hunters seemed unconcerned. The next rifle shot found its place in the lungs and the whale heaved and gasped for breath. A final shot and the whale ceased to struggle.

Levi and Nutarasungnik hooked the beluga's tail and pulled it into position along the

side of the boat. Once secured, the beluga was pulled to the rocky point. The tide was high and just starting to retreat, so Levi tied the rope around a large bolder to anchor the whale on shore for rendering. The metal harpoon rod was bent back into shape and another tip was attached. Several other belugas were seen still swimming slowly through the blood trail as if pondering what had happened to the male.

One small beluga kept swimming slowly back and forth near where the dead male was tied. She seemed unaware of the approaching hunters, or perhaps confused by the loss of the male. She offered no resistance as the bullets pelted her skull—not until near the end when she also suddenly turned and charged the boat. One more bullet and she, too, was gone.

In the time it took us to render our two whales, more than 12 other boats arrived to join in the hunt. One high-speed boat belonged to the elusive hunter mentioned earlier. He and his crew of three pulled in four whales in the same time it took us to harvest maktaaq from our two. The carcasses from all beluga harvested that day were left on land waiting to be washed out to sea with the next tide.

Beluga males weigh approximately 1300 kilograms; 60% or about 800 kg is meat and skeleton, and 40%, or about 520 kilograms, is maktaaq (Pierre Richard, DFO, Winnipeg, personal communication). Raw maktaaq has very high nutritional value.

> *Montage*: oscillating in and out of oneself: feeling sensations so intensely that you become the stuff sensed. But then you are standing outside the experience and coldly analyzing it … (Taussig 1987: 443).

Resistance to beluga management

Cultures and people do not develop in isolation from each other. As stated in the Introduction,

cultures and identity are shaped and reshaped by interaction with their environment, other people and cultures (Tausig 1986; Bhabha 1994; Bourdieau 1999).

As shown in the previous chapter, Inuit perceptions of health, wellbeing and the land are tightly interconnected; to be healthy is to be Inuk, and being Inuk means having the knowledge and ability to relate to the land in Inuit ways, and the ability to adapt that knowledge to a dynamic environment for practical purposes. In this chapter I summarize ten years of Nunatsiaq News stories regarding beluga harvesting activities in Nunavik. The account reveals a Nunavimiut belief that restrictions on local harvesting activities affected their ability to be Inuk. The outcome of Nunavik's harvesting restrictions and limitations was resistance to integrated management efforts, and the spread of tension to areas outside Nunavik. Across the Hudson Strait, Inuit in Nunavut monitored the situation and communicated their understanding of the situation throughout Nunavut communities. In 2004, the iteration of reports ignited fear of impending regulations for Arviat and accelerated the contestation over the nature, status and control of IQ in Arviat.

The reference point for many Inuit leaders and hunters for discussions of beluga co-management was the time when the American and European whalers depleted the populations. Inuit also referred to the more recent the collapse of cod stocks on the East Coast and wondered why scientific management was given so much weight in decision-making when glaring examples of failure exist. Questions over the legitimacy of scientific information and the perceived inability of management to change the status quo led many Inuit hunters to take actions that could negatively affect beluga populations.

> While there is some edible stock still around, the Inuit probably feel that they should get a share before the resources become depleted in the same manner as

> took place elsewhere. Many Inuit hunters feel that if renewable resources are going to become depleted anyway, then they might as well get as much of a share as they can and let governments worry about future generations. – Thomas Suluk

In the early years of the land claim negotiation, older unilingual Inuit leaders quickly realized that governments liked to talk about proper management procedures and Inuit governing their own affairs. According to Thomas Suluk, Inuit leaders did not mind talking about the concepts of joint management, total allowable harvests and limitations because they did not think it would ever affect them in a significant way. The Inuit population was small and Inuit thought there would always be enough beluga and other country food to meet the needs of the beneficiaries. However, as negotiations stretched on over the years and Inuit populations increased, the leaders concluded that they should develop or borrow wise sayings from southern Aboriginal groups to safeguard their access to the beluga and other country food.

> … [P]opulations increased and the Inuit came to the conclusion that they should take the resources and develop sayings such as "… the caribou will always be able to increase their production somehow, in the same way that the geese multiplied in numbers now that they were hunted". How long this kind of theory can work for them is anybody's guess because once governments realize something then their interest and intent is to govern, to put some restrictions, to slow things down and do things in an orderly way. With demands by communities for more government and government services, the people that get selected for jobs are mostly non-Inuit. So many Inuit with less formal education figure that their only resources are to be able to hunt renewable resources and to live and to get some meat from the country. – Thomas Suluk

Notice that the political use of TK did not come into effect until the resources were seen as becoming scarce. According to Suluk, when Inuit say: "as long as we hunt the population will increase", this message was not part of their TK but was a contemporary strategy to keep government away from the resources, and to allow continued unrestricted hunting for elders

and senior hunters.

> It's not something that can be referred to as traditional knowledge, because it is something that was developed and catches on as a way of bolstering your position if you wish to continue with unrestricted hunting of any particular wildlife resource. – Thomas Suluk

This example highlights another aspect of the contested discourse regarding TK in the north. As mentioned in the Introduction, survival in a dynamic environment requires an adaptive knowledge system that incorporates and uses new information to meet emerging challenges. The ability to incorporate new information depends on how well that information fits or interconnects with the existing way of doing things. Maladaptation occurs when attempts are made to incorporate non-contextualized knowledge into TK. Arviarmiut did not always have appropriate or complete place-based information. At times, disconnected bits of information and vague recollections of the land or from the land claim era and were incorporated into TK. At other times TK was constructed from hearsay from the Nunavik region. Here, Suluk maintains that *occasionally* information from other Aboriginal groups was strategically incorporated into TK by Inuit leaders to bolster their bargaining position. Suluk continues by saying that the strategy worked well for a time, but then the consequences of unrestrained hunting became evident and Nunavut Inuit seemed unable to slow the trend.

> …[T]he lakes around communities for example, they are slowly being depleted of fish, trout, and people are having to go further and further. Now some of the whale species [are decreasing]. There has been some talk of restrictions in Baffin Island and in Quebec. So some of the more vigorous hunters have moved to the southern Keewatin parts where they are still plentiful. – Thomas Suluk

> Even our Nunavut Inuit negotiators went to Quebec to negotiate to try and curb Quebec hunters from going over and taking too much from Hudson Bay waters. But by referring to them as Nunavut stock, they ran into a block

> themselves and have yet to reach any kind of a real agreement. – Thomas Suluk.

The history of beluga management in the eastern Arctic has long been immersed in dispute and conflict. Most of the tensions involved Nunavik communities in northern Québec, but the events in Nunavik were continuously monitored in Nunavut and news spread through communication networks at the political, local and family levels. Below, I review events and discussions regarding beluga management in Nunavik to provide context and background for the attitudes found in Arviat in 2004.

For many years, disagreements between science and TK regarding the status of the beluga populations in Nunavik made the annual beluga harvest a sensitive issue for governments and northern communities (Anonymous 1998a). Hunters along the Hudson Strait and north-eastern Hudson Bay saw many belugas migrating through the area, but DFO biologists asserted the diminished state of the populations could be seen in the shrinking number of animals that summered in the river estuaries. In 1993, a survey of the Hudson Bay beluga aggregates reported 23,000 beluga in western Hudson Bay, 1400 along the eastern shore and 2500 in James Bay. The numbers in Ungava Bay were so low they could not be counted. As a result, the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) listed the eastern Hudson Bay beluga population as “threatened” and the Ungava Bay stock as “endangered” or near extinction (Anonymous 1998a).

Concerns over the eastern Hudson Bay beluga numbers were heightened in October 1995 when DFO found the abandoned carcasses and meat from 43 belugas near Ivujivik (See Nunavik map above). Community members expressed disgust and sadness at the situation, but no one was willing to talk about the kill for of fear of reprisals from the ones responsible

(Phillips 1995).

After extensive consultation with communities, Makivik and the NWMB, DFO unveiled the Northern Québec Management Plan in 1995 (Phillips 1995). The plan contained several conservation strategies such as following quotas, avoiding wastage, controlling net use, and protecting females, calves and juveniles. It also contained other guidelines such as not shooting beluga from land unless the hunter had the means to retrieve the whale. According to Mimi Breton (DFO, Northern Québec) Nunavimmiut decided to do it this way because they were concerned over the impact that the growing number of hunters and improved hunting technology was having on the regional beluga population (George 1998a). A total allowable catch was also set: 18 belugas for each eastern Hudson Bay community, 25 belugas for each Hudson Strait community, and 10 belugas for each Ungava Bay community that were to be harvested outside Ungava Bay from the migrating western Hudson Bay population (Anonymous 1998a).

However well-intended, problems with the plan emerged in the implementation phase. Nunavik hunters ignored the quotas and hunting regulations. In 1997, the Hudson Strait communities exceeded their quota by 24 *reported* animals. In beluga-rich Ivujivik, the subsistence harvest was reported as only one female with calf (Anonymous 1998a) and highlighted the community's continued resistance to reporting catches. Ungava Bay communities reported going over their quota by eight belugas, four of which were taken within the Bay (Anonymous 1998a). When confronted by Ninguik, an Inuk DFO officer, the response was "Why are you trying to stop our traditional hunt?" Ningiuk answered he was not trying to stop the hunting but he wanted something left for the young people to hunt. Ningiuk

was convinced the belugas along the eastern coast were in trouble, but getting hunters to respect quotas or to take conservation measures was difficult. Many in Nunavik were alarmed that hunters were "openly flouting quotas and hunting regulations" and wasting meat, but not all the overkill was intentional. Hunters in isolated camps may have seen beluga and taken advantage of the resource while it was accessible; not knowing their kill would put the community over their allotment (George 1998a). It is also likely that they did not trust the numbers supplied by surveys.

The following year, hunters again questioned the necessity of the strict quotas and protective regulations. They reported seeing many more beluga in Ungava Bay and in Hudson Strait and thousands of beluga migrating into Hudson Bay. "We're quite sure that there's no shortage of beluga, according to our traditional knowledge," said one Ivujivik resident. "I think that the quotas will be dropped as soon as they find out the real truth, if they take the time to check it. They should live here and eat here" (George 1998a). In this discourse, the clash of two knowledge systems (traditional and western) and the unequal power relations that animated it came into play. Although the integrated management plan was developed after extensive consultation with the local harvesters, resistance to the plan emerged due to the scarcity of resources, and the disempowerment of Inuit in controlling their livelihoods. The dominant western knowledge system promoted scientific management (management-from-afar) and its associated system of aerial surveys and stock assessments as the source of legitimate and factual information. On the other hand, Inuit inverted the strategies (Kulchyski 1992) of scientific management, and asserted the local specificity and cultural interconnectivity of TK to challenge the legitimacy of scientific management.

In the distribution of regional quotas, Nunavik gave each community the same allotment regardless of its population.

> They took their quota and divided it by the number of communities. Whether you were a community of 500 or 5000, you got the same number of belugas. – Joanne Rose, DFO Iqaluit

DFO was certain this would cause tension among the communities but the communities disagreed. Consequently, in 1997, Purvirnituq took nearly double its quota of 18 belugas. Few other beluga catches were reported for fear DFO would reduce the quota further or close the hunt for the entire region even when the other communities had not reached their individual quotas (George 1998a).

The co-management arrangement across Hudson Strait in Nunavut appeared to be working. DFO and Nunavut cooperated on controversial issues, and better communication was fostered between bureaucrats, biologists and harvesters through the presence of 11 DFO employees in Iqaluit. But in Nunavik, "poor public relations and long-distance administration could be responsible for the failure of Nunavik's beluga management plan" (George 1998a). Relationships in Inuit communities were built on long-term, face-to-face interaction, so when long-term supervisors moved from Nunavik to Ottawa, no one was left in the region who had earned credibility and the trust of Nunavik communities.

Instead, under the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy, DFO funded six local fishery guardians and a community agent in each community to gather harvesting data and to act as a liaison between DFO and the community. Federal fisheries officers occasionally patrolled off Nunavik's coastline. DFO would enforce quota infractions with respect to commercially harvested stocks in non-native communities. The lack of enforcement of the subsistence

beluga hunt was seen as a goodwill gesture because maktaaq was worth hundreds of dollars in saved food purchases (George 1998a). Similar to Scott's (1998) discussion of power relations between dominant and subordinate cultures, DFO sought the approval of the Inuit in Nunavik. The government did not realize that the dispute would never be resolved as long as the status quo remained unchanged.

The controversy between hunters and scientists continued in the summer of 1998, over whether the beluga travelling through the area represented one population or if they were dealing with two or more distinct populations (George 1998b). The Makavik Research Centre (Makivik Research Centre) and DFO embarked on a joint sampling program, realizing that its success depended on support from the hunters for collecting blood, tooth and skin samples. Makivik Research Centre looked for signs of contaminants or parasite toxoplasmosis in belugas while DFO worked to determine the populations to which the beluga belonged. The results of the study would potentially be used to raise or lower the beluga quotas, depending on which populations the communities hunted (George 1998b).

The NWMB in Nunavut was also following the research to ascertain whether their Sanikiluaq hunters were hunting from the eastern or Hudson Bay belugas or, as the hunters believed, the more numerous western stock (George 1998b). The populations harvested by Iqaluit and Kimmirut showed no decline, so their quotas were replaced by a monitoring system in which all beluga struck, killed and lost would be documented. Pangnirtung's quota of 35 belugas remained in place because that population was small and the community filled their quota each year. Genetic sampling determined that the three communities harvested three different stocks (Anonymous 1998b).

However, Nunavik hunters repeatedly exceeded their beluga quotas. Communities along the eastern coast of Hudson Bay (Puvirnituq particularly) said it was not fair that Hudson Strait hunters could take 25 belugas per community, whereas they were only allowed 18. Communities now said the beluga management plan had been negotiated with limited community input and participation, and called for dropping the quota system altogether (George 1999).

Paulusi Novalinga (Nunavik Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Association) said:

> Many are saying "Let's get rid of the quotas". We have our own traditional way not to waste animals, and we have our traditional ways to keep people from hunting more than they need … hunters want to conserve stocks and try to kill males instead of females or young beluga. They also want to do something about the effect of noise pollution from boats on beluga migration (George 1999).

However, DFO's stand was firm. Hunters wanted the current quotas increased because their communities' populations were growing, but DFO's emphasis was on conservation for future generations. DFO examined the hunters' perception that the beluga populations could support a larger hunt but concluded that killer whales were causing belugas to circle around and the hunters were seeing the same groups more than once (George 1999). It is not within the scope of my work to determine the reasons for the differences in perceptions of the hunters and the DFO scientists, nor is it is it for me to determine the accuracy of their views.

Nevertheless, communities continued each year to exceed quotas and hunters hunted in protected areas and during closed seasons. One elder stated that he was not greedy, he needed to eat maktaaq to feel strong. Others said the quotas were hurting Inuit values of sharing and honesty, causing Inuit to take as much as they could. Others snuck their catch into the community after dark so that their kill would not be recorded. Jimmy Johannes

(Anguvigak HTO) stated: “There’s not a person here who has followed the management plan”. Since the plan came into effect “it has been widely ignored, flaunted and trashed”. Novalinga said “We are not stupid, but if someone imposes a rule, it seems as if we won’t follow it” (George 2000, Nov 3).

DFO managers were compelled by departmental mandates to interact with Inuit on terms dictated by a scientific management regime. As managers attempted to implement beluga management plans, Nunavik hunters overtly defied the plans that they themselves had helped develop. Inuit asserted their health, wellbeing and identity as people of the land was affected by their lack of control over their lives and resources; their ability to ‘be Inuk’ was at stake. Thus Nunavik hunters seized the symbol of western dominance (scientific management), openly questioned its authority and integrity, and asserted their own knowledge system in its place.

The quota situation in Nunavik was monitored across the strait in Nunavut. Amidst fear that DFO quotas would be imposed in their territory, Iqaluit’s HTO reported 26 beluga kills. DFO’s response was since Nunavut hunters had reported the kills and their numbers were lower than in previous reports, quotas were unlikely that year (Anonymous 2000). However, the quota system remained in place in Nunavik because scientists determined that the beluga population along the eastern Hudson Bay had steadily decreased and the age of the harvested animals had dropped dramatically.

Hunters continued to say they trusted more in TK than scientific methods, and again refused to supply beluga samples to DFO to determine the origin of the populations (George 2001a). Johnny Oovaut (Quaqtaq Mayor) said: “The government is basically telling us we

don't know how to plan". He went on to say that more restrictive quotas would likely lead to more violations. There was fear that DFO would step in and enforce the quotas but DFO had no intention of increasing their presence in Nunavik because the area was far too vast. Instead, DFO sought collaboration from hunters, more aerial surveys and a study of the effect of noise on beluga (George 2001a). Oovaut was not convinced. "They're really focused on their work… Maybe they feel because they're scientists that their work is infallible, but they don't see some of the behaviour of whales" (George 2001a).

DFO suggested that Nunavik harvesters reduce their take of eastern Hudson Bay belugas from 90 to 30, and take an additional 30 mammals from the larger James Bay populations. Ungava Bay hunters were urged to stop harvesting in August and take 50 belugas from the healthier, migrating James Bay and Hudson Strait population at other times during the summer and autumn (George 2001b).

Despite DFO's warnings about diminishing stocks, Nunavik HTOs proposed a new management plan in May 2001, in which community quotas were increased to 25 belugas each, raising the regional quota from 240 to 370 belugas and reflecting the belief that populations in the Hudson Strait, Ungava Bay and eastern Hudson Bay were healthy. Novalinga again claimed hunters would control the harvest, not kill females or calves, and stay out of the protected areas of Ungava Bay and sensitive river estuaries during calving season. Hunters also agreed to actively participate in sampling projects to help scientists determine to which populations the beluga belonged and to help estimate the population numbers. In return, DFO would complete population surveys in the Ungava and Hudson Bay. An earlier proposal by DFO to have Nunavik's hunters travel to western Hudson Bay or

James Bay to hunt was unacceptable. Hunters refused to hunt elsewhere when they believed there were ample stocks locally, and they would never hunt elsewhere unless the government paid for extra fuel (George 2001c).

A new beluga management plan was signed in July 2001 and gave hunters what they asked, responsibility over how the hunt was conducted. Communities were to:

> …organize the hunt, establish a code of conduct for hunters, improve communications between those involved in beluga management, and cooperate with fisheries guardians and scientists in the reporting and sampling of kills (George 2001d).

DFO was free to move in and regulate the harvest if the communities failed. The quotas were set for the region while community quotas remained more flexible. The Ungava Bay and eastern Hudson Bay quotas were raised to 25 belugas per community from 10 and 18, respectively, and the Hudson Strait quotas were raised to 30 belugas from 25. The former management plan was in effect for five years, but the new plan could be changed in three years or as needed. DFO would also be responsible for aerial surveys of the beluga population each August (George 2001d).

One of the measures in the new plan was to direct the hunt toward adult males and to avoid killing female–calf pairs unless the threat of human starvation was immediate. According to Makivik Research Centre and DFO, hunters had not been sparing the females and the average age of the whales harvested was decreasing, indicating that the older males had been mostly killed off. Other measures included limiting the use of nets and promoting the practice of harpooning with attached floats before shooting the whales. Communities were to cut down on waste by developing a system to take care of the excess maktaaq and meat. Hunters were prohibited from selling beluga parts in favour of traditional values of sharing

(George 2001d).

However, the management plan designed by Nunavik hunters was "already in shambles" after two months. Members of Inukjuak's municipal council urged hunters to take beluga near their community and not report kills to DFO (George 2001e). In Kuujjuaq, hunters killed young beluga in early August even though the plan asked hunters to avoid hunting in the Ungava Bay region and to spare the females, juveniles and calves. Hunters in Quaqtaq opted out of the management plan entirely (George 2001e). "The people in my community are saying they can manage themselves. They know what to do" (Johnny Oovaut, Quaqtaq Mayor). "We really don't need them to tell us how to hunt. We support the idea that we can manage our own whales. If we felt they were endangered we would do something about it" (George 2001e). The "plan put too much pressure on the hunters" and "in my opinion, the plan doesn't respect hunters' knowledge" (Harry Okpik, Quaqtaq HTO). Quaqtaq hunters disagreed with scientific evidence that the beluga stocks were declining (George 2001e).

No one knew how much the 2001 hunt exceeded the regional quota because of underreporting. Resistance to the management plans and the use of scientific information generated from aerial surveys caused Ivujivik, at the tip of Hudson Strait, to report only 13 belugas. Quaqtaq and Salliut harvested more than their quota before the season opened. Sampling was also down throughout the region and DFO had difficulty getting hunters to properly handle the few samples that were collected (George 2002a).

Hunters and many community members refused to accept the result of aerial surveys. "They can't see what we can see" (Sarollie Weetaluktuk, Inukjuak Councillor). However,

there were also enormous differences in the number of recorded beluga sightings by hunters.

> In Kuujjuraapik, 2,160 belugas were sighted, while in neighbouring Umiujaq, only 300 belugas were seen. In Kangiqsujuaq, hunters reported seeing 2,876 belugas, while in Ivujivik, a place well known for its hordes of migrating beluga, hunters said they saw only 53 animals. Only a few hundred belugas were sighted in the Ungava Bay, reflecting the low population numbers usually cited by wildlife biologists." (George 2002a).

Regional and federal officials decided to organize elders who would share TK about belugas and encourage sound management practices (George 2002a).

In March of 2002, Nunavik hunters were again warned by DFO [Mt. Joli] biologist, Mike Hammill to reduce their hunt or within 15 years all beluga would be gone from eastern Hudson Bay. Hunters answered with complaints that it was the noise from boats that drove the beluga away. Hammill offered the following explanation on the effects of boat noise on beluga:

> Northerners tend to say, 'Well, the whales have just moved offshore,' but when you look offshore through aerial surveys you can't account for 2,000 missing whales. Then people say, 'Well, they've just gone into James Bay or gone into Western Hudson Bay,' but if you look at the satellite telemetry [tracking] data you see the whales just go offshore and then come in shore. They go back and forth. This, to us, indicates that they aren't leaving the territory. They're hanging around during the summer and the reason why we've lost 2,000 whales isn't a problem of migration but that they've been shot or killed (Hammill in Nelson 2003a).

Novalinga expressed frustration that Nunavik's beluga management plan was not respected by hunters. Makivik also urged its hunters to take the quotas more seriously while shifting blame to the Hudson Bay Company for slaughtering whales in the 1800s, and pollutants from nearby industry (George 2002e).

As the perceived threat of extinction grew, DFO called for a moratorium on all beluga hunting along the eastern Hudson and Ungava Bays again and drastic cutbacks in the Hudson

Strait. However, Charlie Alaku (Kangiqsujuaq Mayor) again said that he had serious problems with DFO's proposal. The estimates of numbers differed greatly between DFO and elders. Makivik Corporation suggested that, to stop hunting, DFO pay hunters $500,000 in compensation because hunters would have to buy imported food (George 2002c).

In June 2002, DFO finally closed the beluga hunt in the Ungava Bay and eastern Hudson Bay. Quotas of 15 belugas per community were left for the Hudson Strait communities. Hunters from Ungava Bay and eastern Hudson Bay were told they had travel to either Hudson Strait or James Bay if they wanted beluga. Some hunters wanted to go instead to western Hudson Bay but the Nunavut Inuit did not want them hunting in their territory.

> Then they had the idea that they could go across to Western Hudson Bay and hunt over there. Well, they can't really do that because of Nunavut and they are Nunivimiut and people would get a little excited and say "you can't hunt here but we'll hunt for you" So then they had to figure out a way that was legal because it was crossing territorial boundaries. So they figured out a way around that. – Joanne Rose, DFO Iqaluit

Instead, Nunavut Inuit said they could purchase maktaaq from Nunavut communities. But the Nunavik hunters said they were reluctant to eat wildlife killed by other Inuit.

> In an effort to stop over-harvesting they came up with this idea that Quebec region could go to James Bay and harvest … but it's much too far away. The people at the top of Nunavik are not going to go down to … James Bay, that little murky swampy area which is dangerous to manoeuvre and has a high mercury content. The people from the northern part of Nunavik don't hunt there; they wouldn't know where to go, what to avoid, a good place to camp, it costs a lot of money to take your boat down there and come back. No guarantees. It's foggy. It's murky water". – Joanne Rose

DFO offered a total of $50,000 for Nunavik communities to use towards the excess fuel costs of their hunters. "We shouldn't consider that as compensation … As far as the region is concerned we don't have that kind of money" (Hill 2002). DFO also announced

another $50,000 allocated for a scientific hunt in James Bay where scientists would supervise the hunt and obtain samples. The maktaaq would go to Nunavik hunters and the kills would be removed from the James Bay quota. The existing management plan would remain unchanged (Anonymous 2002b). Another factor that affected this decision was the anticipated federal Species at Risk Act becoming law, forcing DFO to have a management plan in place and to enforce regulations on species listed as *endangered* or *at risk* (George 2002d).

Reaction to DFO's efforts was voiced by Johnny Adams (Kativik Regional Government [KRG] President): "It won't replace the cultural aspect of going out there and hunting and harvesting the animal. But at least in this case we know it will be traditional maktaaq". On the other hand, Novalinga said:

> …handing out beluga to Inuit who use the hunt to reconnect with their culture and traditions takes away their self-confidence … It's not possible to measure the effect being given a handout has on a hunter's pride … We've lived off the hunt for thousands of years and now the government is trying to provide maktaaq for us (Nelson 2002b).

Johnny Adams expressed the same relationship between health, wellbeing and the land as articulated by Arviat Inuit; being Inuk meant being self sufficient, active on the land, and having the ability to provide country food for the family. Taking handouts from others was not an acceptable substitution, even if the maktaaq came from other Inuit communities.

KRG and Makivik announced they would use the $50,000 to buy maktaaq from Arviat for eight Nunavik communities (Aupaluk, Tasiujaq, Kuujjuaq, Kangiqsualujjuaq and Kangirsuk in Ungava Bay, and Inukjuak, Umiujaq and Kuujjuarapik in eastern Hudson Bay) whose quotas were set for areas hundreds of miles from their traditional hunting territories. Not all communities were covered in the $50,000 plan. Akulivik chose to opt out of the deal

and looked for additional DFO money to hunt in Hudson Strait, but DFO turned the funding over to Makavik for distribution to the communities (Nelson 2002a).

Upon hearing that DFO would allow Nunavik communities to purchase beluga from communities harvesting the western Hudson Bay population, Joe Manik (President, Arviat HTO) said the people of Arviat would be "delighted" to help and share with Nunavik.

> Manik says there's already enough frozen beluga in the Arviat community freezer to fill the order. He says as soon as the weather is cold enough to pack meat, Nunavik's request will be processed and shipped. Manik says that could be as early as next week (Unknown 2002a).

Mitch Campbell (Government of Nunavut, Department of Environment) said in 2002 Arviat hunters knew there was going to be a deal with Makivik to buy $50,000 in maktaaq so they hunted more than usual. The deal came through only after the beluga harvest had finished for the year, but the community had already harvested and stored enough maktaaq to cover the deal. It was delivered to Nunavik later that autumn. According to Tyrrell's (2005) account, only $12,500 was spent on maktaaq. It is unknown how the remaining $37,000 was used. There is no record of the cost of shipping the maktaaq to Nunavik.

> The HTO purchased the 5,000 lbs of *maktaaq* from Arviarmiut for $2.50 per pound. This represented the *maktaaq* from some twenty to thirty animals or approximately 10% of the harvest that year (Tyrrell 2005:187).

Reactions to the sale of maktaaq were mixed (Tyrrell 2005). Disputes arose between individuals and organizations regarding the implications for future beluga hunts in Arviat. DFO was concerned that, although it emphasized that this was a one-time deal, Inuit would over-harvest the following year in anticipation of a repeated purchase from Nunavik. However, Tony Atatsiak (Manager, Arviat HTO), assured DFO that the community understood there would not be another purchase from Makivik. Other Inuit said that there was

more than enough maktaaq in the freezer to cover the needs of the community and the small sale to Nunavik. Others thought the sale was a good idea because it allowed people to earn money from hunting and brought cash into the community. DFO's Keith Pelly [Area Director, Iqaluit] said that he did not believe that Arviat had 5000 lbs in excess of the hamlet's subsistence needs, and that Inuit had chosen to sell their own supply.

> At the HTO AGM, held on October 31st, before the polar bear lottery, Keith publicly voiced his concerns over the sale of *maktaaq* and his belief that people in the region might over-hunt during the next whale season in anticipation of a repeat sale. A number of audience members came forward to the open mike to voice their disagreement and say they believed the sale was a good thing for the community. They said that no one had over-hunted and they could not see this happening in the future either. Each Inuk speaker at the open mike, in support of the *maktaaq* sale, received supportive applause from the audience (Tyrrell 205:188).

Others were not in favour of the beluga sale. Judy Issakiark, who preceded Tony Atatsiak as Arviat HTO manager, thought the sale was a bad idea because hunters receiving money from hunting one year would over-hunt in the following years possibly leading to the depletion of the stock and lowering of quotas.

As feared, there was a sizable beluga hunt in the summer of 2003 in which 300 – 600 more beluga were taken than in any previous year. Arviat hunters assumed that the DFO – Makivik deal would be repeated even though DFO strongly emphasized that it had been a one-time deal. Hunters, anticipating large infusions of cash, harvested double their usual take of beluga, but neither Makivik nor DFO put up money for maktaaq. Arviat's community freezer broke down because of the strain of being overfilled. Much of the maktaaq putrefied in the dump while unrendered beluga carcasses rotted along the shore. Few hunters had money for fuel to drag the carrion away from the community. After the hunt, many

Arviarmiut

> … were angry at what they had witnessed. Some men had been seen shooting whales indiscriminately, killing whales just for the fun of it and not bothering to take the *maktaaq*. Afterwards many dead whales were seen floating on the surface of the sea, *maktaaq* still attached (Tyrrell 2005:192).
>
> This too caused concern for many people, with the fear that the hunt, and indiscriminate killing, might be witnessed by outsiders, who would then use that information to inform policy decisions. The *wanton killing* of some whales was discussed by Arviarmiut on the local radio station and over CB, so that the majority of people in the community let it be known that this type of action carried out by a few would not be tolerated. (Tyrrell 2005:192). [Emphasis mine]

The use of the term "wanton killing" in the above quote is reminiscent of the way wildlife officers described Inuit during the controversial caribou crisis of the 1940s and casts an unfavourable light on the hunters (See Kulchyski and Tester 2007: Chapter 2). Nevertheless, it is certain that the Inuit in Arviat were very disturbed at the waste. There was a loud outcry within the community and Inuit said that there never should have been so many belugas harvested in the first place—it was not their way. In addition to the expressed abhorrence over the waste, Arviarmiut felt heightened apprehension related to the June 2003 passage of the *Species at Risk Act* (SARA) into law. No one knew the consequences of the excessive hunt would be.[18] Information regarding the overkill was slow to seep into the English-speaking world. All open-line radio shows were in Inuktitut, the *Nunatsiaq News* wrote nothing on the topic and non-Inuit government employees in Arviat were silent that year.

[18] The goal of SARA "is to prevent species from becoming extirpated or extinct, to provide for the recovery of species that have been extirpated, endangered or threatened as a result of human activity, and to manage species of special concern to prevent them from becoming endangered or threatened" (DFO C&A intranet website).

Talking with community members in 2004, I learned most of the hunters involved in the overkill were in the 20–40 age range. Although some hunters represented the poor, hunters that received the most scorn were from the aggressive wealthier families. Still other hunters came from families who had never hunted beluga before. My Ahiarmiut hosts proudly spoke of their 12-year-old boy going out on the boats and harvesting two whales. It was considered a coming-of-age ritual, and that summer several young boys reportedly became men.

As usual, in November 2003, a federal fisheries officer went to collect the annual harvesting data from the Arviat HTO, but this year she was met by Joe Savikkataaq (local Government of Nunavut wildlife officer) and told there were no harvesting records. Instead, he said, a list would be made of *possible hunters* who *may have* participated in the beluga hunt. The federal officer was told the harvest numbers could not be verified because hunters had unlisted phone numbers. She was then told she could not see the community freezer because it had been cleaned out and the maktaaq moved to individual home freezers. The wildlife officer estimated that 200–300 belugas were harvested that summer, an increase of 50%, in anticipation of the proposed deal with Northern Quebec. The fisheries officer then met with the HTO, which claimed it was unaware of any requirement to maintain harvest records. The HTO stated they had no harvest estimate and no records but agreed to collect data for the 2004 harvest. However, in 2004, the HTO sent a fax to the fisheries officer stating that the HTO refused to collect and maintain records or report harvests (B. Guptil, DFO Rankin Inlet, personal communication, March 2005). Table 3 compares annual beluga harvesting data submitted by Arviat to DFO and to the Nunavut Wildlife Harvest Study

(NWHS). The NWHS did not cover the years indicated by blanks. A comparison of the DFO and NWHS harvest reports suggests that the 2002–2003 hunts too, were well in excess of the numbers provided by the HTO to DFO. The range of the 2003 hunt was most likely between 600–1000 mammals.

Table 3: DFO and NWHS harvesting data for Arviat, 1994-2004. (Includes estimate of strategic bias; see Priest and Usher, 2004:7).

Year	DFO	NWHS	NWHS strategic bias +/- [19]
1994	32		
1995	3		
1996	100	203	51
1997	100	376	157
1998	9	137	46
1999	58	207	76
2000	100	116	34
2001	100		
2002	115		
2003	300		
2004	No report (see text)		

Nevertheless, word had been seeping out about the 2002-2003 western Hudson Bay harvests. DFO/COSEWIC concerns were heightened because it had been 15 years since the western Hudson Bay beluga population had been surveyed. Scientists were uncertain whether the western Hudson Bay whales represented more than one distinct population. In addition, the population had invariably been threatened by shipping and hydroelectric dams. It was time to re-survey the area, but Arviat interpreted the surveys to be a direct response to the 2002-

[19] Strategic bias as used in the NWHS refers to "the conscious decision by the respondent to exaggerate, minimize, or fail to disclose his or her harvest levels. Reasons could include fear of prosecution under wildlife legislation, or fear of income investigation or loss of program entitlements" (Priest and Usher 2004:41).

2003 high beluga harvest.

COSEWIC reassessed the beluga populations of western Hudson Bay in the SARA Public Registry in May 2004. Western Hudson Bay belugas had been designated as *threatened* [20] in April 1988. In the absence of any new survey data since 1987, COSEWIC changed the designation to *special concern* in 2004, which meant the population was sensitive to human activities and natural events. Arviat Inuit had been informed through their communication networks of the COSEWIC reassessment and of aerial surveys (planned to begin May 2004) to confirm the state of the western Hudson Bay population. They considered the reassessment and surveys a threat to their livelihoods, identity and rights as Inuit.

News of the beluga over-harvests of 2002 – 2003 had not been reported on English radio programs or in the *Nunatsiaq News*. I made an introductory visit to Arviat in September 2003, and spoke with anthropologist Martina Tyrrell who made vague reference to a few beluga carcasses rotting along the shore in 2003 and the residents complaining of the smell. I had no other knowledge of the beluga situation in Arviat. During my field work in early 2004, Inuit were forthcoming about IQ of the land, caribou, seals, lake trout, northern pike, inuksuit and selected stories and songs, but they became evasive when asked about beluga.

The following section describes the resistance I experienced from May 2004 until I left in October 2004. I did not know at that time, the reason for the sudden change in attitude toward my research project and presence in Arviat. Based on subsequent research and inquiry, I now believe the heightened fear regarding the COSEWIC reassessment and impending quotas caused the conditions described below. Arviarmiut reaction to the perceived threat of

[20] See http://www.sararegistry.gc.ca/status/showDocument_e.cfm?id=407.

government imposed monitoring, regulation and quotas has implications for future integrated resource management in the region.

Vignette: Tabvatah and hunting locations

Melanie Tabvetah sat on the floor of her tiny two bedroom house, her concentrated gaze fixed on the game of solitaire unfolding before her. The phone rang and Tabvetah hurriedly went to the back room to answer it. Her soft voice responded in broken English, revealing a Qablunaaq on the other end of the line. “Yes, yes, we go” she said. Then a growing tenseness could be detected and her voice rose in intensity. “No. No! NO RCMP!! She shrieked. “I NO TAKE YOU!! I’M INUK, I NO TELL RCMP WHERE I GO!! NO!!” The receiver went down with uncommon force as Tabvetah came back down the hall, visibly shaken. She said a government lady was in town and heard Tabvetah was a hunter. She wanted Tabvetah to take her out on the land for the day and Tabvetah had consented. However, the lady then said her job required the RCMP to know her whereabouts if she left the hamlet. Tabvahtah’s voice again rose in intensity and fear as she related the conversation to me. I reassured her that the RCMP wanted to know their route in case the ATV broke and they needed assistance, but her voice rose even higher. “NO!! I’M INUK” I NO TELL RCMP WHERE I HUNT!!”

I wondered how this incident would affect our future hunting trips. Several days later Tabvahtah packed her equipment, checked her rifle, cartridges and loaded her ATV. I heard her on the phone. “North” she said, “Maguse River”. As we drove through the hamlet, Inuit friends waved her over. “North”, she told them. Then off we went at break-neck speed,

bouncing over the rock-strewn tundra, spinning through the bog holes, crossing shallow river rapids, and off into the horizon—heading *west!*

Inuit, the land and resistance to natural resource management

Knowledge of Inuit hunting and land activities is considered sensitive information. As people of the land, Inuit expect freedom from having their hunting and land activities known or monitored by any level of government or by other Inuit even when their physical health and safety is at stake. The Government of Nunavut and Search and Rescue encouraged Arviarmiut to let others know the amount of fuel they had with them when going on the land. If the hunters did not arrive home in a reasonable amount of time, then Search and Rescue would know how far to extend their search. However hunters commonly under-reported the amount of fuel they carried with them.

Qablunaat researchers and government employees were continuously monitored. It became easy to detect Inuit watching from windows, or standing in dark recesses between buildings at night where their presence was revealed only by the glowing tip of a cigarette. Rocks were surreptitiously piled up into small platforms for Inuit to peer through the windows of unsuspecting Qablunaat teachers, nurses and researchers. Children continuously watched and informed adults of Qablunaat whereabouts, activities and associates. I was repeatedly amazed at the efficiency of their information system and how quickly persons could be located within the community.

According to Scott (1990:53), "[w]henever one encounters euphemism in language, it is a nearly infallible sign that one has stumbled on a delicate subject". In Arviat, euphemisms were used to discuss the activities of Qablunaat. Researchers and government employees were

referred to as *Canada geese* or *snow geese* based on the timing of their field seasons. Canada geese arrived in the spring and left in the fall. Snow geese left a bit later. Elders told hunters over the CB to stay away from Canada geese in 2004 because they saw them "dropping from the sky", sick with avian flu. Inuit were not to go near them. I soon realized that all short term researchers had been shunned that spring for political reasons related to the COSEWIC reassessment and the aerial surveys. Mitch Campbell (Government of Nunavut Department of Environment biologist) later confirmed there had been no avian flu in the Kivalliq that year.

The monitoring of movements and associates was not restricted to Qablunaat. Inuit also felt tension and frustration created by the continuously watching eyes. One afternoon I noticed an older man getting out of his truck and acknowledged him with a simple "Hi". He angrily snapped in reply that he was tired of people monitoring and watching him. Noticing my confused expression, he continued to air his frustration, saying he wanted to get away from people. He did not want them to know where he was, when he went, when he returned, or where he had been. For several minutes the man voiced his frustration with people monitoring him at church, on the land, and even when he visited other communities.

The initial cheerful and willing participation in my research project faded in April. The polite external façade receded and Inuit asked about research in general saying "Just when is it all going to end?" or "When will they [researchers and governments] have enough information so they can get out and leave us alone?" I repeatedly heard Inuit say resource issues were old issues and they did not want to talk about them. Researchers did not need any more information, they had enough already. Interpreters did not want to interpret and at times they interpreted falsely.

The passive hostility toward any form of research or Qablunaat presence caused me to ask why the KWB had invited me to come to Arviat and why I had received such wide support from the HTO, hamlet, the Nunavut Planning Commission, Government of Nunavut Education and the other Inuit organizations for my research project. The response was

> The only reason you were asked in is because you had money. HTOs don't look at what you are going to research. They only thing they look at is how much money you have and how much will be spent in the community. – [name withheld]

David Alagalak (President of the KWB) inferred I was brought in to garner the elder's votes in Alagalak's bid for MLA. As opposition from those in official positions grew, Inuk friends cautiously pulled me aside and said "You should go home. You are in danger here" [names withheld]. When I enquired about what I was doing to earn their opposition, the response was simply, "Nothing. They're crazy" [name withheld].

The Qablunaat researchers working for the territorial Department of Environment faced similar difficulties. Inuit talked increasingly of closing up the research wing of the department. Qablunaat researchers were strongly criticised for "sitting in front of computers all day" and not being out on the land. On the other hand, older Inuit hunters did not want researchers on the land surveying animals or monitoring their condition. To curb Qablunaat presence on the land Arviat Inuit attempted to make it mandatory for the Department of Environment to purchase their fuel for planes, ATV, Skidoos and other vehicles exclusively from Inuit-owned companies. The department attempted in the past to follow this plan voluntarily but found the local company to be unreliable. The Inuit-owned company said fuel was not available for aerial surveys or to supply departmental vehicles because it was their responsibility to supply Inuit first and there was not enough additional fuel to meet the

department's needs. The department's attempts to purchase fuel from independent southern suppliers were met with threats of lawsuits, citing the NLCA *first right of refusal* clause.

Joe Savikataaq, (Department of Environment Wildlife Officer), said there were only three restrictions on the access to wildlife resources in the Kivalliq. The polar bear, musk ox and grizzly bear have seasonal restrictions and limitations on the amount harvested. Inuit beneficiaries trapped, hunted and fished without restrictions therefore, there was little cause for conflict or harvesting tensions. Nevertheless, Inuit showed resistance and opposition to any perceived threat of regulation or restriction. Most tensions regarding restrictions and impositions arose from memories of the pre-land claim years and a lingering mistrust of government (Kulchyski and Tester 2007). Some senior hunters were unsure of the freedoms and rights obtained through their land claim, or believed government could ignore or override the claim when it was politically advantageous to do so. Land claim proponents were still needed to inform Inuit of their rights and approved avenues of protest.

> There was a time when … there was a ban on spring goose hunting that was said to be imposed by the federal government … So people were passively sort of obeying it, but once they disappeared [on the land] then they ate geese anyway in the spring time and they just hid them … They didn't hunt them the rest of the year anyway, so it looked like they were model citizens, but in regards to the ban, they were not … Now they have a recognized government and if they want they can use pressure groups and work through them … If they don't like a law they can make noise … It's a democracy now. They can call the radio stations in Iqaluit or their MLAs or write letters to the editor or stuff like that. – Rhoda Karetak.

Not all resistance was in response to the presence of researchers, resource monitoring and management. Much unrest was related to the continuing frustration Inuit felt regarding social and housing issues. Inuit vented their frustrations in the area of wildlife because it was one of the few areas where Inuit could exert control. Inuit felt powerless in issues concerning

housing and social ills. Inuit would continue to agitate in the areas of integrated management and the work of the NWMB until the social/housing issues were addressed (Thomas Suluk).

For the most part, elders and those working in Inuit organizations found non-Inuit researchers to be unwanted nuisances. The older generations often found discussions on IQ and resource management threatening. They did not have a clear concept of what research in general was for and most assumed it was for the south to find a way to take something from the Inuit. In answer to Inuit inquiries, researchers would explain the technical aspects of their research, answering how it worked and what they were going to do. However, Inuit were asking "Why? Why was any of it necessary?"

HTO members were usually traditional Inuit who were not comfortable with contemporary bureaucratic processes. Paperwork and detailed inquiries were a nuisance and not worth their time. The younger generation was not comfortable working in English. Judy Isaakiark (HTO Manager) said the attitude toward government and scientific research was that scientists should come to Arviat and do the work themselves. Researchers should buy their own boats to use for sample gathering and they should go to the HTO office to get their own information. Inuit did not want to be servants to Qablunaat. Filling out forms was considered servitude and HTO members did not consider record keeping part of their job. Researchers should pay for work they want done. These attitudes were not confined to the HTO but permeated the wider community. Some of the attitudes may relate back to the range of criticisms applied to Inuit during the 1960s and 1970s:

> …if a young man is uneasy in the settlement, unwilling to work there or inexpert at the jobs he takes, he is characterized as 'stupid; yet if he chooses to live on the land and tries to make a success of hunting and trapping, he is scorned for trying to be a 'real Eskimo', or for attempting to succeed in a life

> that has no economic future. The same sort of double judgement is made about young Eskimo women: if they are friendly, sociable and eager to join in settlement life, they are often regarded as 'loose'; but if they are shy and withdrawn, avoid contact with Whites, and stay at home, they are likely to be regarded as 'nice, but stupid'…. The older men, who stay in the settlement and do not often go out hunting, but are happy to live off their families (often because they lack the cash necessary to make a hunting trip) are regarded as weak" (Brody 1975: 85).

Most of the older generation simply avoided contact and involvement with outsiders. Researchers and data collectors were unwanted impositions that were at times abandoned on the land or put in situations where they would be injured or assaulted. Access to the elders was strategically controlled by interpreters and by senior Inuit in upper-level government positions. Researchers were guided towards elders, hunters and interpreters who promoted the political agendas of the current power-holders in Arviat.

TK was at times strategically created or borrowed from FN groups in order to place distance between science and resource management researchers. For example, it was often reported that Inuit believed they must not argue about wildlife and they must hunt beluga or else the stocks would not return.

> One that falls into the 'must not do' category is 'don't talk about wildlife', because if you are talking about wildlife you are arguing. And if you are arguing, the animals will not come back. So we have heard this repeatedly, particularly from the elders in meetings…The second thing is that we must hunt animals because if we don't, we are being disrespectful because those animals are being given to us by god and if we choose not to take them then god will say 'fine, I won't let them come back' or the animals will choose not to come back. Either way, it amounts to the same thing….These two rules make it exceptionally difficult to go in and talk to people in communities; because first of all you are not supposed to be talking about wildlife, and secondly if you talk about any issues about controlling or managing the hunt, both of those rules tell them that they shouldn't be talking to us at all. – Holly Cleator, SARA Marine Mammal Biologist, DFO

However Thomas Suluk said these two rules were never part of Inuit belief or knowledge, but

were borrowed from First Nations for the purpose of keeping inquisitive southern researchers and the federal government at bay.[21] More in line with Inuit belief was the idea that wildlife (and Inuit) were meant to be free and without restriction. Management of wildlife is considered equivalent to domestication and husbandry and not adaptable to Inuit thought and culture. However Inuit discerned this argument would not be taken seriously, so TK limiting the discussion of wildlife was substituted.

IQ was often filtered through politically astute interpreters. Inuit [Names withheld] commented that elders frequently asked the interpreters to make up "intelligent sounding answers" if they could not think of responses or if they spoke on sensitive topics that should not be known by outsiders.

TK and local knowledge was also protected through indirect means. Common barriers to research involved capacity issues of the local HTO. An oversight of the NLCA resulted in HTO offices being under-funded. Inuit may gain job skills in HTO positions, but quickly move on to higher-paying positions with the Government of Nunavut or the land claim organizations, leaving behind those under-qualified for the tasks expected of them.

Related to the lack of appropriate job skills is the language barrier. In Arviat and other Kivalliq communities older Inuit (age 60 plus) are functionally unilingual but may have minimal English skills. Their children (ages 45-60) have relatively good English and their community-based Inuktitut is very good. A few members of this age group regained much of

21 It should be remembered that Suluk was a Nunavut negotiator that had considerable interaction with the Cree and Dene. Although Suluk saw the above concept as coming from FNs, Bennett and Rowley in *Uqalurait* 2004 documents similar concepts as Inuit in origin. Non-Inuit often assume that FN groups and Inuit are culturally similar and have the same TK. Inuit have often taken the path of least resistance by allowing outsiders to think that way.

the land-based terminology of their parents, but most did not. Most problematic for researchers is the under-45 age group who were raised and educated in the hamlet. Their English and Inuktitut language ability is limited, yet it is from this group that interpreters for southern researchers are often chosen. Serious misunderstandings between the researcher, elders and community often result.

An example of a researcher-elder misunderstanding occurred when I interviewed a female elder with the assistance of a female interpreter in her mid-40s. The interpreter was highly recommended by the Hamlet Council and held a responsible position within a local NPC. The elder asked why I wanted to know about the old stories. I replied that I was concerned that the old ways may be forgotten because most Inuit now lived in the hamlet and had accepted Christianity. The stories of Christianity taught about life in farming communities and did not teach about living on the land (see Brody 2000). When my interpreter repeated my explanation to the elder, I was baffled by the change in mood and the vague reply. I had the interview tapes reinterpreted several months later and learned the interpreter had aggressively asked the elder, “Why don’t Inuit live by Christian principles or values when they go on the land?” Startled the elder responded, “Say that again?” In the same interview I later asked, “As a young woman living on the land, what were some of the things you were told about maintaining a happy marriage?” The interpreter translated “How can the happiness in marriage be done away with?” Again the elder asked, “Can you clarify this question?” The interpreter coached “By obeying him?” Fumbling and trying to make sense out of the interpreted response, I added “I’ve heard that traditional Inuit were very cautious not to show strong emotions like anger or hatred.” Again my interpreter reversed the

statement saying,

> It was said that the Inuit of old were incapable of hiding their angers, and they were uninhibited in doing things like being angry. When they are in these conditions, they did things out in the open. So were their emotions unrestrained then? – [name withheld]

The elder, taken aback said, "Oh! I see!" The interpreter realizing the affront said, "She's asking for no reason" and hastily changed the subject.

The HTO made no effort to ensure information gathered by researchers was accurate because the HTOs did not believe the TK or local knowledge would be taken seriously (Judy Issakiark and Annie Ollie). The HTO process for recommending interpreters involved making an announcement over the local radio station that interpreters were needed for a project and giving the rate of pay. Interested persons called the HTO office and had their names put on a list. The list was then screened according to the perceived financial need of the individual (or the families) applying for the position, not according to the interpreter's ability.

To find a highly qualified interpreter, I asked for recommendations from the Government of Nunavut Department of Education in Arviat and was supplied with names of people said to be "good for this type of work". I later hired a senior high-level interpreter for a video-taped elders workshop but became uneasy at the interpreter's portrayal of an idyllic Inuit culture. The interpretation did not seem to match the expressions and emotions displayed by the elders. I watched the workshop video with my Inuit hosts, who alternately giggled and expressed dismay when my interpreter reversed sentences (turned negative statements into positive) and altered stories.

Discouraged, I hired an Ahiarmiut man in his mid 50s to do one-on-one interviews but was again perplexed by the strange irritability of the elders and the brusque replies to my

open-ended questions. When the audio tapes were reinterpreted, I learned this interpreter had altered his mode of speaking and addressed the elder using "baby language" which demeaned and insulted the elder's intelligence. Neither the unilingual elder nor I understood the interpreter had orchestrated the belittling line of questioning.

Meanwhile, I continued to follow up on the list of "good" interpreters given to me by the government cultural advisor, but repeatedly received hostile responses. One woman (age 50 plus) said I was trying to use her as a stepping stone to fame and fortune and to leave. Another vented about all the previous university professors who visited Arviat and made their fortunes and reputations by publishing books based on their "secret knowledge" and their hardships during the 1950-60s. Being invited to do the research by the KWB President and receiving wide-spread support from community organizations to document IQ of the land did little to soothe their anger. "What makes you Qablunaat think we are incapable of telling our own stories and documenting our own traditional knowledge!" (Annie Ollie)

In mid-May 2004, I convinced an older man whose name was conspicuously absent from the Department of Education's "good interpreters" list to interpret for me. He was highly recommended by long-term Qablunaat and ordinary Inuit within the community and said to have an "exceptional ability to communicate abstract concepts" in English and the dialects of the Arviat elders (Linda Pemik, John Mains). I was impressed by the richly nuanced rendering he gave of the elder's thoughts and understanding of the land. A couple of weeks later, one of my rejected interpreters gleefully informed me that my new interpreter, Thomas Suluk, was a former Member of Parliament and chief negotiator for the Nunavut Land Claim. The inference was that Suluk would keep me away from topics Inuit did not want Qablunaat to

know about; I, along with all the others, had been managed. The bearer of bad news could not have realized my delight at this revelation. Finally I had an interpreter whose ability allowed a depth of inquiry previously unobtainable, and opened the door for an examination of the politics of TK. However, shortly thereafter my prized interpreter sped up beside me in his truck and called out the window saying, “It’s all lies. The interpretations were all lies”. He then spun off, his tires shooting loose gravel into my face. Nothing in Arviat was as it seemed. All was shifting and continuously moving—an illusion.

Joe Karetak claimed to have had similar difficulties when gathering elder’s knowledge for integrating into Nunavut’s educational curriculum. Karetak explained the dynamics and relationships that I had experienced were much more far-reaching than simply between Inuit and Qablunaat. The same difficulties and conflicts exist between and within the government departments and Inuit organizations because of the positions of the power-holders and the conflicts existing between them. Karetak said the tensions are connected to the history of the older generations and the insensitivity they experienced growing up through that “horrible period of time”. Older Inuit still viewed and portrayed all Qablunaat as one: the oppressor, the colonizer, ones who take and ones who bring harm. They were unable to discern motives and understand that some do not fit into the oppressor characterization. Karetak expressed concern that Arviarmiut were pushing away people that were capable of helping them.

Arviat Inuit wanted control of their lives, their culture and their TK. Cultural connections between health and wellbeing and the land are still strong and associated with what it means to be Inuk. The difficulties experienced by Arviarmiut while adjusting to community life caused them to see the land with its wildlife and way of life as a refuge and as

inherently Inuit. They deeply resented any sort of intrusion, control, monitoring or management from resource managers, scientists or other southern experts. Arviarmiut were not interested in co-management if they could not have confidence that their TK would be taken seriously. Inuit communication capacity and knowledge of other regions of the Arctic had expanded considerably and news of the Nunavik situation was troubling. Throughout the Kivalliq, place-based experience regarding DFO was either very limited or nonexistent. The community did not know what to do with the abstract pieces of information which did not fit with their existing cultural context. Experiential information had not been collected continuously and Arviarmuit were not able to adapt and incorporate the abstract information. Arviarmiut feared DFO would come and impose harsh quotas as had happened in Nunavik. These fears resulted in resistance and hostilities toward the researcher.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

> We might describe the Inuit Culture with its land based economy as a deep, flowing river. Starting from its own headwaters far back beyond human memory, it has flowed down through the ages, carrying with it those values that provide physical and spiritual nourishment and guidance for its people. Then, quite recently, the river encounters another river, much larger, much stronger, that sweeps in from the side. It, too, is a culture with its own very different value systems. There is a sudden violent turbulence as the two waters clash together, each one trying to retain its own identity. At first the new river completely dominates the smaller river. But gradually, over a period of time, the smaller river fights back. Finally, many miles downstream, after a long period of turbulence, the chaos begins to subside, and waters and value systems mix together and the two rivers become one river – "The clash of economic cultures", unpublished Government of Nunavut document

Summary

At the beginning of the thesis, I said societies are inherently dialectical in character and the social-cultural context in which we live influences the way we interpret the facts around us. The same is true of Inuit culture and society. Inuit generate a cumulative body of knowledge adapted to the land that was passed down through generations. Their knowledge consisted of more than culturally interpreted facts about the environment, wildlife, social relations and beliefs. It also consisted of a way of thinking, acting and applying that knowledge to changing circumstances; traditional knowledge is more than content, it is a way of knowing, process more than object. To gain an adaptive advantage in what was described by some as an uncertain environment, they acquired new strategies, technologies and remained flexible in their organization, size and social institutions to meet the challenges of obtaining subsistence resources and family needs. Over several generations they moved inland and then back to the coast while adapting to different weather and seasonal cycles, hunting and subsistence techniques, and clothing and food production, to name a few. They

struggled and at times succumbed to the harshness of the land, but IQ; the Inuit way of doing things, continued to adapt. The social order was malleable because the symbolic systems; what it meant to be Inuk, constituted the social relations. Inuit could adapt to a changing world by adapting their concept of how Inuit do things. Inuit were taught to think independently, to be innovative and resourceful, to learn through doing, to cooperate with each other and to maintain family relations. Inuit relations to the land did not naturally evolve or emerge but were the result of thinking, planning, innovation and resourcefulness. They learned to collaborate and work together, to respect the entities that permeated the land, and not to take more from the land than could be used.

When the Hudson Bay Company encouraged Inuit to focus more on the fur trade and less on subsistence, Inuit flexibility to deal with a dynamic environment became limited. Inuit became reliant upon imported trade goods as their movements became oriented towards areas rich in fox and other fur bearing animals. However, fluctuations in the fox and caribou cycles and in European-based markets triggered the closing of inland posts and precipitated the move of Inuit populations into settlements to be near services and to obtain cash income to support their hunting activity. Temporary shelters suited for mobility on the land were exchanged for permanent matchbox houses supplied by the federal administration. The need for employment caused many to relegate their hunting and trapping activities to the weekends. Although Inuit demonstrated they could work in a cash economy, they did not see themselves as full-time wage earners and their goals remained focused on traditional pursuits. Employers viewed Inuit as ‘marking time’. Most new income was spent on more efficient hunting equipment, luxuries and status symbols instead of basic goods that would enhance their standard of living

within the settlements.

Brody also mentioned these dynamics when he said:

> No Eskimo in the Canadian Eastern Arctic wants to return to the old days, neither to the subsistence hunting of his ancestors nor to the life of hunting and trapping at the mercy of traders, missionaries and policemen. But the Eskimos do want a mixed economy in which it will still be possible to be an Eskimo, an Inumarrik [a real Eskimo] (Brody 1975:232).

The move to settlement brought new sets of rules, regulations, religious pressures, responsibilities, beliefs and growing debt. The Inuit way of doing things was suppressed in favour of southern ways. Southern organizational patterns and education brought about superficial changes in behaviour and feigned adherence to the rules. New value was placed on roles of elders receiving pensions and on children who generated family allowance cheques. The nuclear family and family relations remained relatively strong but there was less interdependence with extended family and kin. Differentiation between family groups became more noticeable; Padlirmiut looked down on Ahiarmiut and both disliked and envied the Aivilingmiut. To settlement-bound Inuit, the land came to represent all the things they had lost: freedom, mobility, self-reliance and self-determination, and their cultural, social, spiritual and physical wellbeing.

A new class of political Inuit eventually emerged that presumed to speak for all Inuit and attempted to regain a degree of self-determination, control and freedom through the land claim process. Since the average Inuk did not want to be involved with government, negotiators sometimes put Aboriginal rights and land claims within a historical religious context Inuit could understand. Adapting new religious ideas to Inuit situations was not new but a continuation of the practice initiated by Donald Suluk. The new religion was not

accepted as a whole but in bits and pieces that fit with pre-existing Inuit ways of thinking and doing things, thus subjecting, modifying and remaking the dominant hegemony.

Although Nadasdy holds the formal government process of land claims and joint management resulted in self censorship because of the requirement to use linguistic fields legitimized by the State, Inuit were able to seize the symbols of the process, to adapt it and appropriate it to accomplish their goals. Inuit ingenuity presented itself through the shrewd negotiations and success in creating a territory with the potential of actual self-government by Inuit. They received revenue, non-renewable resource rights, and a public wildlife management board with responsibility over terrestrial wildlife, non-migrating birds, and sole authority over fisheries management; all quota and non-quota limitations less the conservation limitations retained by the Minister, as shown in Chapter Two.

Inuit attention was keenly focused on the land, but they also appreciated the comfort of their homes, the social programs and health care provided for by the Government of Nunavut, and the harvester benefits of the NLCA. They did not want to go back to living on the land but many would like to see a greater integration of the two ways of life. Many are concerned about their children's lack of competency on the land, the hunters who become lost or freeze because of improper clothing, the inability of young hunters to properly maintain their equipment, and their inability to plan and make mechanical repairs and improvisations on the land. They are also concerned about their children's lack of ability to succeed in community life due to their poor formal education, lack of employable skills, and the current social conditions.

Inuit do not want to become harmonized into southern culture, but to seize, modify and

integrate those aspects of southern culture that will make them better adapted to the changing northern environment; to become mottled against a mottled background, yet to remain Inuit.

Inuit concepts of health and wellbeing

Inuit concepts of health and wellbeing are interconnected with the natural environment. To be healthy is to be Inuk (Blakney 2004). Being Inuk means to have the knowledge and ability to relate to the land in Inuit ways and to use and adapt traditional knowledge to a dynamic landscape for practical reasons. Being Inuk means to be aware of what is happening in the environment and in the community, and keeping the brain occupied. Being Inuk means being mobile on the land and not being confined to the hamlet. It means being active and becoming physical fatigued from hunting and other land activities. Healthy Inuit do not participate in scheduled or formal exercise for the sake of exercise.

Being on the land allows for quiet meditation and the alleviation of stress. Engaging in land activities teaches one to have patience, to endure hardships and to wait until situations improve. It involves meeting daily needs and finding innovative ways to meet increasing responsibilities and expenses in Inuk ways, such as through hunting, carving and sewing. Being healthy involves having a strong mind and the ability to convert information into knowledge. It involves finding solutions to little problems so the cumulative effect can eventually change the larger issues. A healthy Inuk procures and eats country foods that serve to increase physical strength and identity. Store-bought food dilutes the strength and identity of Inuit. Healthy Inuit are self-sufficient and able to help and provide for the weaker families and individuals.

The maintenance of proper relationships is essential for a healthy society and involves

openness, transparency, communication and discussing concerns. Social interactions in the form of frequent gatherings set the stage for collaborative planning as the needs arise. Healthy relationships involve listening with intent to understand and take others seriously, and to work through past issues so they can be put to rest. Intimidation and unspoken threats are minimized in favour of working towards relative economic equality, and assisting others less fortunate, such as the elderly and sick individuals. Being healthy requires that each member of the society has a useful and meaningful purpose within the family and community. Being healthy involves breathing fresh air, drinking clean water from streams and eating country food. It means having physical and economic means to be mobile and possessing cabins on the land to partake in land activities at various times throughout the year. Being healthy means having the freedom to be on the land and pursue Inuit activities without externally created regulations, laws, rules, and persistent government scrutiny.

As I showed in Chapter Four, Inuit regard unhealthy lives as those exemplified by a lack of competence on the land, participation in an increasing amount of Qablunaaq activities and consuming a large amount of imported foods. Unhealthy Inuit lacked the ability and ambition to become self sufficient, allowed themselves to become a drain on social programs and never obtained the means to meet their family responsibilities and financial obligations. Inactive lives, sustained time in front of the television and collecting social assistance are indicators of an unhealthy life to Inuit.

Using IQ to increase wellbeing in coastal communities

Creating regimes of "truth" through conditioning, training and linking knowledge and activities to amplify the effectiveness (Foucault and Sheridan 1995), reflects the holistic

method of teaching used by Aboriginals. Incorporating IQ into multiple levels and fields of Inuit society will amplify its affect on the younger generation, increasing their competence and skills. Inuit elders, hunters and middle generations hold that their health and wellbeing is enhanced through strengthening Inuit identity. Teaching the younger generations hunting and survival skills, how to interpret the weather and wildlife patterns, the geographic features and place names, food preparation and preservation, skin preparation and traditional clothing production adapted to the land and marine conditions would help them to become competent and promote strong identity and self-esteem.

Essential for Inuit skill development is to learn using traditional methods; to learn through watching and doing. Mentoring and on-the-job training programs help younger generations to become familiar with a variety of techniques and approaches. Growth in confidence and experience gives a foundation upon which young Inuit can think for themselves and develop innovative solutions. Fishing derbies, camping, survival and women's skills programs were used to strengthen Inuit competency on the land and improve organizational and child-rearing skills. Many Inuit males were engaged in the Canadian Ranger program and thought it should be enhanced and expanded by using IQ to promote sovereignty in Canada's north.

In conjunction with on-the-land programs, Inuit believed they would benefit from a high quality bilingual (Inuktitut and English) education program incorporating Inuit elders and senior as instructors and incorporate IQ into the curriculum. Land programs along with a high quality bilingual education have the potential to strengthen Inuktitut language skills and give younger Inuit access to the elders which they currently do not have.

Community justice programs with an emphasis on youth and adults involved in less serious crimes were highly supported to assist the younger generations to adapt to social stresses in Inuk ways. The current social situations necessitate the existence of strong family-based systems, but as social and skill development occurs and IQ can broaden the focus to build a sense of community and encouraging the integration of populations.

The rate of IQ transmission is greatly improved through oral and experiential activities but personal and prolonged access to knowledge holders is not always possible. Therefore, continued documentation of IQ including the stories and songs, beliefs, land skills, weather, wildlife, land and sea is needed. Documentation of how the elders think in different situations, how they learn to develop innovation, resourcefulness, plans, leadership skills and consensus is another area where the young would benefit.

Lessons can be learned from Inuit patterns of social organization. For example, nuclear families lived at a distance away from extended family. This speaks to the need for increased distance between homes and less people occupying those homes. Inuit need room for privacy, time to reflect and make decisions on the direction they wish to take. Traditional Inuit organization consisted of a system of reciprocal relations and familial obligations in lieu of social programs and social assistance requiring no responsibility on the part of the recipients. Webs of responsibility and accountability need to be re-established to build and strengthen a sense of community, and to connect with the rest of Canada.

Natural resource policy development can support Inuit health and wellness

Much of the tension over wildlife issues is the result of Inuit perceived powerlessness to control other aspects of their lives, such as the housing, employment, mobility. Wildlife

and hunting issues often became the outlet for settlement-based frustrations suggesting that the above issues must be dealt with first before government should expect to have cooperation in wildlife issues. Nevertheless there are several areas where natural resource policy can support Inuit health and wellness.

The most basic way is to let Inuit decide what Inuit need and what processes and changes are appropriate for them, and then be prepared to give backup, support, training and enabling funds. Inuit culture is flexible but it is important that Inuit are the ones that define the scope of that flexibility and what changes, policies and arrangements fit into Inuit institutions and ways of thinking. As this research shows, Arviat Inuit realize their need to become more integrated with the rest of Canada and resource management is one opportunity for them to do that. A good practice for DFO is to "lead from behind". This strategy represents a move away from centralized methods favoured by federal politicians and may be accomplished through work on research priorities defined by Inuit.

Sustainable development is a high priority. Research and management plans must have the potential for fostering economic diversity and development. Using an integrated management process, linkages could be provided to develop research, to obtain access to the information, to distribute research results to the right people, departments and agencies; and to influence and inform both community and government decision makers and policy planners (Blakney 2005).

The main accomplishment of the integrated group would be to build state/community relations. Inuit want an open forum where concerns can be heard and discussions take place with NTI and its IPGs, the Nunavut's Department of Environment, federal departments and

other groups associated with wildlife and marine issues. Beneficiaries want to express their concerns and priorities regarding the wildlife, resources and future planning. They want opportunities to form linkages with governments and HTOs so immediate concerns will be listened to and addressed in terms of referrals, recommendations, a commitment to obtain more information or to do research.

HTOs, land claim groups and territorial government employees want the ability to set regional research priorities. Issues change from year to year. Continuous interaction through an integrated forum will allow changes and patterns to be noticed that would not ordinarily be picked up. For example, there may be a concern with seals one year but not the next. The concern might emerge again in the third or fourth year. If the changes are not monitored, abnormal cyclical patterns or new trends will go unnoticed until an urgent problem surfaces.

Natural resource policy development would support Inuit health and wellbeing by initiating a clear and open process that incorporates TK and western science perspectives. Elders and TK holders can give helpful direction and criticisms to enrich research projects. Science and TK can be complementary, each revealing different types of information that support the other, but are often placed in conflictual relationships.

Inuit health and wellbeing would be enhanced by researchers, governments and communities working collaboratively in ways that are both efficient and rewarding to the participants. An integrated management forum could serve to promote understanding and counteract misconceptions in a non-threatening, non-confrontational way for both TK holders and science researchers to learn the value of other knowledge systems. By promoting face-to-face discussion and interaction, inter-group tensions would eventually be mediated as trust

and cooperation are fostered among various levels of government and communities. In the past, the lack of information about research carried out in and around coastal communities caused anxiety, suspicion and mistrust among hunters and residents. The avoidance of research project redundancy by governments and universities would alleviate the unease and mistrust among beneficiaries who ask why their information was not believed or taken seriously in previous projects.

An integrated management forum would assist HTO's resource management capacity. HTOs require information to make harvesting decisions for their communities. In order to accomplish this task, HTOs need wildlife and environmental information, research results and documentation of local and traditional knowledge to assist them in making informed decisions. The Department of Environment does not have the jurisdiction to go the HTO and KWB meetings and make recommendations. They have to be asked by the HTOs to participate. The Government of Nunavut is separate from the NTI network of organizations and information exchange between them is rare. It is often assumed that the NWMB advises the Kivalliq HTOs, but the NWMB's larger territorial responsibilities, staff limitations and their distance from the Kivalliq prevent information exchange and advisory functions from happening. Government of Nunavut employees in the Kivalliq said that they had virtually no contact with the NWMB, and the board did not know when there were problems.

The DFO's ecosystem approach, which considers humans and their activities as part of the ecosystem, respects and considers the views of TK holders, NLCA groups, the Government of Nunavut, Inuit communities and First Nation groups bordering the Kivalliq along with the perspectives of western science. Thus DFO may be seen as providing a more

balanced, “third voice” when faced with environmental groups or governmental bodies promoting the imposition of wildlife restrictions.

In the past, DFO had a poor reputation in the Kivalliq because the only time they were noticed was when they stepped in for enforcement purposes or to set quotas. Therefore, a need exists for a more constant feed of positive relations into the communities. Inuit communities and individuals develop relationships with *individuals* more than with agencies or governments. Federal employees and researchers would benefit from face-to-face relationship with community members, NLCA groups and the territorial government. It is vitally important for DFO to remain influential in fostering relations with Inuit youth. If the DFO and other federal agencies are lax in mentoring the youth, their view of the federal government will be influenced only by the bitter past experiences of the older generations.

There are a number of challenges facing DFO. First is DFO Ottawa’s expectation of fast results. Time is needed to make solid progress, to build trust, positive working relationships and collaborative partnerships with the territorial government and NLCA groups. Positive results will not happen quickly in the North.

The second obstacle is DFO’s the lack of visibility in the Kivalliq. Many younger beneficiaries did not know what DFO was or what they are trying to do. Among many older Nunavumiut, government involvement at any level is negative. There is no distinction between departments or between governmental and non-governmental institutions. If one federal department makes unpopular decisions, all federal departments would bear the dissatisfaction. DFO Iqaluit and Kivalliq relations are virtually nonexistent because of budget restrictions. More interaction is experienced between the Kivalliq and Winnipeg Central and

Arctic region, but this too is quite rare. The communities want more DFO involvement at the level of education, information and training so communities and governmental agencies would be enabled to better govern themselves. They did not want more enforcement and regulations imposed from outside.

Related to poor visibility is poor communication between DFO, other governments and departments, and the HTOs. This often results in strained relations between the Government of Nunavut and the HTOs who assume their government should know what federal departments and researchers are doing in their territory. When beneficiaries realize their government researchers do not know what is occurring in their territory, it not only reflects poorly on their government, it also creates suspicion that southern researchers are doing something questionable or covert.

Communities and the territorial government complain they seldom see final reports or results from research completed in their territory. Although HTOs receive the initial proposal, many times the project changes during the fieldwork phase. The altered project direction causes uneasiness and frustration for the HTOs, the Nunavut government and community members who were not informed and who did not approve the project changes. At times HTOs do receive the final reports but the results are taken by HTO members to benefit individual families. For example, maps of game movements are most likely to be appropriated by family members. An integrated forum would assist in decision-making regarding the distribution of research results.

HTOs want an integrated forum to voice concerns and initiate a coordinated response to sampling programs run by DFO or university scientists. HTOs fear local hunters will take

more animals than needed for subsistence because a sampling project represents an extra source of income for hunters. Southern agencies and departments do not realize that most older or well-to-do hunters refuse to supply samples. Samples are usually gathered by a small group of poor hunters who need a cash income to buy basic supplies for their families. Thus some animals taken to fill sampling program requirements are harvested over and above those required for subsistence purposes. The HTO would like to see a coordination of sampling projects between government and universities.

According to the territorial Department of Environment and Arviat HTO, giving DFO's management responsibility to the NWMB is not sufficient to conserve the resources for future generations. NWMB does not have the ability to control it properly. The lack of socio-economic opportunities in the communities, contributes to NTI's bias toward development and mining to meet the economic well-being of beneficiaries.

HTO boards are constantly shifting due to yearly elections and persistent under-funding. Skilled HTO members are quickly hired by the territorial government or the NLCA groups at twice the salary. Until Nunavut's young government and its land claim bodies are able to meet their capacity challenges and mature, it is important that DFO has stability with their contacts and relationships and provide a sense of continuance. Currently when concerns arise, community members and HTOs do not know who to contact or the proper lines of communication. Relationships built through an integrated management forum would provide an avenue for communications to continue amidst revolving staffing situations in the communities.

Listening to community concerns and keeping people informed will pay off when

species become depleted and DFO has to step in. Arviarmiut maintain that if continuous contact and rapport have been maintained the people will already know the concern and the researchers will have their cooperation.

Vignette: IQ and the next generation

In early April, 2004, I had spent a day ice-fishing several kilometres inland with Angie and Mark Eetak and their 13-year-old adopted son. As we left the fishing hole, Mark asked his son to drive the skidoo and qamutik to see if he was "wise enough to figure out the way home". In a short while the skidoo tracks that the boy followed branched off in two directions, one toward Arviat and the other toward Whale Cove. After choosing a direction and driving for a short distance, the son became confused and stopped the skidoo. The boy knew that the responsibility of bringing his passengers home safely rested with him. With visible frustration he walked back and got on the qamutik, waiting for his father to take over. Mark waited several minutes to see if the boy would change his mind, then turned the skidoo around in the right direction and drove for a short ways before again giving the skidoo back to his son.

I asked Angie what would have happened if the boy had not stopped when he became confused. Angie replied that Mark would have let him go until his son realized he had made a mistake. "That is his way of teaching", she said. Knowing how low we were on fuel, I shuddered at the implications if the boy had not realized his mistake quickly.

Inuit Qaujimayatuqangit, the Inuit way of doing things, will not pass away with the generation of 'original' elders, but will continue into the future if not obstructed by excess control and regulation. IQ is not always recognized by outsiders, and at times Inuit go to great lengths to protect IQ from what they perceive to be its misuse. IQ thrives in the learning

experiences and social-cultural thought processes passed to the younger generations. It is important that Inuit have the freedom to make up their own minds, make their own mistakes and take responsibility for their own actions for IQ to continue.

Contribution to Scholarship

Connections to the Land: the politics of health and wellbeing in Arviat NU makes several contributions to the current state of knowledge.

The dissertation advances the ongoing debate concerning struggles over traditional knowledge, culture and resource management in the North, specifically those taking place in Arviat, Nunavut. It contextualizes the contested claims and counterclaims, through direct contact with the knowledge holders, using their words to illuminate both their struggles and the larger considerations revealed by the processes of developing and protecting TK. In addition, the thesis relates policy and politics to the important issues of research and process of research.

The thesis is framed using a novel and intellectually sophisticated theoretical perspective that offers distinctive insights into power-knowledge relations and their negotiation. Key concepts of Bourdieu (field, habitus and illusio), Foucault (power-knowledge), Bhabha (hybridity), Berkes (resilience), Kulchyski (resilience) and Scott (hidden texts) are combined to explain how a façade of western societal order masked the chaos and violence generated by colonialism and rapid, unsynchronized societal change. The dynamics that shaped knowledge systems and social institutions worked relatively well in homogeneous societies where most believe and act in accordance with the same body of knowledge and principles. Societies were resilient and could adapt to environmental and social changes that

fit with the overall cultural system. However, each society has its own regime of 'truth' and in situations of where two cultures meet, resistance to the dominant culture emerges, whether through overt hostility or through subtle acts of subversion by seizing the symbols of the dominant culture and remaking them in their own image.

The thesis addresses the complex subject of Inuit knowledge and political striving and presents a convincing argument for the political nature of TK. Blakney's perspective provides an alternative to the extreme view of Widdowson and Howard (TK does not exist but is a fabrication of Aboriginal consultants and lawyers seeking material gain) and the pessimistic view of Nadasdy (TK is irreparably distorted by government dominated co-management institutions that dictate how knowledge is related, analyzed and legitimized). Resilience perspectives (Berkes) provide solid insights from which to understand and interpret TK and for its use in integrated management. However, in Arviat the use of TK could not be explained by resilience perspectives alone. By combining resistance (the Comaroffs, Kulchyski and Scott) with resilience perspectives, understanding of the social dynamics observed by the researcher and the processual dimension of TK emerges. The author emphasises that TK cannot be reduced to a political position — but at times TK contained political elements and was used for political ends; particularly when resources were scarce and Inuit perceived a real or potential loss of control over their lives and decision-making ability.

The thesis contains rich and abundant information from a wide variety of Arviarmiut sources; elders and youth, harvesters and homemakers, formally educated and traditionally educated, shamans and religious leaders, politicians and social workers, bootleggers and

administrators, the “strong” and the “weak”. The author makes extensive use of quotations, meticulously maintaining the contextual integrity of the accounts, so that Inuit voice could be heard loud and clear. Analysis of the information illuminates the interrelationship between Inuit Qaujimajaqtuqangit, the land, and Inuit understandings of health and wellbeing. To be healthy is to be Inuk. Being Inuk means having the knowledge and ability to relate to the land in Inuit ways and to use and adapt traditional knowledge to a dynamic landscape for practical purposes. When the interrelationships are stressed or broken, societal dysfunction occurs within the society and resistance to researchers and resource managers occur.

The thesis moves across a spectrum of sites of research engagement, reflexively and consciously, without assuming or asserting particular knowledge claims. In addition, the thesis crosses scales of inquiry, from the individual to the regional to the national in the treatment of its complex subject matter. The subject matter ranges from the making of traditional knowledge to beluga management to hunting and life on the land, as keys to Inuit perceptions of health and wellbeing. The thesis accommodates diverse perspectives, while also traveling across time to understand the complex historical factors that shaped the research encounter. It represents the product of the unique interactions, both professional and personal, that the author engaged within the course of this research, and gives life to the political nature of research in small communities in general and in northern communities in particular.

Finally, the research reports an original and provocative account of the Nunavut land claim process from the perspective of an Inuit political leader and former chief land claim negotiator. Through the account, the author challenges our understanding of the development of land claims and the creation of Nunavut, and then contextualizes Arviat’s current situation

within this revised history. Other unique contributions to knowledge include previously undocumented accounts of the Ahiarmiut social structure while on the land and their recollections of a strong leadership consisting of regional shaman, large camp bosses and family leaders.



Sherrie Blakney at Maguse River, February 2004

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Appendices

Appendix I: Informed Consent Form

Title: Connections to the Land: Health and Resilience in Arviat, NU.

Project conducted by: Sherrie L. Blakney, Ph.D. Candidate
Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg MB, R3T 2N2
Phone: _____; Fax: _____

This project will examine the connections between the health of the people and the land and how climate change and economic development may affect or alter these relationships. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit will be gathered, documented and posted on the Internet to be used for purposes of preserving cultural heritage, education, research and regional planning. Information from this study will also be used in a doctoral thesis, academic publications, and for academic and community presentations. Copies of interview tapes will be permanently stored within the community of Arviat.

I would like to record on tape your knowledge, experiences, and stories regarding a range of issues relating to the health of the land and the health of the people including activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, diet, food preparation and storage, skin and fur preparation, usage of animal and marine products.

I would like to record your name and community as the source of the interview data and post this material on the Internet and use it in publications. Remuneration for the recorded interview will be at the rate of $25/hr. If you choose not to be identified, your name and any identifying information will be edited out of the interview transcripts and the original audio tape destroyed after the project is completed. May I have your permission to document your name for use with this material?

( ) Yes, you may document my name as the source of the material.
( ) No, I wish to remain anonymous.

The raw interview material will remain the intellectual property of the knowledge holder and the community of Arviat. Academic publications produced from the data will be the property of the researcher. The University of Manitoba will hold the copyright to the doctoral thesis.

Monetary and in-kind support for the project has been provided by: Fisheries and Oceans Canada; Kivalliq Wildlife Board; Ocean Management Research Network; University of Manitoba

This project has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If participants have any concerns regarding the project they may be addressed to the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ or to the Project Advisor, Dr. Peter Kulchyski at _____ .

"I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions."

_____ _____
Name of participant *Name of witness*

_____ _____
Signature of participant *Signature of witness*

_____

Appendix II: Interview guide

Questions and topics for discussion

The government of Nunavut says that living a healthy life involves inter-connections between the mind, body, spirit and environment.

1. What does this mean to you? What makes the community/land healthy? (Or unhealthy?)

2. If a community or the land is unhealthy, can it become healthy again? How?

3. Do you consider your community or the land in this area "healthy"? Why or why not?

4. What could/should be done to improve or restore its condition?

5. What terrestrial or marine life do/did you hunt?

6. Where did you (or your family) hunt caribou, grizzly bear, wolverine, fox, ptarmigan, fish

    a. when you were a child
    b. when you were a young adult
    c. when you became an elder

7. How did/do you hunt these animals mentioned above? What strategies or techniques did/do you use?

8. What makes a hunter successful?

9. What practices must a hunter follow to be successful on the land?

10. What about women? In order to live a healthy life, are there rules that she must follow in preparing food or the skins?

11. Are there rules what women must follow to keep their children or family healthy?

12. Are there ways that children must behave to remain healthy or to keep the family healthy?

13. Inukshuit are sometimes built to make caribou go in a certain direction or to cross at a certain place. Are there other ways that Inuit make animals go where they want or act the way they want them to?

14. There are many carvings and pictures of shamans here in Arviat. Does any of the old ways have a role in how people hunt animals today?

15. There were times when the caribou, were expected to come but they didn't arrive. What may have happened to cause them not to come?

16. Was there any way to influence the animals or persuade them to come? Or to make conditions favourable for their reappearance?

17. What did you/your family/community do or eat during years when [the caribou, etc] did not come?

18. Is store bought food as healthy as country food? What is the difference?

19. Are certain parts of the animal healthier to eat than others?

20. Are there special parts of the animals that are preferred by the elders, [women, or hunters, or children, or by sick people] to eat? Why? What makes that part special?

21. What are the constraints today that interfere with

    a. living a healthy life
    b. the health of the land
    c. obtaining country food
    d. being a successful hunter, parent,
    e. being a successful craftsperson
    f. feeding the family (including food preparation)